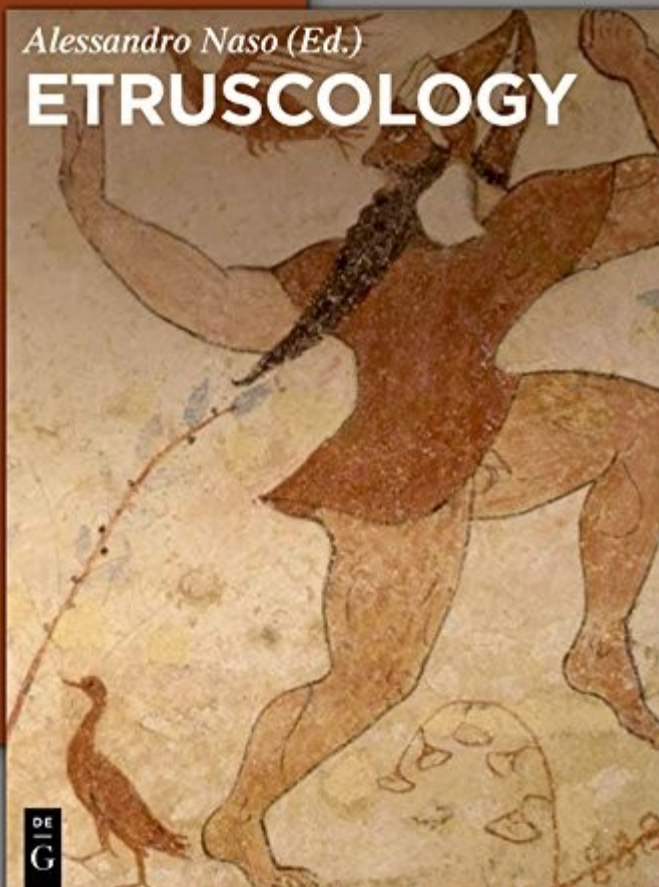


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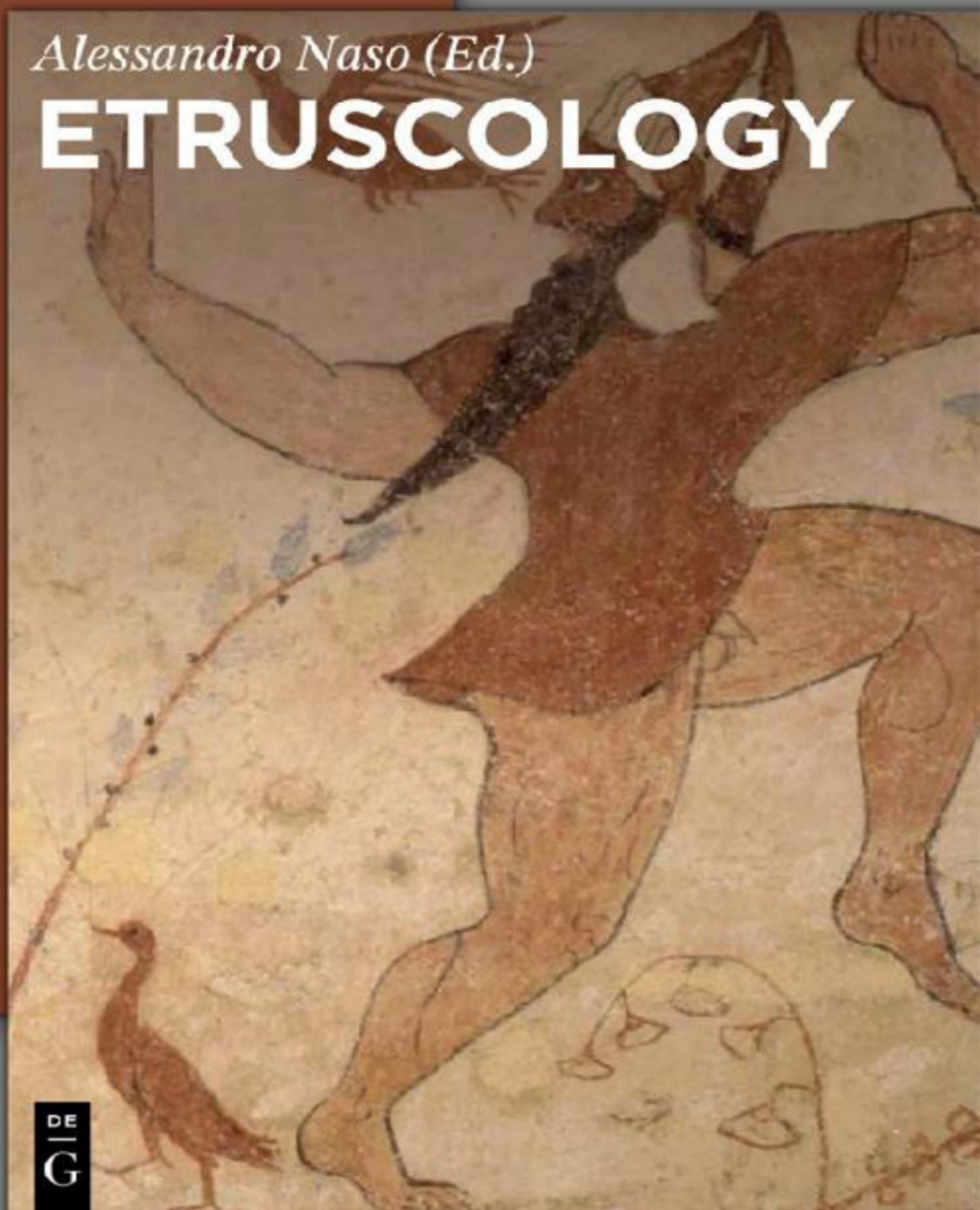
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Etruscology

Etruscology

Volume 1

Edited by
Alessandro Naso

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Cover image: Fresco from the tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia: Running Phersu (masked man) on the left wall. Ca. 520 BCE; Photo: Courtesy DAI-Rome

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1Introduction

The only reasonable solution is to dismember the [computer] manuals, study them for six months under the guidance of an Etruscologist, condense them into four file cards (which will be enough), and throw the originals away.

U. Eco, “How to Follow Instructions” (1994, 141)

1Why Etruscans and Etruscology?

Although the Etruscans are the third ancient civilization in western Europe after Greece and Rome, in contemporary culture they are almost a synonym for mystery, and Etruscologists are thought to be able to solve mysteries—as Umberto Eco ironically confirms.¹ In European culture this opinion is deeply rooted. The Greek historians Herodotus (fifth century BCE) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first century BCE) raised the Etruscan question and attempted to clarify the mysterious origins and language of this people in two different ways—the first declaring origins among the Lydians, the second among the Italics. This situation was exacerbated by later events. The twenty books of *Tyrrhenika*, “Etruscan matters,” written in Greek by the Roman emperor Claudius (10 BCE–54 CE), as well as other ancient texts on the Etruscans, are lost, and this is not by accident. For several reasons, Christian authors identified the Etruscans as pagans, and monks in the Middle Ages deliberately did not copy Greek and Roman literature on non-Christian peoples. This situation changed in the late Middle Ages and especially in the Renaissance, when Etruscan objects and monuments came to light and archaeology began to play the primary role in defining the Etruscans. Details of Etruscan sepulchers were drawn by the two greatest artists of the Renaissance, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564). Etruscan studies were carried out especially in Italy, but not exclusively by Italian scholars; the first modern book was written in Latin by the Scottish humanist Thomas Dempster in the seventeenth century and was published a hundred years later in Florence.² Its publication increased the fascination with the Etruscans in the eighteenth century and spawned *Etruscheria* (“Etruscomania”), the amateur passion for them.

A scientific development closely connected with Italian culture followed the early interest in *Etruscheria*. An important step was the Chair of Archaeology established in 1810 at the University of Perugia and maintained

until 1877, dealing with Greek, Etruscan, and Roman archaeology.³

Interest in the “mysterious” Etruscans in the following years suffered long breaks, interrupted by important archaeological discoveries, such as the temple and statues found at Veii from 1914 onward, which helped arouse interest and establish modern Etruscan studies. Modern Etruscan studies are closely connected with the name of Massimo Pallottino (1909–1995), who held the Chair of Etruscology at the University of Rome “La Sapienza” from 1942 to 1980 and founded Etruscology as a modern scientific discipline. He was the acknowledged authority in studies of pre-Roman Italy not only in his own country but all over the world, founding and leading a summer school in Etruscology and Italic studies reserved for non-Italian scholars at the University for Foreigners of Perugia. In Pallottino’s view, Etruscology and Etruscologists study every aspect of Etruscan culture—as Egyptology and Egyptologists do for Egyptian culture—literacy tradition, inscriptions, art, archaeology, and so on, which are used to construct a general historical framework. The Etruscologist is mostly a historian. Pallottino expressed his thoughts in a major work, *Etruscologia*, which was firstly published in 1942 by the established Italian publisher Hoepli, famous for its series of handbooks. Over the next four decades, the book underwent six new editions, each one systematically revised by the author, which made it the standard work on the subject.⁴ After Pallottino’s death, *Etruscologia* was reprinted in Italy in 2006. The comprehensive text, which has been translated into all the major languages of Europe (English, French, German, and Spanish, plus Hungarian, Polish, and Portuguese) and has been adopted by several generations of Etruscology students, was a milestone not only for the subject, but also for Italian culture. The availability of such an important book influenced the publication of further volumes on Etruscan culture, in all major languages by many authors. The constant increase in specialization and the incessant progress of archaeological discoveries have by now made it impossible for a single scholar to control all the information and to write a comprehensive text; it is no accident that the volume intended to update *Etruscologia* is written by eleven authors under the direction of Gilda Bartoloni, a pupil of Pallottino.⁵ The best way to satisfy the universal interest in the “mysterious” Etruscans is an exhaustive book covering them in English.

Several general books on Etruscans, including the first dictionary, have recently been published in English and confirm that large publishing projects are still a very modern way to disseminate archaeological results.⁶ Some recent books are similar in certain respects to the present one. The large number of contributors and their international provenance reflect the high level of specialization and the worldwide undertaking of research on the Etruscans. Some statistics may be of interest: sixty-seven authors from eleven countries have written ninety chapters (three have two authors). If the sixty-seven authors are divided by nationality, thirty-nine are from Italy, seven from France, six from Austria, four from the United States, three from Switzerland,

two each from England and Germany, and one each from Lithuania, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands. If the sixty-seven authors are divided by institution, thirty-one are from Italian institutions, eight from French, seven from Austrian, five from American, four from German, two each from English and Swiss, and one each from Canadian, Dutch, and Swedish universities; five authors are independent scholars. Thus geographic mobility slightly changes the picture of nationality, and although Italian scholars are the most prolific and mobile, Etruscology is an international matter. If the ninety chapters are divided by institution, forty are from Italian institutions, thirteen from Austrian, eleven from French, eight from American, four from German, three from English, two each from Dutch and Swiss, and one each from Canadian and Swedish universities; five are by independent scholars. Similar results can be reached if the ninety chapters are divided by author's nationality: fifty-five are by Italians, ten by French contributors, eight by Austrians, six by Americans; and three each by English and Swiss, two each by Dutch and German, and one each by Lithuanian, Spanish, and Swedish authors. Scholars in Etruscology are thus disseminated all over the world, but they are concentrated in Italy, followed by France and Austria. This is not an accident, but corresponds exactly to the chairs of Etruscology in the universities of these nations. Twenty-eight Etruscologists form a special group in the Italian academic system of *Scienze dell'Antichità*, and in the 2014–2015 academic year they were active in twenty-two universities.⁷ Although Etruscology chairs have not been established in France, where research on Etruscan culture is traditionally carried out by Classical philologists, lectures on Etruscan archaeology are held at the *Ecole du Louvre* in Paris; at the University of Vienna in Austria a chair of *Etruskologie und Italische Altertumskunde* has been established. In England, a Sybille Haynes Lectureship in Etruscan and Italic Archaeology was recently created at the University of Oxford. Two positions—in Germany at the University of Tübingen and in Belgium at the University of Louvain la Neuve—have no longer been active in Etruscology. It must be added that scholars from several countries are mainly concerned with the Etruscans but officially teach other archaeological disciplines: the present editor held from 2008 to 2015 the chair of *Ur- und Frühgeschichte* at an Institute with a long tradition of research on Iron Age Italy.⁸

Other institutions focusing on the Etruscans may be mentioned, such as the *Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico* of the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche* (Rome) and the *Unité Mixte de Recherche Arche'ologie et Philologie d'Orient et d'Occident* supported by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* and the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (Paris). The leading institution in Etruscan studies, the *Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi e Italici*, founded in 1925 in Florence, which has published the journal *Studi Etruschi* since 1927, organizes scientific symposia, and includes sections in Austria, France, Germany, and the United States.⁹

This wide range of scientific activity allows us to conclude that the Etruscans may be mysterious primarily for publishers and readers, both of whom love mysteries.

2Authors and structure of the book

If Pallottino as founder of modern Etruscology and his immediate pupils formed respectively the first and second academic generations of Etruscologists, the scholars on duty in this book—including the present editor and most of its authors—are the third and fourth generations, with some second generation exceptions. The aim of such a balanced mixture between innovation and tradition is an up-to-date and reliable handbook. The choice of author for each contribution followed three distinct principles. First, several Etruscologists have been asked to deal with subjects that are quite new for them, to augment their interest and to avoid routine chapters. Second, some scholars have been invited to contribute to this book even though they were not specifically interested in Etruscan subjects, because they have new approaches and bring new light to old questions. Third, some very technical subjects in need of vast direct experience could only be treated by a few scholars. In such cases an editor has no real choice, as is shown by comparing the tables of contents of the above-mentioned general books and the present one: often the same author deals with the same theme in several places.

This handbook is in two main parts: critical reviews of methods and main issues (part 1), and syntheses of history, civilization, the landscape of Etruria, and Etruscans outside Etruria (part 2).

2.1Part 1

Because the Etruscans were a cultural bridge between differing times and areas (protohistory and history, East and West, Greece and Rome), Etruscology deals with many aspects extending throughout the first millennium BCE, from protohistory to Roman times, from the classification of Iron Age artifacts to the history of art proper. Therefore it has never developed a methodology of its own but needs multiple approaches to this wide range of subjects. The first section of part 1 (**chapters 2–8**) is devoted entirely to methodology in the history of Etruscology, from the question of the origin of the Etruscans to images of the Etruscans in Greek and Latin literature, from the earliest phases of the discipline to modern interpretations of art and iconology, including recent research on DNA analysis. The study of the Etruscan language, known exclusively through ancient inscriptions, has always had a special role and therefore needs a special treatment of its

methodology.

“Issues” offers a combination of major subjects typical of any important ancient civilization along with some areas where Etruscans were preeminent in the ancient world (section II, **chapters 9–31**). The issues discussed include three thematic divisions, devoted to politics and society (political organization and magistrates, economy and trade, war, society, wine culture, banqueting and food, sports, dance, alphabets and language), religion (religion, death and burial, haruspicy, prophecy and divination), and finally technology (ships and shipping, harbors, vehicles and roads, mines and metalworking, the mines on the island of Elba, coins and mints, weights and balances, textiles and dress, musical instruments, gold dental appliances). Such issues are not particularly new for Etruscologists, but it is new to have all of them together in one place. The present volume aims to be systematic, but some aspects are missing. Current knowledge of certain subjects, such as the Etruscan system of measures and demography, seem to be too limited to provide an exhaustive overview.

2.2Part 2

The third section, dedicated to history, opens the second part of this book. Etruscan civilization corresponds to the first millennium BCE and has been divided schematically into five main periods (all dates earlier than the first century mentioned in this volume are assumed to be BCE unless otherwise marked):

1. Early Iron Age, 10th cent.–730
2. Orientalizing period, 730–580
3. Archaic and Classical periods, 580–450
4. Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, 450–250
5. Etruria and Rome, 250–89

The development of Etruscan history is covered accordingly in five chapters, which are introduced by a general historical framework dealing with a thousand years of Etruscan history and related events, and are followed by a portrait of the Etruscan legacy in Roman civilization (section III, **chapters 32–38**). Each chapter deals with the main event of a period, corresponding to the development from village to city for the Early Iron Age, the diffusion of Near Eastern cultures for the Orientalizing period, urban civilization for the Archaic and Classical periods, the diffusion of Hellenism in central Italy for the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, and the relationship with Rome for the Republican age. There follows the treatment of Etruscan civilization under its five main periods, each including six subjects: art, handicrafts, society, ritual and cults, economy, and external relationships (section IV, **chapters 39–68**). The systematic structure, which aims to give an overview so that

similarities can be compared and differences marked between the periods, was inspired by Renato Peroni's impressive book on Italy in the Bronze Age.¹⁰ Following established criteria in Classical studies, the chapters on art deal with the three main fine arts: sculpture, architecture, and painting; while vase painting and pottery, bronze vases, jewelry, and small finds are grouped under handicrafts. The individual treatments of economy and society in these groups of chapters are more detailed than the general reviews in part II (chapters 10 and 12). In general, possible overlaps throughout the book should not be considered a drawback, but an enrichment that provides the reader with a finer orientation to this volume's more than 1,700 pages.

Sections V, Topography of Etruria, is devoted to environmental and topographical descriptions of the southern and northern districts of Etruria (section V, chapters 69–72). Section VI outlines the presence of the Etruscans outside Etruria in Italy (chapters 73–78) and then reviews Etruscan interaction and trade first in non-Etruscan Italy; then in south central and central Europe; and finally in the Mediterranean area, including Corsica (included here by convention, although it had a real Etruscan presence), Sicily, Sardinia, Greece and the Levant, North Africa, southern France, and the Iberian peninsula (chapters 79–90).

The maps deserve special mention due to their importance in the book: forty maps have been drawn, including both new subjects, such as the development of Etruscan cities over the five historical periods and the distribution of Etruscan inscriptions, and traditional themes, such as the natural landscape, the ports and related cities of Etruria, metallic ores and other resources in Etruria, the distribution of Etruscan finds in and outside Italy, and the distribution of some overseas items in Etruria.

3Acknowledgments

My most sincere thanks are due all the authors; they supported a scientific enterprise with their written contributions. As editor I conceived the plan of the book and I am responsible for it and any mistakes.

The general aid of the Leopold-Franzens-University Innsbruck is particularly appreciated: Rektor Tilmann Märk and Vizerektorin Sabine Schindler provided generous funding for the illustrations, Vizerektor Wolfgang Meixner facilitated the granting of a sabbatical term, and Dekan of the Philosophisch-Historisch Fakultät Klaus Eisterer supported the publication of *Etruscology*. Several colleagues furnished not only contributions, but also advice on the structure of the book. Andreas Blaickner and Michael Schick, draftsmen at the *Institut für Archäologien*, drew respectively all the maps and the pictures of musical instruments with invaluable competence. The publishing house of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (Mainz)

supplied the base map that was used for all the maps. Special mentions are reserved to the museums conservators which allowed to publish the images, particularly Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom (DAI Rome), Soprintendenza Archeologia del Lazio e dell'Etruria Meridionale (SAR-Laz), and Soprintendenza Archeologia della Toscana (SAT).

Michiel Klein-Swormink in winter 2010 suggested that I edit a Handbook of Etruscology for de Gruyter. My enthusiastic and naïve acceptance has been followed by seven years of hard work, first creating an outline of the book, then contacting the authors, and lastly performing the delicate job of editor. Dr. Serena Pirrotta of de Gruyter assisted with contacts with museums and other collections to obtain permission to reproduce the images. The copyeditor Aaron Ostrow was a fine work companion. Special thanks are due all them.

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In the present work have been used the abbreviations of the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4th edition, Oxford 2012 for ancient authors (<http://classics.oxfordre.com/staticfiles/images/ORECLA/OCD.ABBREVIATIONS.pdf>), and those of Studi Etruschi for journals and books series (http://www.bretschneideronline.it/studi_etruschi/pdf_studi_etruschi/studi_etruschi_73/STUDETR_LXXIII_Abbreviazioni.pdf)

Part 1: **I. Methods**

Christoph Ulf

2An ancient question: the origin of the Etruscans

Abstract: In the ancient written sources contradicting views are held as to who the Etruscans were and from where they originated. Modern scholarship has been content to pick out one of the ancient concepts and to support it with historical, archaeological or linguistic arguments. As a result, there is still no consensus in this matter. An important reason for this is that the opinions held in modern scholarship are also closely linked to the ideological environments in which they are set. In an attempt to render these correlations as transparent as possible, this chapter attaches more importance to contextualizing the ancient written sources and the positions taken by modern scholarship than to mentioning and describing them as “exhaustively” as possible.

The chapter also draws attention to the interferences between the ancient written sources, the hypotheses regarding the Etruscan language and the interpretations of archaeological findings. To avoid the circular reasoning so frequent in academic debates, it is argued, one must follow the fundamental call in the methodological debate in archaeology to contextualize and interpret archaeological findings initially on their own. The archaeological settings, local and trans-regional correlations between findings can only be given meaning in a scientifically transparent manner, where specifically defined and clearly described analogical cases from the fields of anthropology and history are used. This, in fact, forms the basis for the more recent reflections on the possible internal structures of the settlements and cities and the connections between them. These reflections become all the more compelling, the less they depend upon the alleged knowledge of the “Etruscans” in the ancient written sources.

Keywords: Herodotus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, written sources, Tyrsenoi, Tusci

Introduction

The ancient written sources hold contradictory views as to who the Etruscans were and from where they originated. Modern scholarship has been content to pick out one of the ancient concepts and to support it with historical, archaeological or linguistic arguments. As a result, there is still no consensus in this matter.¹¹ An important reason for this is that the opinions held in modern scholarship are also closely linked to the ideological environments in which they are set. In an attempt to render these correlations as transparent as possible, the following chapter attaches more importance to contextualizing¹² the ancient written sources and the positions taken by modern scholarship than to mentioning and describing them as “exhaustively” as possible.

1The written sources

1.1Tyrsenoi in the northern Aegean: The ancient sources up to Herodotus of Halicarnassus

The Tyrsenoi are first mentioned in Hesiod's seventh-century *Theogony* (line 1016), in which Circe bears three of Odysseus' children, Agrius ("the Wild One"), Latinos and Telegonus ("born afar"), who reign over the Tyrsenians far away among a set of islands. The location serves solely to create a mythical displacement for the narrative and does not refer to a specific place or to Italy. This obvious vagueness with regard to location is corroborated by the Homeric hymn to Dionysus (7.6–8), which probably dates from the sixth century and in which the god Dionysus is robbed by the Tyrsenoi in the northern Aegean.

This localization of the Tyrsenians is in keeping with Herodotus (1.56–57), who created a local link between the Tyrsenians and the Pelasgians. The Tyrsenians are only mentioned as an appendix to the narrative in which Croesus, the King of Lydia, intends to seal an alliance with the greatest powers (*dynatotatoi*) in Greece against the Persians. In characterizing the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, Herodotus also draws on mythic history. The Lacedaemonians are a Hellenic *ethnos*; they once lived in Thessaliotis (the ancient name of modern Thessaly, with different borders), or Phthiotis, to be more precise, migrating in stages farther south and finally settling in the Peloponnese, by which time they were known as the Dorians. The Athenians are a different case in point. They are a Pelasgian *ethnos* and as such always remained in the same location, i.e. in Athens. To become a Hellene, they had to relinquish the Pelasgian language in favor of Greek. The Pelasgians were previously neighbors with the Dorians and likewise lived in Thessaliotis. This is confirmed by the geographical reference, which in the context of the narrative can only refer to the Aegean region. It states that Pelasgians can still be found today "above" the "Tyrrhenoi" who live in the city of Creston.¹³

1.2Migrating ethnic groups: The new way of thinking following the Persian Wars

Herodotus' concept of Tyrsenian identity is inconsistent; it varies depending on the context. This is noteworthy in that the main argument for assuming the Etruscans came to Italy from the East was derived from a different widely cited passage (Hdt. 1.94).

One of the most important themes in Herodotus' portrayal is his call for an

awareness of Hellenic unity to be formed against the backdrop of the Persian campaign against the Hellenes. To create a foil for his appeal for Hellenic unity, he sheds light in the narratives (*logoi*) of foreign peoples on the regions bordering the eastern Mediterranean. The Lydian Logos comes at the start of the first part of Herodotus' narrative, which stakes out the setting for the Persian campaign. The widely debated account of the Lydians being divided into two halves and drawing lots to decide which half of the population must emigrate, is just part of the detailed etiology as to why the Lydians are thought to have invented many games. Using the fable motif—a famine lasting eighteen years—as the trigger for emigration is very much in keeping with the casual nature of the narration. This also ties in with the fact that the emigrants' journey to their destination, the land of the Umbri on Italy's west coast, is not described in any greater detail. This is striking and stems from the vague geographic perceptions of the western Mediterranean at that time: Herodotus believed that Italy's west coast did not run south to north, but that the southernmost tip of Italy continued almost directly west and that Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica formed a line opposite Italy.¹⁴ In accord with the pattern that emerged in the fifth century of establishing colonies, Herodotus states that the Lydians also established cities in Umbria and named themselves the Tyrsenians after their leader Tyrsenus.

Besides the mythical motif of "famine," Herodotus names a second motif to explain why half of the Lydians emigrated. He asserts that this half of the population was not subjected to servitude by the Persians.¹⁵ Accordingly, this narrative appears to have been influenced by the experience of the Persian Wars, as is the case with the migration of the Phocaeans, which is described in much greater detail.¹⁶ Herodotus later describes the latter as the first Hellenes to have undertaken great voyages across the sea (1.163–67).

Herodotus' presumably younger contemporary Hellanicus of Lesbos united the two lines of discourse, concerning the Tyrsenians and the Pelasgians, which Herodotus had treated separately. The preserved fragment¹⁷ clearly shows that the history of the Tyrsenians has been greatly altered. The Lydians, who according to Herodotus migrated to the West, are replaced by the Pelasgians. By asserting that the Tyrsenians were once called Pelasgians, he encounters the problem that the oldest narratives placed the Tyrsenians in the northern Aegean alongside the Pelasgians. In addition, like Herodotus, he offers a genealogy as alleged proof to support his opinion. Accordingly, the eponymous ancestor Pelasgus is said to have fathered Phrastor with Menippe; Phrastor's son was Amyntor, whose son Teutamides fathered a son called Nanas.¹⁸ Hellanicus, however, cites a completely different reason for migrating: under the rule of Nanas, the Pelasgians were expelled from their land by the Hellenes, landing on Italy's east coast, at Spina, initially settling in Cortona, and finally colonizing the interior, which today bears the name Tyrsenie. Contrary to Herodotus, they did not lend their country their name but changed their name to that of the country. Hellanicus clearly undertakes a

process of geographical rationalization by dislocating the Pelasgians from the realms of myth and placing them on the west coast of Italy, which was then well known to the Hellenes.

Presumably, as knowledge of the Italian coastline grew in the wake of the Peloponnesian War, Hellanicus transferred the Tyrsenians to the then familiar west coast of Italy. This is reflected in the fourth century in the work of Ephorus of Cyme. In the fragment referring to Sicily (Strabo 6.2.2), Naxos and Megara are said to have been the first Hellenic settlements in Sicily in the tenth generation after the Trojan War. He justifies this by asserting that the earlier Hellenes feared the Tyrsenian pirates and the cruelty of the Barbarians there. At the same time, he appears to have superseded Hellanicus's attempt at identifying the Pelasgians and the Tyrsenians since Strabo (5.2.4) cites him and asserts that the Pelasgians were originally Arcadians and had migrated from Arcadia to Crete.¹⁹

1.3 The relationship between the island of Lemnos and Athens

Where Thucydides of Athens (4.109) describes how the Spartan commander Brasidas had taken Amphipolis in the Peloponnesian War and moved up to the canal built by the Persian King Xerxes to the farthest outlying peninsula of Chalkidike, he names several cities to help his readers gain their bearings. He also mentions—almost in passing—that these cities were inhabited by bilingual barbarians: Pelasgian, Bisaltians, Krestonians and Hedonians. The Pelasgians, it is said, originated from the Tyrrhenians, who had once populated Lemnos and Athens. Thucydides apparently refers here to the link between Athens and the Pelasgians known to Herodotus (1.57). According to Herodotus, however, Lemnos had always been Pelasgian; even during Darius' reign, Pelasgians lived on Lemnos and Imbros (Hdt. 1.145). Only later they were displaced by the Athenians, finally settling on the Peloponnese (Hdt. 1.136–137). By comparison, Thucydides blends the Pelasgians with the Tyrrhenians, and as a result, in Thucydides, Lemnos becomes Tyrrhenian.

In contrast to Herodotus, Thucydides' geographical awareness is similar to that of Ephorus (Thuc. 4.24), whereby the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian Seas (*tyrsenikon pelagos*) meet in the strait between Rhegium and Messene (modern Messina); the Tyrrhenian Gulf is to the right of the ships sailing along the coast of Sicily towards Himera (Thuc. 6.62: *tyrsenikos kolpos*).²⁰ Although Thucydides appears to be clear about placing the Tyrsenians in western Italy, he was not aware of any Tyrsenians migrating to the west. The Tyrsenians (= Pelasgians of Lemnos) only come as far as Athens. As a consequence, he had no concept of a Tyrrhenian Sea in the northern Aegean.

Only when Thucydides' text is blended with Herodotus' version—and

ignoring the fact that Thucydides believed the Tyrrhenians only got as far as Athens—can one assume that the Tyrrhenians in Etruria originated from Lemnos. This kind of arbitrary compilation does not appear until the third century BCE in Anticleides of Athens.²¹ The short fragment states that the Pelasgians were the first to establish Lemnos and Imbros, and that some of them had migrated to Italy together with Tyrrhenus, son of Atys.

1.4 Autochthonous Tyrsenoi: A Greek perspective on Rome

Linking mythical narratives to present-day intentions explains why the Roman authors, whether Cicero (*Div.* 1.12, *Cat.* 31.13), Virgil (*Aen.* 8.79–80), Horace (*Sat.* 1.6.1), Ovid (*Met.* 576–77) or Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.55), refer exclusively to Herodotus’s version of the Tyrsenian discourse, which asserts that the Tyrsenians were Lydians. They use it to substantiate in simple terms the contrast between Rome and the Etruscans.

The perspective taken by the Greek Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived in Rome, is quite different. His aim is to prove that Rome is a Greek colony (*apoikie*) created through the process of synoecism.²² He contrasts this mix of different ethnic groups with the Etruscans as an autochthonous unit. For this reason, he criticizes all other versions of Tyrsenian heritage that were in circulation at that time (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.27–30). His genealogy of Lydian rulers differs from that drawn up by Herodotus (1.27): Tyrrhenus, the colony’s leader (*hegemon*), was born into a Lydian clan (*genos*), which Dionysius of Halicarnassus leads back almost to the earliest of the gods. Manes was born of Zeus and Gaia and has a son, Atys. Once again in contrast to Herodotus, Atys, with Callithea, fathers Lydus and Tyrrhenus, after whom their “peoples” are named five generations later. The Lydians lived in the country formerly known as Maionia; Tyrrhenus left due to famine.

Dionysius is familiar with other variations of Herodotus’s version (1.28). Tyrrhenus is also said to be a son of Heracles and the Lydian Omphale and to have driven the Pelasgians out of the cities north of the Tiber in Italy(!); alternatively, Tyrrhenus is said to be a son of Telephus, who came to Italy after the Trojan War. Xanthus of Lydia, on the other hand, asserted that Tyrrhenus was not part of Lydian genealogy; he likewise had no knowledge of a Maionian colony in Italy or of a Lydian colony known as Tyrrhenia. The sons of Atys were Lydus and Torebus; they each ruled over the Lydians and Torebians in Asia. Speaking different tongues, they taunted each other like the Ionians and Dorians. Dionysius also cites the version by Hellanicus and one by a certain Myrsilos; the latter turned Hellanicus’ portrayal around, such that the Tyrrhenians became Pelargians. After the Tyrrhenians had left their home, they adopted the new name of Pelargians because of their similarity to storks

(*pelargoi*). They wandered around in Greece and the land of the Barbarians in groups; the Pelargian Wall at the Acropolis in Athens is said to have been named after them.

Dionysius challenges all these variations about the Tyrrhenians, Lydians and Pelasgians with his own version (1.29). He makes a clear distinction between the Tyrrhenians and the Pelasgians, and concludes that it would be as wrong to mix the two simply because they lived alongside one another as it would be to throw the Trojans and the Phrygians in the same pot. Based on this argument, one could also deny the differences between the Latini, Umbri and Ausonians. Given that differences tend to blur the farther away the observer, he states that the Hellenes referred to them all as Tyrsenians and they called Rome a Tyrrhenian city. However, Dionysius then proves to be somewhat indecisive as to whether they all had the same origin despite the fact that they speak different languages.

He makes a distinction between Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians and asserts that the Pelasgians were involved in founding Rome (1.30). He states that the Greek tendency to equate the Pelasgians with the Etruscans and with Rome is, however, incorrect. Moreover, he explicitly stresses that the Tyrrhenians did not colonize the Lydians, that they did not share a common—or even a related—language, and that they did not worship the same gods or observe the same customs. He continued that they cannot be compared, since the Tyrrhenians are “found to be a very ancient nation and to agree with no other either in its language or in its manner of life”

He underlines this by pointing out that the Romans gave the Tyrrhenians a different name: Etruscans, after Etruria. He believes that their former name was “*Thyoskooi*,” but that they referred to themselves as *Rasenna*.

1.5 How should the Hellenic perspectives be read?

It is clear that the different narratives function as part of a construct to explain and justify the circumstances and conditions of the day.²³ The “pre-history” used with this intention clearly displays the characteristics of a mythical story. It is also evident, however, that the genealogical relationships, traced all the way through to the heroes of the Trojan War, form part of an attempt to squeeze the many parallel yet differing narratives into a common chronological system.²⁴

Under these circumstances, it is problematic to proceed on the assumption of “peoples” or even of linguistic units such as the Tyrsenians and Pelasgians. Rather, a Tyrsenian discourse and a Pelasgian discourse²⁵ must be presupposed. The discourse that dominates the narrative, or the manner and extent of their intermingling depends largely on the author’s intent. The longevity of the two discourses confirms their inherent flexibility but not their historical validity. Accordingly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.17) was also

able to create a link between the Pelasgians and Sicily from the perspective of his day. The Pelasgians were said to have once lived in today's Thessaly; they were forced to leave their home, becoming neighbors of the Aborigines and joining forces with them in the fight against the Sicels. In this context, Dionysius also conveys the belief that groups of Pelasgians who had settled in Dodona had to leave the country again, landing on the opposite coast of Italy (1.18). It is this construction that becomes a prerequisite for the subsequent narrative (1.20), in which these Pelasgians fought against the Umbri and conquered Croton.²⁶

The only deductions permitted with any certainty by the abovementioned narratives are thus that the Greeks on the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor were familiar with the names of the Umbri and Tyrsenus/Tyrsenoi, that they placed Umbria in central Italy, and that, as their geographical knowledge improved, they located Tyrsenoi north of Sicily.

1.6 Rome's ethnographic view of the North

Whereas Dionysius sees the Etruscans as part of his concept of Rome's Greek origins, Livy believes Rome to be the unequivocal center of the earth in relation to which all other peoples should be considered, and mentions the Etruscans in connection with the Gaul's advance into the Po Valley and their battles with the Etruscans living there (5.33.5–11). In the period prior to Roman rule, Livy states, the Etruscans populated the Tuscan and Adriatic coasts, and established cities also beyond the Apennines across to the Alps. The peoples in the Alps, and the Raeti in particular, were of the same origin. In an ethnographic manner, he equates them to the uncivilized peoples on the northern edge of Italy. He believed that the Etruscans in the Alps had adopted the savagery of their surroundings and that the only part of their Etruscan heritage that had been preserved, albeit distorted, was the sound of their language.

Pliny the Elder thinks along the same ethnographical lines as Livy when he asserts in his panoramic view of the ancient world that the Raeti were Etruscans. The Alps were, he said, populated (*HN* 3.20.133) by *multi populi*, including the *Raeti et Vindelici*. He claims that the Raeti were descendants of the Tusci displaced by the Gauls; their leader was known as Raetus. In the description of Umbria and the *ager Gallicus* (*HN* 3.14.112) he follows the (Greek) tradition that the Umbrians were—allegedly—the oldest *genus* in Italy. He states that the Umbrians drove the Sicels and Liburnians out of the region around Palma, Praetutia, and Adria; the Etruscans then conquered 300 Umbrian cities. In the context of the threat to Rome by the Gauls, Pompeius Trogus (*Just. Epit.* 20.5.10) refers to the Etruscans in passing: when the Gauls came to Italy, they drove the Etruscans out of the Po Valley; the Etruscans were forced back into the Alps and formed a tribe led by Raetus, which was

named after him.

2 Positions and Tendencies in Modern Scholarship

The clear parallelism between the differing narratives about the Etruscans and their intertextuality²⁷ was widely negated in a move to determine the “beginnings” of the Etruscans. Instead, attempts have been and are being made to pick just one of these narratives as the source from which knowledge is distilled right back to the origins of the Etruscans, i.e. to the second millennium. The choice of narrative depends largely on the premise for historical reconstruction prevailing in the scholars’ surroundings. These correlations can only be presented here as dominant trends since the detailed analyses required to achieve greater precision are yet to be conducted.²⁸

2.1 Etruscheria, Etruria and the unity of Italy

Cosimo II de Medici in Florence was identified in connection with alleged Etruscan kings by Thomas Dempster in his 1616 manuscript *De Etruria regali libri septem*, which did not become widely known until it was published in the early eighteenth century. The timing is no coincidence, but occurred as a consequence of a keen interest in the Etruscans emerging from the “discovery of peoples” in the period of Romanticism and for which the term *Etruscheria* was coined.²⁹

Following in Dionysius’ footsteps, Dempster deemed the Etruscans to be the only autochthonous people in the region, also pinpointing their language as one that differed from all other ancient tongues. Dempster also considered the Pelasgians and Lydians as invaders comparable with the Barbarians of the Middle Ages. This form of rapturous romanticism also led to comparisons being drawn between the Etruscans and the Egyptians and to almost all cultural achievements being ascribed to the Etruscans. Etruscan Art was allegedly superior to Greek Art, and the vases unearthed in ancient tombs were said to be of Etruscan origin. These convictions were among the factors triggering the creation of Etruscan art collections, initially in Florence and Verona, and later beyond Italy’s borders.³⁰

This tremendous appreciation of the Etruscans also had a political element. In the construction of the past during the *Risorgimento* (unification) of Italy, the Etruscans could always be set against the dominant Romans as an autonomous cultural and political force to be reckoned with.³¹ Of similar importance were the Italics who, likewise, formed an autonomous world independent of the Romans and Greeks. In line with the premise that language is the expression of a people, this particular “myth of Italy”³² also embraces

the view that the tongues of the Italics and Etruscans were related.

In his portrayal of the Etruscans, which for a long time was the most detailed and had a lasting impact far into the twentieth century, the German historian Karl Otfried Müller consciously placed himself within the ranks of the “Tuscan scholars.”³³ In the wake of the historical source criticism by Barthold Georg Niebuhr, Müller was keen to dissolve the apparent contradictions between the various ancient reports by creating a chronological order. He believed the different mythological narratives were reflections of the sequence in which the various peoples migrated to, from and within Italy. He states that in the course of these movements, the Tyrsenians also came to Italy from Greece and settled in Tarquinia. The subsequent contradictory line of argument can only be explained by his heritage and German tradition of thought. From the link made by Dionysius between the Rasenna and the Raeti, he draws the conclusion that the Rasenna of the Alps advanced against the Apennine, driving out the Umbrians, settling in Etruria and mixing with the Tyrsenians from Tarquinia. This, he believed, was the origin of the Tuscan people.

Müller considered all source genres and puzzled together his (re)construction from almost all the available elements, leading to the different hypotheses regarding the origins of the Etruscans to the present day. He also based his argument on the criteria still used in Etruscology as a means of evaluating the written sources: that is, the Etruscan language and archaeology. Since these two fields are particularly suited to projecting personal (ideological) positions, he was trapped within the resultant circular reasoning: the decisions regarding the character of the Etruscan language, the “right” interpretation of the archaeological findings, and which of the ancient sources offered the “correct” historical information are not made independently of one another but instead mutually prop each other up. It is, therefore, no coincidence that at the end of the eighteenth century Luigi Lanzi identified the Etruscan language as Italian Etruscan and as such as an Indo-European language; this conviction remained dominant in one form or another until well into the late nineteenth century.³⁴

The discovery of the famous inscription on the island of Lemnos in the northern Aegean in 1885 changed the direction of the debate. The language used in this short inscription has some similarity with Etruscan.³⁵ This paved the way for the debate over whether Etruscan was, in fact, an Indo-European language or whether it belonged to an older substrate from the Mediterranean region.³⁶ The latter possibility opened the doorway to interpreting the growing external influences on the Etruscans purely as a secondary phenomenon.

Since the interpretation of archaeological findings largely depended on the evaluation of the Etruscan language, this new situation fundamentally changed the archaeological debate as well. For example, Ugo Antonielli claimed that the inhumations of the Tyrsenian Copper and Bronze Age were representative of the indigenous (Etruscan) population. A people accustomed

to cremation burials who migrated from the north to the south, superseded this tradition, thus forming the Villanovan culture. This line of argument aimed at identifying an autochthonous and autonomous Etruscan people and can thus be deemed the scientific continuation of *Etruscheria*. Once again, it is no coincidence that at specifically this point in time, much energy and conviction were invested in advocating the autonomy of Etruscan (and Italic) Art as opposed to Greek Art, along with the originality of all things Etruscan.³⁷ This was linguistically supported, among others, by Giacomo Devoto's thesis³⁸ that the Etruscans had formed an ethnic pocket much like the Basques. He claimed that the pre-Indo-Germanic substrates had been influenced only on the "periphery" by the languages of the Indo-Germanic invaders; the contact between the indigenous population and the immigrant Indo-Germanic people had, however, led to the creation of the Etruscan culture as a *koine* of high quality.

The academic standpoints were developed against the backdrop of serious political upheaval in Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Fascist policies aimed, among other things, at establishing strong state institutions throughout Italy, and were accompanied ideologically by the use of symbols from the Roman state. To eradicate the contrast between the Etruscans and the Romans, the Etruscan influence on the Romans was emphasized and the latter were presented not as the conquerors but as the unifiers of Italy.³⁹ An indirect repercussion of this argument, which was felt until quite recently, is reflected in the earlier view represented by Eduard Meyer and Julius Beloch—that the Etruscans native to Italy had spread from the west to the east as pirates in the Mediterranean; they were said to have settled on the island of Lemnos in the process.⁴⁰

2.2 The European colonial view of the South

In the nineteenth century, scientific archaeological research of the Mediterranean region became part of the national and colonial cultural policy of the European powers.⁴¹ The idea that the Etruscans had traveled from the north to Etruria forms part of the view that the ancient cultures were the precursors to the nations of Europe. The interests of Britain were more strongly focused on Greece and Crete, Egypt and the Near East. This would explain why British scholars were barely involved in researching the Etruscans although the idea of *Etruscheria* also met with a positive response in England.⁴² A very different picture can be painted with regard to the involvement and influence of German scholars in Italy. Not only did a large number of them live in Italy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but their interest lay not only in Roman history but also explicitly in Etruscan history.⁴³

Although Nicolas Fréret⁴⁴ was the first scholar to entertain the idea that the

Etruscans had originated from the north, Barthold Georg Niebuhr was without a doubt the main proponent of the concept in the nineteenth century. He believed that the Etruscans came from the Alps, and argued that if the Gauls had first driven them there, the Alps must have been uninhabited previously. In contrast to “the Italian scholars” and as a direct attack on Micali,⁴⁵ Niebuhr claims that the tongue of the Etruscans is an uncorrupted ethnic language, elements of which can be identified in the “tongue spoken by the inhabitants of Val Gardena in Tyrol”.⁴⁶ He purports that Raetia is the “original fatherland of the Etruscan people.”⁴⁷

Scholars arguing in this vein refer to Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He is used to argue against Herodotus and all other assertions that the Etruscans originated from the East. The analogy between the name Rasenna and the Etruscans or Tyrsenians is cast an important role; equally, the link between Rasenna and the Raeti as suggested by Livy is also considered plausible.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, archaeologist Wolfgang Helbig supported attempts to identify the Etruscans with the Raeti on the basis of archaeological arguments.⁴⁸ He linked Pliny the Elder’s comment that the Etruscans had destroyed three hundred cities with the end of the “pile villages,” the annihilation of which he claimed had been caused by the migrating Etruscans. He continued that their culture and archaeology were initially identical to the Italics and that they were not exposed to any “eastern influences.” Moreover, they then went on to rule as a “military and priestly nobility over an Italic population,” increasingly rising above them as a result of their higher “national” culture. To this, Luigi Pigorini added an argument that had a significant impact⁴⁹. He claimed that the members of the Terramare culture had migrated south over the Alps together with the Etruscans; he also asserted that the cremation of the dead and their burial in urns was characteristic for the former, whilst the latter preferred inhumation.

The fact that Helbig interprets the meeting of peoples as the superimposition of one over the other apparently stems from the thinking of the time, which was greatly influenced by European imperialism. The German scholars generally shared the view that it was chiefly the “Indo-Germanic” (not “Indo-European”) people who migrated south in more or less large numbers, subjugating the indigenous population and forming an elite.⁵⁰ They claimed that the Etruscans’ rise to become the culturally leading people in Italy stemmed from the arrival of this new noble group.

The strong link between the academic statements regarding the origins of the Etruscans and the ideological and political trends of the day was reflected in the 1920s and 1930s in the fact that the equation “Etruscan = Indo-European” found prominent supporters in Italy as well.⁵¹ In Germany from 1925 onwards, the highly influential linguist Paul Kretschmer started claiming—in contrast to his earlier ideas—that a group speaking Pelasgian and/or Raeto-Tyrsenian had migrated south from the region between the Danube and the Balkans, which group in his view also “völkisch-sprachlich” (“ethno-

linguistically”) included the Etruscans.⁵² In Italy this thinking was supported by Alfredo Trombetti and Giulio Buonamici, as well as Luigi Pareti.⁵³ A previous (“proto-Latin”) wave of “Indo-Germanic” immigrants, the so-called “Eastern Italics” in the Eneolithic period, was followed by more recent “Indo-Germanic” migrants, the Sabellians and the Umbrians of the Proto-Villanovan period, who practiced inhumation. The core of the Etruscans was represented by the proponents of the Villanova culture. Kretschmer deduces this from the Terramare culture of northern Italy.⁵⁴ Similar statements by Friedrich Matz move into a clearly Nazi context.⁵⁵ The concept of the migration of Indo-Germanic peoples from the north was still propagated by German researchers even after 1945, taking the form of the expansion of the Indo-Germanic Illyrians.⁵⁶ It was not until German pre-historians starting reflecting on their history that this idea finally disappeared from academic works.

The extent to which this view was misled by prejudice is illustrated by the completely different way in which the same archaeological material was interpreted by Gaetano de Sanctis. The cremators were said to be the Etruscans from the north; the Italics originated from the Eneolithic Period.⁵⁷

Recently, the linguist Frederik Woudhuizen picked up the notion of peoples migrating from the north. He presupposes the equation of language and people, which allows him to distinguish three layers “in the process of Indo-Europeanization of Tuscany.” But his argument does not take notice of the methodological developments in historical research.⁵⁸

2.3 The higher culture in the East

It was not until the inscription of Lemnos became well known and the significance of the eastern influences on Etruscan Art were recognized that Herodotus, Hellanicus and Thucydides were cited as relevant sources. Indeed, it was not until the Italics were seen as the common ground for the Italian nation, following the unification of Italy, that the autonomy and originality of the Etruscans, which had been so strongly emphasized in the past, finally lost its dominance. Among Italian scholars, in 1885 Edoardo Brizio explained the eastward migration of the Etruscans by claiming that Etruscan invaders of Tuscany and Emilia had brought a Orientalizing and subsequently “Grecizing” culture from the East, which was further developed than that of the Indo-European, Umbrian cremators of the Villanovan culture.⁵⁹

The German archaeologist Gustav Körte—who had previously supported the hypothesis that the Etruscans had migrated from the north—fundamentally agreed with this view.⁶⁰ With respect to the Orientalizing phase of Etruscan development, he dated the migration of the Etruscans back to the eighth century BCE. He too, saw a meeting of two peoples as one superimposing itself upon another. He asserts that a small number of Tyrsenian conquerors subjugated the Italic population, and both merged together, giving rise to the

Etruscan “nation.” With the help of the Turusha named in the lists of conquered enemies of the Egyptian pharaohs Merenptah and Ramesses III, Körte determines the origins of the invaders as “northern peoples” from the islands in the Aegean, “ancestors of the Tyrsenians,” and pirates.⁶¹

Fritz Schachermeyr was also kin to this tradition. He spoke openly of a “mission of Indo-Germanism.”⁶² Like Kretschmer, he believed that the “Indo-Germanic race” had already spread to the Aegean in the Neolithic period. He explains the affinity of the inscription of Lemnos with the Etruscan language by asserting that they had come from the same roots (a pristine people or a linguistic substrate thereof, i.e. an early Indo-Germanic Aegean language), linking this in with his highly suspect “Cultural Morphology.” He claims that between 1600 and 1200 BCE the Etruscan people in western Asia Minor had lived outside the rule of the Hittites and the Achaeans; around 1200, in the course of the postulated Aegean migration, they fell to the lower cultural level of the Greeks—which triggered the first partial Etruscan migration and the establishment of colonies along the coast of Etruria. He continues that the Etruscans became a seafaring people in the Aegean, establishing outposts on Lemnos, Lesbos and in Caria to secure their trade routes. Around 800, a second wave of migration took place, leading to the occupation of the Etrurian coast. He attempts to substantiate these highly speculative constructions by referring to the myth of Telephus.⁶³

Even though the idea gradually emerged in the 1920s and 1930s that the Etruscans had migrated to Italy from the East,⁶⁴ the route of the migration was interpreted in many different ways and was colored by national traditions of thought. Accordingly, A^oke A^okerstro^om states that the Villanova Culture was very reluctant to welcome strangers or anything new. He places the home of the Etruscans in the region between the Syrian coast, Cyprus and Rhodes, and sees the reason for migration in the expanding Neo-Assyrian rulers’ need for metals.⁶⁵ Léon Homo holds a very different view, identifying eastern features in almost all areas of Etruscan civilization; between 1200 and 1000 some Etruscans fled from the invasion of the Dorians—similar to the Normans—with a small number of them reaching the east coast of Italy.⁶⁶ Gösta Säfllund, on the other hand, asserts that two waves of migration took place in the first millennium, during the second of which migrants from Lemnos and Imbros arrived at Etruria;⁶⁷ Edmond Pottier believes that the Tyrsenians (Etruscans), as described by Hellanicus, crossed the Adriatic Sea, whereas Ambros Pfiffig claims that the migrants from the East were members of an urban culture in the Near East—a hypothesis first introduced by André Piganiol.⁶⁸ Without any indication that a critical view had been taken of the ancient narratives, Robert Beekes recently collated all evidence supporting a migration from the east.⁶⁹ Adriano La Regina states that a connection with Lydia must have existed; Mario Torelli imagines that Tyrsenian “prospectors” from the Aegean landed at the turn of the second to the first millennium on the Italic peninsula in their search for metals and formed a nucleus there, which gave rise to the

Etruscan people.⁷⁰

As early as the 1950s, Raymond Bloch claimed that the ancient tradition of Herodotus with regard to the Etruscans' origins in Asia Minor had been confirmed by modern research.⁷¹ However, not long after, Jacques Heurgon claimed that resistance to the hypothesis of their eastern origins was gaining strength due to the lack of archaeological evidence to suggest the migration of a people in the first millennium.⁷² In 2010, Jean-Marc Irollo noted: "No one today believes in the sudden arrival in central Italy of a people from the Orient" [Aujuord'hui plus personne ne croit en l'arrivée subite en Italie centrale d'un peuple venu d'Orient.]⁷³

2.4 The formation of the Etruscans replaces Etruscheria

At the end of the nineteenth century, Johann Gustav Cuno assumed that the mixing of the Etruscans from the north with the indigenous population had resulted in a new culture.⁷⁴ If in this mix the indigenous traditions are given credit for the emergence of a higher level of culture, it becomes easier to marry the concept of migration with the idea of *Etruscheria*. This is exactly what Jean Bérard did when he postulated migration from the East. The arrival of Tyrsenian Pelasgians in Italy into the late Bronze Age⁷⁵ triggered an (Etruscan) renaissance of the Tyrsenian tradition which went back as far as prehistoric times and had been violated by Indo-Germanic groups. In more recent times, Jean-Paul Thuillier, for example, has followed this line of thought in one important respect by again equating the Villanovan culture with the Etruscan culture.⁷⁶

The Renaissance and Risorgimento are strikingly close together—both aim to achieve unity once more. The impact of the Fascist state on the unity of Italy is reflected in the names chosen for the country's academic institutions. The Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, founded in 1927, clearly indicates the political intention as does the Centro di Studio del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche per l'Archeologia etrusco-italica, after known as the Istituto per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica and now as the Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico.⁷⁷ At the same time, academic contributions reflected the idea that the "Italic" elements were blended, and that none of them dominated. Potential external influences could do nothing to change this. This thinking was established by a series of mainly Italian scholars such as Pericle Ducati and Bartolomeo Nogara, but also scholars such as Marcel Renard and Fritz Altheim.⁷⁸ Based on the number and quality of publications that appeared in this vein, Massimo Pallottino clearly stands out.⁷⁹

Pallottino does not follow any of the ancient sources directly but selects those elements that support his ideas of the Etruscans. He claims, for example,

that the link Herodotus made between the Tyrsenians and the Pelasgians (Hdt. 1.57) was based on the memory of an old linguistic connection between pre-Hellenic peoples that was predominant in the period following the Trojan War.⁸⁰ However, he states that the toponymic arguments do not allow for any reliable conclusions about the Pelasgians who spread to the west; the argument based on the seafaring peoples was, he continues, problematic because the Turusha may have come from the West. The inscription of Lemnos does not support the immigration theory because it could simply be two dialects of the same language.⁸¹ The archaeological findings do not provide any evidence for a wave of migration from the east nor from the north. The distinction between inhumation and cremation cannot be used to identify ethnicity (autochthonous Tyrsenians who practiced inhumation and Indo-Europeans who preferred cremation). The Villanovan culture cannot be equated with that of the Umbrians, the comparison of the name Rasenna with the Raeti is no more than a dalliance. Pallottino continues that Ephorus had proven that the Greeks did not dare to venture into the western Mediterranean in the eighth and seventh centuries for fear of encountering the Tyrsenians. Moreover, the objects from the Orient found in Etruria did not come from the same area as that ascribed to the Tyrsenian immigrants. As a result, the term “Etruscans” should be limited to the historical and verifiable reality of the “nation” between the eighth and the first centuries BCE—the Etruscans became a people through a process of formation. The decisive impetus was provided by the impression that the “malleable cultures beyond the sea had made upon the still rather primitive and malleable soul of the early Etruscans” at the beginning of the Villanovan culture. He concludes that this “ferment” had been firmly planted in the intellectual thinking of the nation.⁸²

By propagating this argument, which was impossible to separate from the political developments in Italy after the 1920s, Pallottino eradicated the main weakness inherent in *Etruscheria*. He permitted influences of many kinds and was at the same time able to present an image of a self-determining group, despite his decision to qualify his definition of “people.”⁸³

By contrast, Luciana Aigner Foresti points out that it remains unclear what form this postulated “ferment” took and the impact it had; it opens up the possibility that the historical “Etruscan” culture was formed through a language switch within a small region in Italy and within a short space of time. By drawing the conclusion that the Etruscans emerged before the tenth century from a mixture of Italic-Umbrian-speaking indigenous tribes and a group of people living in the north Aegean, she approaches once more the position held by Pallottino.⁸⁴

3From the narrative to the unavoidable formation of a model

Shortly after World War II, a congress financed by the CIBA Foundation discussed whether genetic characteristics could be used to answer the question of autochthony and migration on the basis of examining blood types.⁸⁵ The euphoria this triggered once again reflected the common pattern of selectively confirming one's own expectations, as is illustrated, among others, by Jacques Hurgon, who saw the "birth and rebirth of Italy" in "the same cradle," i.e. in Etruria, thus confirmed.⁸⁶ In the past two decades, the possibility of indigenous continuity and migration from the East has been examined with the help of DNA tests, which has caught the media's attention because the link to the East was set in the context of Turkey hoping to present itself as the root of European culture. John Ward-Perkins has already spoken out against simplifications arising from such attempts.⁸⁷ The problems inherent in such undertakings (e.g. problematic samples, references to ancient written sources as a basis for making evaluations, and only partially received archaeological positions) have been discussed in detail by Phil Perkins,⁸⁸ who makes the important point that the "Pallottino consensus" assumes the existence of an "Etruscan people" even though the "formation of the Etruscans" is equated with an ethnogenesis.

Where it has been possible to analyze ethnogeneses in well known historical contexts, the findings leave no room for ambiguity: an *ethnos*, or people, is not a biological unit, it is always an intellectual construct, which receives its credibility and legitimization through a "beginning" projected to a point in the past.⁸⁹ These constructs comprise conscious leaps of the imagination; they operate with inventions and are, above all, steered by intentions that largely depend on the interests at stake at any given time.⁹⁰

In the Greek context, the name of the fictitious founder of the Tyrsenian people was derived from the name of the people. This served to provide a more or less vague label for the initially little known West. As geographical awareness increased, the name gained more meaning; even so, it was always defined far more by intertextual contexts than by concrete historical and geographical knowledge. The name of the Tusci has a similar quality; it is a name—with perhaps Umbrian roots—which was used to refer, from the Roman point of view, to a foreign, loosely specified or non-specifiable group of populations and settlements north (and south) of Latium. Dionysius of Halicarnassus contrasted the two names with the other name Rasenna; however, his claim that the designation was chosen by the group to refer to itself, postulates the notion of an Etruscan people and thus proves to be of secondary importance.⁹¹

The second imagined area is that of the Etruscan language. To date, it has not been possible to define its characteristics with any degree of clarity. The assumption that it was some kind of "Aegean" substrate requires the evolutionary tree theory—stemming from the ideas of the Romantic period—to see in this substrate the common ground for the Etruscan language and that of the inscription of Lemnos. This is diametrically opposed to the possibility

of a language switch and the call in linguistics to define the structure of the Etruscan language on the basis of existing Etruscan texts. This possibility demonstrates just how unconvincing the imagined firm link between language and people actually is when it is treated as an historical reality.

The third field in which imagination, inventions and interests play a central role is archaeology. To avoid the interferences between the ancient written sources, the hypotheses regarding the Etruscan language and the interpretations of archaeological findings that lead to the circular reasoning so frequent in academic debates, it is necessary to follow the fundamental call in the methodological debate in archaeology to contextualize and interpret archaeological findings initially on their own.⁹² The explicit formation of models widely discussed in the methodological debate amongst archaeologists thus serves as a foundation. The archaeological settings, local and trans-regional correlations between findings can only be given meaning in a scientifically transparent manner, where specifically defined and clearly described analogical cases from the fields of anthropology and history are used. This, in fact, forms the basis for the more recent reflections on the possible internal structures of the settlements and cities and the connections between them.⁹³ These reflections become all the more compelling, the less they depend upon the alleged knowledge of the “Etruscans” in the ancient written sources.

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3The Etruscans in Ancient Literature

Abstract: Our overview of the ancient literary sources about the Etruscans is less than satisfying. Although some attempts at covering single thematic fields as well as certain literary genres have been made, the only pioneering collection is incomplete.

It is possible to review the ancient terminology for Etruscans, Etruscan and the like, give an overview of the most important authors and texts and finally try to characterize the ancient literary evidence as a whole, pointing out its limitations and assessing the value it nonetheless has.

Keywords: Greek sources, Latin sources, Greek literature, Latin literature

Introduction

Our overview of the ancient literary sources about the Etruscans is less than satisfying. Although some attempts at covering single thematic fields⁹⁴ as well as certain literary genres⁹⁵ have been made, the only collection that aims at comprehensiveness is Giulio Buonamici's *Fonti di storia etrusca*.⁹⁶ Although one has to be grateful for his pioneering effort, his corpus is incomplete, ill-organized, lacks any commentary and presents the texts only in Italian translation, sometimes of dubious quality; that the page numbers in the index often lead astray does not help either. However, there are good grounds for hope, as a project entitled *FaREP (Fontes ad Res Etruscas Pertinentes)*, directed by Giovanni Colonna and executed chiefly by Daniele F. Maras, Laura M. Michetti and Elena Tassi Scandone, is underway at La Sapienza in Rome. Within a few years, it will hopefully result in a collection of sources that can replace Buonamici's.

The short survey that follows falls into three parts: It will start with a brief review of the ancient terminology for "Etruscans," "Etruscan" and the like. After this, an overview of the most important authors and texts shall be given. Finally, I will try to characterize the ancient literary evidence as a whole, pointing out its limitations and assessing the value it nonetheless has.

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1 Terminology and Semantics

The oldest Greek sources that can be related to the Etruscans call them Τυρσηνοί or (doric) Τυρσανοί. The Attic form Τυρρηνοί, due to progressive assimilation ρσ > ρρ, is first found in Old Comedy. It becomes the most common term in later times. The adjective, Τυρρηνικός, and the name of the country, Τυρρηνία, are deduced from the ethnicon in a regular manner. These terms are often taken over into Latin as *Tyrrheni*, *Tyrrhenicus*, *Tyrrhenia*. The most common Latin expressions for the people and the country, however, are *Tusci*, *Etrusci* (both subst. and adj.) and *Etruria*.

The etymological significance of these denominations is unknown. They may be of non-Etruscan origin, since the Etruscans seem to have called themselves *ras(en)na*, as testified by a number of inscriptions and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.30.3).⁹⁷ The only thing we can be reasonably sure of is that all Greek and Latin appellations are cognate among each other and derived from a stem *turs-*/ *trus-*, to which Umbrian *turskus* also belongs.⁹⁸

The Greeks and Romans themselves compensated for this lack of knowledge by a number of speculative etymologies that are patently false but can give some first clues to their view of the people: For example, Τυρρηνοί was derived ?π? το? θύειν, from sacrificing (Serv. *Aen.* 8.270), since the Etruscans were thought to be extremely religious, and from τύρσις, the towers in which they were supposed to live (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.30.2). In turn, τύραννος was deduced from Τυρρηνοί on account of their supposed cruelty.⁹⁹

One may doubt whether the first writers to mention Τυρσηνοί had a clear idea of the identity of the people they called by this name. Hesiod or rather a continuator of his *Theogony*¹⁰⁰ knows them as Italians but seems unable to distinguish between them and other inhabitants of the peninsula (*Theog.* 1011–16).¹⁰¹ The author of the *Hymn to Bacchus* (6th or 5th century BCE?) sees them only as pirates and makes no attempt at locating them at all (*Hymn. Bacch.* 7–8).¹⁰² Sophocles (497–406 BCE) speaks

of “Pelasgian Tyrsenians” (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.25.2 = *TGrF* 4 fr. 270), and the idea that Τυρσηνοί is a synonym for Πελασγοί was widespread in early times, as Dionysius explains *ad locum*.¹⁰³ Hecataeus (c. 550–490 BCE), however, already knows Elba as an “island of the Τυρσηνοί” (Steph. Byz. s.v. ??θάλη = *FGrH* 1 F 59), while Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.71–75) mentions Τυρσανοί in a truly historical context when he celebrates the victory of Hieron I over them in the battle of Cumae in 474 BCE. From the late 5th century BCE onwards, most references to Τυρρηνοί in Greek and later to *Tusci* and *Etrusci* in Latin sources clearly bear on Etruscans in our sense, that is, on the inhabitants of modern Tuscany as well as of the colonized regions in the Campania and the Po valley.¹⁰⁴ Harmony is not complete, though, as a number of sources continue to mention Τυρρηνοί in the Aegean.¹⁰⁵

2The Literary Sources

The Etruscans kindled great interest in the Greeks and Romans, especially in the latter. There are few “barbarian” peoples (Jews, Egyptians and possibly Carthaginians spring to mind) about whom so much was written in antiquity. The following, roughly chronological overview will thus necessarily be very selective. From the more than 180 authors in Buonamici’s collection—not exhaustive itself, as mentioned before—only a small fraction can be named and discussed.

Until the 5th century BCE, no writer seems to have engaged systematically with the Etruscans. References to them, some of which have been mentioned above, are few and far between. They appear casually and concern single details of their history, customs and the like; for example, most relevant passages in Greek tragedy just speak in passing of the “Etruscan trumpet” (Aesch. *Eum.* 567–68; Eur. *Rhes.* 988–89, *Phoen.* 1377–78, *Heracl.* 830–31). If Etruscans are mentioned in comedy, they are often associated with certain luxury goods (Poll. *Onom.* 7.86 = Cratinus, *PCG* fr. 139 σανδάλια Τυρρηνικά, “Etruscan sandals”; Ath. 15.700c = Pherecrates, *PCG* fr. 90).¹⁰⁶

This changed when Greek historiography came into its own in the course of the 5th century BCE. As many of the first historians wrote universal history, it is understandable that the Etruscans, too, caught their eye. Pride of place is due to Herodotus (c. 490–420 BCE): his narration of how half of the Lydians under their leader Tyrsenus, son of king Atys, emigrated to the land of the Umbrians because of a long-standing famine (Hdt. 1.94) was repeated by many ancient writers and initiated the notorious discussion about the origin of the Etruscans that still is not definitively settled today.¹⁰⁷ His account of the sea battle of Alalia in 540 BCE, where Etruscans and Phoenicians fought the Phoceans residing there (Hdt. 1.166–67), is another important piece of information. Besides Herodotus, a number of contemporary or somewhat younger historians also wrote about the Etruscans: Hellanicus of Lesbos (c. 480–395 BCE) thinks them Pelasgians who in ancient times emigrated from the Aegean to their present dwelling places (*FGrH* 4 F 4), but also says that some of them still live on Lesbos (and Lemnos?) in his own day (*FGrH* 4 F 71c, F 92). Thucydides (c. 460–395 BCE) mainly focuses on military history, informing us about the Etruscan collaboration with Athens during the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 6.88, 6.103, 7.53–54).¹⁰⁸ Ephorus (c. 405–330 BCE) knows the Etruscans as dangerous pirates who infested Sicily since the 8th century BCE at the latest (Strabo 6.2.2 = *FGrH* 70 F 137a).¹⁰⁹ Theopompus (c.378–320 BCE) is extensively quoted by Athenaeus on the libertine morals of the people (Ath. 12.517d–518b = *FGrH* 115 F 204).¹¹⁰ He also attempts, as Hesiodus had done before him, to integrate them in the framework of Greek myth, naming Cortona as the death place of Odysseus (schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 806 = *FGrH* 115 F 354).

Historiographic interest in the Etruscans seamlessly continued into the

Hellenistic era. An early and particularly arresting testimony comes from the Attidographer Philochorus (died 261 BCE), who continues the “Aegean” tradition; he has the Etruscans first reside in Athens itself, then emigrate to Lemnos and Imbros in the wake of conflicts with the Athenians, and finally carry off some Attic girls while they are celebrating the Brauronia (schol. Lucian *Catapl.* 25 = *FGrH* 328 F 100). This seems to be quite closely related to a contribution of Anticlides of Athens (living after Alexander) who calls the Etruscans Pelasgians who emigrated to Italy, while others settled on Lemnos and Imbros (Strabo 5.2.4 = *FGrH* 140 F 21).¹¹¹ Timaeus (c. 345–250 BCE) once more attributes loose morals to the people, as he asserts that their slave girls have to attend them naked (Ath. 4.153d and 12.517d = *FGrH* 566 F 1). He also exemplifies a further way of linking Etruria to the Greek mythographical tradition, namely through the journey of the Argonauts (Diod. Sic. 4.56.3 = *FGrH* 566 F 85).

The tendency to draw the Etruscans into the orbit of Greek myth is also shared by the Hellenistic poet Lycophron (c. 320–after 280 BCE) who has Odysseus and Aeneas meet Tarchon and Tyrrhenus at Cortona (*Alex.* 1238–49), where he also locates the former’s grave in the wake of Theopompus (*Alex.* 805–806). In addition, he provides us with a reading of the alleged immigration from Lydia that Herodotus himself would have liked, contextualizing it as one episode of an ongoing east-west conflict (*Alex.* 1351–61).¹¹²

Between the Late Classical period and early Hellenism, Etruscan customs also began to arouse the ethnographic interest of Academics and Peripatetics. Aristotle (384–322 BCE) is informed about concrete aspects of Etruscan politics such as a commercial treaty between them and Carthage (*Pol.* 3.5.10–11). Some fragments from his dialogues and Τυρρηνῶν νόμιμα (forming part of his ὁμίμα βαρβαρικά) speak of the cruelty of the Etruscans, their predilection for aulos music and their permissive manners (fr. 60, 607, 608 Rose). As far as the last point is concerned, Heraclides Ponticus (c. 390–310 BCE) follows suit (fr. 611.44 Rose).

The most important development of the Hellenistic era in the present context was the rise of Roman literature, which had a special interest in things Etruscan: Since the late third century BCE, the authors who tell us something about the people mainly are either Romans or Greeks closely associated with Rome. At the beginning, most of them are historians, as in the Greek world. The first fragments come from Fabius Pictor (fl.c. 200 BCE), who mentions the Etruscan contribution to early Roman history in his account of the latter (*FRH* 1 F 12, 15–17). He is followed by Cato the Elder (c.234–149 BCE), who in his *Origines* talks, inter alia, about the former Etruscan predominance in Italy (Serv. *Aen.* 11.567 = *FRH* 3 F 1.13). A couple of decades later, Polybius (c.200–120 BCE) shows himself to be well informed, as he knows not only, unsurprisingly, how the Etruscans were subdued by the Romans (Polyb. 1.6.4–6) but also that their settlement areas were larger before his own

time, including the Po valley and Campania (Polyb. 2.17.1–3). An important fragment (*FGrH* 87 F 119 = Diod. Sic. 5.40) has come down to us from Posidonius (c. 135–51 BCE):¹¹³ He stresses the earlier bravery and inventiveness of the people but maintains that they have now been seduced by the fertility of their country, succumbed to luxury and decadence and therefore lost their ancient power. Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE), who transmits this piece, is the next author to present us with extensive remarks on Etruscan history (thalassocracy, loss of the Po valley) and culture (piracy, haruspicy, influence on Rome); he mainly bases his text on earlier Hellenistic historiography, but also makes use of contemporary discussions.¹¹⁴ Even more information is provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy. The former, among numerous other remarks (e.g. his narrative about the attack of the Etruscans and other peoples on Cumae in 524 BCE, *Ant. Rom.* 7.2–3), devotes a section of his prehistory of Italy to the Etruscans. He rejects the Herodotean story of a Lydian origin (relying especially on Xanthus of Lydia who never had heard about it) as well as any other kind of immigration thesis and as the first extant author considers the people as autochthonous in its present area of settlement (*Ant. Rom.* 1.26–30).¹¹⁵ In Livy's first books, which treat the beginnings of Rome and the Roman Kingdom, the Etruscans are almost omnipresent. Later on, in the Early Republic, the subjugation of Etruria, beginning with Veii, is an important issue.¹¹⁶

Besides the historians, antiquarians and subject-specific writers come now to the foreground. The polyhistor Varro (c. 116–27 BCE) shows a keen interest in many aspects of Etruscan culture, especially in agriculture and religion, and in its influence on Rome as reflected in Etruscan toponyms, personal names and other words. Some of his notes are of considerable importance for Roman cultural history (e.g., *Ling.* 5.8: Mons Caelius named after the Etruscan leader Caele Vibenna, now epigraphically attested; *Ling.* 5.32: foundations of cities in Latium *Etrusco ritu*).¹¹⁷ The geographer Strabo (c. 63 BCE–after 23 CE) gives a concise overview of Etruria, including not only its physical geography and settlements, but also, on occasion, its economy and history (Strabo 5.2.2–9).¹¹⁸ Cicero is the first representative, as well as one of the most informative, of the long-lasting interest in Etruscan religion and its contribution to Roman religion, especially in divination, which he discusses in detail in *De natura deorum* and above all in *De divinatione*.¹¹⁹ Vitruvius's *De architectura* informs us about Etruscan traces in the Roman building tradition such as principles of city planning (*De arch.* 1.7.1–2), the Tuscan order in temple building (*De arch.* 4.6.6–4.7.5) or the Tuscan *atrium* (*De arch.* 6.3.1).¹²⁰ The work is our most important literary source by far on this aspect of Etruscan civilization.

Numerous remarks on Etruria and the Etruscans are scattered rather casually throughout the works of Augustan poets such as Virgil, Horace, Propertius and Ovid.¹²¹ Important passages include the self-presentation of the Etruscan god Voltumna/Vertumnus in Propertius 4.2, and above all the

second half of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas and the Trojans are presented as descendants of the Etruscans, and the cities of Etruria are viewed with obvious sympathy by the narrator and play a major role in the fight for Latium.¹²² Virgil draws extensively on mythological and antiquarian lore, parts of which are preserved by his ancient commentators, especially Servius (late fourth century CE).

The end of the Republic and the following decades also witnessed the only examples of ancient Etruscological monographs we know of. At least two books of *Τοπικα* are attested for Sostratus of Nysa¹²³ (first half of first century BCE). The only fragment preserved (Stob. *Flor.* 4.20.72 = *FGrH* 23 F 3) is mythographic. The famous grammarian and antiquarian Verrius Flaccus (c. 55 BCE–20 CE) wrote *Rerum Etruscarum libri* according to the *Scholia Veronensia* on Verg. *Aen.* 10.183 and 10.200. Finally, the emperor Claudius (10 BCE–54 CE) left no less than twenty books under the same title, according to Suetonius (*Claud.* 42). One interesting piece of information that probably figured there was also incorporated in a speech Claudius held at Lyon (*CIL* XIII 1668.16–25); it concerns Servius Tullius who allegedly came to Rome as a *sodalis* of Caele Vibenna under his Etruscan name, Mastarna.¹²⁴

With Claudius, we have reached the post-Augustan era. By now, the Etruscan civilization is virtually extinct and our sources therefore become more and more derivative. Genres proceeding by way of excerption from older sources come to the foreground: antiquarian literature, encyclopedic writing, lexicography and so on. This is confirmed ex negativo by a short look at historiography and poetry: little of importance that we would not know from older sources comes from Velleius Paterculus (c. 20 BCE–after 31 CE), Tacitus (c. 55–120 CE), Florus (second century CE) and the abridged version of Pompeius Trogus by Justinus (second / third century CE?). It appears significant that the most interesting remark from one of these authors concerns the imminent loss of Etruscan traditions under the early Principate and once more involves Claudius, who has the Roman senate decree measures to prevent the extinction of haruspicy (Tac. *Ann.* 11.15).¹²⁵ The *exempla* collection of Valerius Maximus (writing under Tiberius) is not more useful, with the possible exception of Val. Max. 1.1.1 in which the author explains how the Romans used to send some of their children to Etruria in the old times to let them learn the *Etrusca disciplina* there.¹²⁶ Poets such as Lucan (39–65 CE), Silius Italicus (c. 25–100 CE), Statius (c. 40–96 CE), Martial (c. 40–102 CE) and Juvenal (c. 60–after 127 CE) do not contribute much more than well-known commonplaces.¹²⁷

Authors concerned with specific disciplines of knowledge are somewhat more helpful. The *Quaestiones naturales* of Seneca the Younger (c. 4 CE–65 CE) contain some interesting notes on Etruscan ceraunoscopy, especially on the classification of thunderbolts (*Q. Nat.* 2.32.2, 2.39–41).¹²⁸ Pausanias (second century CE) gives us a precious piece of information about relations between Etruria and Greece in the Archaic period when he tells us that the

Etruscan king Arimnestus was the first of the barbarians to donate a votive offering at Olympia (Paus. 5.12.5). Tertullian (c. 160–220 CE) is the first of a number of Christian writers who mention the religious opinions and customs of Etruria in the context of their criticism of ancient religion (cf., e.g., his list of Etruscan city deities in *Apol.* 24.8). The collection of writings by the Roman land surveyors, the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* (compiled step by step over the Imperial period), can lay claim to special attention for a number of reasons: Its texts can be used with due caution to reconstruct pre-Roman forms of land ownership in Etruria, that is an important aspect of Etruscan economy,¹²⁹ contain information about how Roman *limitatio* founded itself on the *Etrusca disciplina* (pp. 10.20–11.8, 131.3–132.5 Thulin) and feature the so-called “Prophecy of Vegoia” (vol. 1, p. 350 Lachmann). The latter may be a rare example of a Latin text going back to an Etruscan original; the prophetic nymph Vegoia seems to voice Etruscan protest against the Roman reform of land-ownership in Italy in 91 BCE.¹³⁰

It is writers with encyclopedic interests, however, who provide the amplest information during this era. The Elder Pliny (23–79 CE) has some forty notes on Etruscan geography, antiquities, cultural history, religion and *mirabilia* of all sorts; for part of this material, he is our only or at least our oldest extant source.¹³¹ Plutarch (c. 45–125 CE) is greatly interested in the Etruscan involvement in Roman prehistory as well as in Etruscan history and cultural history itself. Among other things, he comments on Etruscan wanderings in the Aegean, Laconia, and Crete (*Quaest. Graec.* 21), an oracle of Tethys in Etruria (*Rom.* 18) and Pythagoras as an Etruscan (*Quaest. conv.* 8.7.1).¹³² In *De verborum significatu*, a second century CE extract by Sextus Pompeius Festus of a lost treatise by Verrius Flaccus, and in the secondary abridgement of Festus by Paul the Deacon (c. 725–799 CE), some twenty entries provide us with information about Etruscan religion and vocabulary.¹³³ Aelianus (c. 170–after 222 CE) likes to talk about Etruscan fishing, hunting (with the help of music! *NA* 12.46) and the luxurious, decadent Etruscan lifestyle in general. Athenaeus (fl. c. 200 CE) not only transmits the above-mentioned fragment of Theopompus, but also collects a number of other remarks on cultural history and mythology from older sources, which he always cites by name. In his *De die natali* (238 CE), Censorinus reports the opinions of the Etruscans on the duration of human life and sketches their famous *saecula* doctrine, basing himself largely on Varro (*DN* 11.6, 14.6, 17.5–6).¹³⁴

Moving on to Late Antiquity, the predominance of antiquarian, encyclopedic and lexicographical writing becomes even more striking. Among authors of more specific interests, the apologist Arnobius (died c. 330 CE) sees Etruscan religion as an extreme case of pagan superstition, calling Etruria *genetrix et mater superstitionis* (*Adv. nat.* 7.26). Some of his remarks on it—for example, his remarks about the four kinds of Penates and the twelve *dei consentes et complices* of the Etruscan pantheon (*Adv. nat.* 3.40)—are quite intriguing.¹³⁵ The only historian who contributes something

remarkable is Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–395 CE). He, too, is exclusively interested in Etruscan religion but sees it in a more positive light, as he approvingly notes the persisting role of Etruscan haruspicy and religious books in Roman state affairs. He may have been personally familiar with some of these texts, which he cites under specific titles (e.g., Amm. Marc. 23.5.10, *libri exercitiales*).¹³⁶ Rutilius Namatianus, by contrast, paints a tableau of decay and conjures up historical reminiscences as he sails along the coast of Etruria in *De reditu suo* (416 CE).

The antiquarian interests of Macrobius (c. 385–after 430 CE) include Etruscan mythical prehistory, cultural history, language and especially religion. Of particular interest are two remarks, which he implies go back to Etruscan *ostentaria*, on the divinatory value of unusual colors of sheep and on *arbores infelices* (*Sat.* 3.7.2, 3.20.3).¹³⁷ Martianus Capella (fifth century CE) also focuses on Etruscan religion. Among the pertinent passages, an overview of the sky and its divine inhabitants (*Mart. Cap.* 1.2.45–60) stands out as a reflection of Etruscan cosmology, since the sky is divided into sixteen regions according to Etruscan practice, but the details are a bewildering mess.¹³⁸ John the Lydian (490–after 560 CE), who was attracted to the Etruscans because of his curiosity about Roman antiquities and perhaps also because of his own Lydian origin, has much to say about their cultural and religious influence on Rome (cf., e.g., the preface to *De magistratibus*). He cites old and trustworthy authors such as Varro and in *De ostentis* (*praef.* 2–3) even invokes a literary dialogue between the famous Tages, a sage, gray-haired child, who was plowed out of the soil and became the founder of Etruscan religion,¹³⁹ and the culture hero Tarchon as well as other Etruscan writings. On top of it, *De ostentis* contains a brontoscopic calendar (*Ost.* 27–38), a piece on divination from earthquakes (*Ost.* 54–58) and a weather calendar (*Ost.* 59–70), all of which John claims to go back via Roman translators (Nigidius Figulus [fr. 83 Swoboda], a Vicellius and a Claudius Tuscus respectively) to Tages and Etruscan holy literature in general. It is unclear, however, if there ever were Etruscan originals to these pieces and how much genuinely Etruscan lore they transmit.¹⁴⁰ Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth century CE?) notably contributes to our knowledge of the Etruscan lexicon. The *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century CE) contain many entries on Etruscan cities and provide some material concerning the question of Etruscan presence in the Aegean.¹⁴¹

At the dawn of the Middle Ages, the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636 CE) comprise some twenty entries on Etruscan subjects, but only a handful of etymologies (*Etym.* 10.159: *lanista*; 18.14: *cassis*, 18.57: *veles*)¹⁴² are not known from older sources. As late as 800 CE, the *Liber glossarum* gives eight Etruscan month names.¹⁴³ From the Byzantine Empire, the *SUDA* (10th century CE) has a number of relevant items, among which an account of a supposedly Etruscan cosmogony plus doctrine of the ages (τ 1195 Adler s.v. Τυπηνία) stands out; the creation of the world in six steps, each of which

takes a thousand years, seems however to be based on Gen 1. Zonaras (12th century CE) and Tzetzes (c. 1110–1180 CE) just repeat well-known information, with the exception of a very full narrative about a social revolution in third century BCE Volsinii (Zonar. 8.7). Finally, Eustathius (c. 1110–1195 CE) narrates a romantic love story between an Etruscan pirate and an Athenian prisoner in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes 592.¹⁴⁴

3 Some General Remarks

Let us now briefly review the source situation as a whole and reflect on how it affects the nature of the information that has come down to us. Three points spring to mind in particular: First, with very few exceptions, ancient literature shows the Etruscans from the outside, so to speak. Second, most sources are comparatively late. Third, information is usually provided in bits and pieces.

(a) As to the first point, Etruscan literature itself, which certainly existed on religious (*libri haruspicini, fulgurales, rituales* etc.)¹⁴⁵ and historical topics,¹⁴⁶ is irretrievably lost. The same holds true for the Etruscological monographs by Sostratus, Verrius Flaccus and Claudius as well as for treatises on Etruscan religion by insiders, partly with Etruscan roots themselves, such as Aulus Caecina, Tarquinius Priscus, Nigidius Figulus, C. Fonteius Capito and Cornelius Labeo.¹⁴⁷ The extant sources, by contrast, almost invariably present us with a view from the outside. This has a number of important consequences.

Among the most fundamental of these may be counted a proneness to misunderstandings arising from cultural differences, a tendency to see the Etruscans as one uniform *ethnos*, passing over the numerous differences between the single city states that existed, and the strangeness with which the people was invested. This sense of strangeness in turn prompted ancient authors to highlight differences between Etruscan and Greco-Roman culture (emphasizing, for example, the comparable freedom Etruscan women enjoyed)¹⁴⁸ and at the same time to downplay foreign—especially Greek—influences on the Etruscans. While connections between the latter and the Greek world are sometimes reflected in myths and anecdotes, one could never guess from such hints the massive amount of Greek culture they absorbed since the 8th century BCE at the latest. The perception of Etruria as a strange world may also have kindled the debate about the people's origin, since both the immigration and the autochthony thesis can be seen as answers to the question of why they were so different from their neighbors: either because they had come from very far, or because they had lived in the same place for so long and retained their original way of life, while their environment was changing.

The label “view from the outside” must be specified, however, since it

actually means quite different things with regard to the Greeks on the one hand and the Romans on the other.¹⁴⁹ To the former, the Etruscans really were a foreign, strange people. Their view of them was predominantly negative. It was nourished mainly by ethnographic stereotypes (e.g., the *τροφή* motif) and by economic and military antagonism (e.g., the piracy topos resulting to some degree from conflicts over naval supremacy).¹⁵⁰ This does not mean, though, that the Greeks were unable to see anything positive in the Etruscans. They appreciated their highly developed material culture, recognized their inventiveness in arts and crafts and held their metalwork, clothing and *haute cuisine* in high regard.¹⁵¹

The perspective of the Romans was rather more complex. They not only had better insight into Etruscan culture because the Etruscans were their direct neighbors, but, more importantly, the Romans did not regard the Etruscans as just another foreign people, but acknowledged the fact that the Etruscans shared a part of their own early history, which led to a fundamentally ambivalent Roman attitude towards them. On the one hand, the Romans took over elements of the generally hostile Greek image of the people and displayed a certain Etruscophobia in connection with figures like Tarquinius Suberbus and events such as the wars that led to the subjugation of Etruria.¹⁵² On the other hand, they were keenly interested in Etruscan elements within their own culture and quick to acknowledge their debt to the Etruscans in many realms. This holds true, for example, for architecture, plastic art and painting, which were said to have been exclusively Etruscan under the kings (Varro in Plin. *HN* 35.15), for political symbols like the *sella curulis*, the *fascies* and the *toga praetexta*¹⁵³ and for public amusements such as gladiatorial fights and theatrical performances.¹⁵⁴ Finally, the Romans looked to the Etruscans as their masters in religious matters, on which more will be said in a moment.

(b) To the spatial and cultural distance at which the sources stand from the Etruscan civilization, a chronological removal is added. In fact, the quantity of evidence provided by ancient authors about the Etruscans stands in inverse proportion to the political and cultural vitality of the latter. Close to nothing is transmitted from the heyday of Etruscan power and prosperity in the Archaic period. Most relevant texts come from Hellenism, during which the Etruscans were already losing their political identity, and above all from the Roman Empire, by which time Etruscan culture had disappeared as a whole. This, too, in a number of ways conditions the kind and quality of information we get and the resulting image of the people.

To begin with, the belatedness of the sources means that most of our information is second-hand at best, which multiplies the possibilities for misunderstandings and distortions.

Moreover, to an author writing during the decline or after the extinction of the Etruscan civilization, the question of why it had ended so sadly occurred quite naturally. It was often answered by means of the idea, widespread and

influential in ancient historical thinking, that prosperity leads to decadence and to the loss of former greatness.¹⁵⁵ Accordingly, we are presented with a two-stage model of Etruscan character and history. In an early period, the Etruscans were brave warriors, powerful rulers of the whole of Italy¹⁵⁶ and masters of the sea (even if their thalassocracy could to some extent take the form of piracy).¹⁵⁷ Later, they lost their political and military preeminence because they were lured into decadence by their all-too-fertile country and gave themselves to a luxurious lifestyle, sumptuous banquets and licentious behavior.

Finally, the preponderance of late evidence goes some way to explain the prominence given to Etruscan religion, especially divination: On the one side, while the earlier Greek sources did not care about Etruscan religion at all, the later Roman sources maintained that Rome's most important cultural debt to Etruria concerned precisely this aspect. On the other side, since divination and other elements of Etruscan religion were integrated into the religious system of the Romans, they outlasted the vanishing of Etruscan culture as a whole for hundreds of years. As a result, the Etruscans came to appear as a people for whom religion was all-important (e.g., Livy 5.1.6), and their country was seen either as a hoard of precious knowledge about the divine or, by Christian writers, as a focal point of detestable superstition.¹⁵⁸ Until the very end of antiquity, the sources provide information about Etruscan methods of finding out the will of the gods and recognizing the course of destiny: extispicy, ceraunoscopy, interpretations of *ostenta*, the doctrine of the *saecula* and so on. "Etruscan" and especially "Tages" even became labels to be attached to any kind of divinatory literature, it seems, in the same way "Orpheus" could stand for cosmogonic poetry.¹⁵⁹ This means that we possess quite detailed information on Etruscan divination, but that it is often difficult to tell what is genuinely Etruscan, what has been modified or even created by the very act of Roman adoption and what is later falsification.

(c) The last point depends to some degree on circumstances already mentioned under the first two. As noted before, Etruscan literature itself as well as ancient Etruscography is lost. Among the transmitted evidence, historiography (with strong ethnographic interests) dominates during the Classical period and Hellenism, subject-specific writers in the Late Republic and the first decades of the Principate; after that, the most important sources are, broadly speaking, compilations of various kinds. But of the old historiographical sources, only the smaller part (Herodotus, Thucydides, Dionysius, Livy) is preserved more or less in its original form. Most of the authors in question (e.g., Theopompus, Timaeus, Fabius Pictor, Cato the Elder, Posidonius) survive only in fragments cited by writers of the last two classes, that is, subject-specific writers, antiquarians, encyclopedists, lexicographers and so on. Because such texts tend to break up their information into small units, that is the form in which it has, in most cases, reached us.

For this reason, we are ill-informed about Etruscan history in the proper sense of the word, because continuous historical narrative is precisely what can not be transmitted in atomistic form. By contrast, antiquarian knowledge lends itself naturally to such a kind of transmission, so we possess a quite substantial amount of information about various aspects of Etruscan culture from divination and religion to social order, economy, arts and crafts, food, lifestyle and language.

Furthermore, compilations are *per se* prone to copying each other. In this way, colorful bits and pieces are cited again and again and acquire a popularity that is out of proportion with their real importance. Over and over again we hear, for example, about the invention of the war-trumpet,¹⁶⁰ the cruel habit of tying the convicted to rotting corpses, or the discovery and the revelations of Tages. In this way, cultural history tends to dissolve into a collection of topoi.

It is presumably because of considerations such as these that the literary sources as a whole are sometimes thought to be less significant for our knowledge of Etruscan culture than the archeological and epigraphic material.¹⁶¹ Is this assumption correct? It certainly is with regard to the inner life of the culture. There is no denying that the monuments provide a fuller and more authentic picture in this respect. Only occasionally is their testimony nuanced or fleshed out by literary evidence.¹⁶² When it comes to the interaction between the Etruscans and their neighbors, however, the literary evidence becomes indispensable. What little we know about Etruscan contacts with Carthage, clashes with the Greeks of Southern Italy, influence on and final subjugation by Rome, we know from literary sources in the first place.¹⁶³ If, finally, the way a people is seen by its contemporaries and the afterlife of its culture in later times are also considered part of its history, in this respect the literary sources are nearly all-important.

It has rightly been stated that the archeological and the philological evidence about the Etruscans as a rule do not correspond well,¹⁶⁴ and given the above-mentioned perspective and chronological differences between them, it could hardly be otherwise. However, this fact can be seen not only as a hindrance, but also as an advantage: If the two kinds of sources seldom corroborate each other, they make good for this shortcoming by mutually complementing each other, showing us the Etruscans as they saw themselves and as they were seen by other ancient cultures respectively. In this way, we get a more graphic picture of them than we could otherwise hope for.

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Giuseppe M. Della Fina

4History of Etruscology

Abstract: The history of the Etruscology must be told within the broader framework of the history of archaeology and—even more broadly—of culture. It should become apparent that reviewing the rediscovery of the Etruscan world may constitute a valuable opportunity for understanding the stages of the recovery of Antiquity and of the role it played in medieval, more recent, and contemporary culture. In reviewing the different stages of this event, we may further point out that over time, the techniques of research were refined, and note that it will be possible to observe the gradual adoption of methods of historical investigation. It is important, moreover, to indicate that “neutral” research, as research on the Etruscans might seem to be, is in fact often freighted with ideological weight. In sixteenth-century Tuscany, the Etruscans were seen as the precedent and the justification of Cosimo I de’ Medici’s policies, which strove to broaden the Grand Duchy’s sphere of influence. At other times and in different circumstances, the federal structure of their state was instead put in evidence, as in the decades preceding the Unification of Italy, or it was desired to credit an anti-imperialist significance to the confrontation between Etruscans and Rome.

Keywords: Etruscomania, *etruscheria*, etruscologia, history of research, history of studies

Introduction

To prevent this review of the field from becoming a sterile catalogue of more or less famous personages and more or less useful works, the story must be told within the broader framework of the history of archaeology and—even more broadly—of culture. It should become apparent that reviewing the rediscovery of the Etruscan world may constitute a valuable opportunity for understanding the stages of the recovery of Antiquity and of the role it played in medieval, more recent, and contemporary culture.

In reviewing the different stages of this event, we may further point out that over time, the techniques of research were refined, and note that it will be possible to observe the gradual adoption of methods of historical investigation.

It is important, moreover, to indicate that “neutral” research, as research on the Etruscans might seem to be, is in fact often freighted with ideological weight. In sixteenth-century Tuscany, the Etruscans were seen as the precedent and the justification of Cosimo I de’ Medici’s policies, which strove to broaden the Grand Duchy’s sphere of influence. At other times and in different circumstances, the federal structure of their state was instead put in evidence, as in the decades preceding the Unification of Italy, or it was desired

to credit an anti-imperialist significance to the confrontation between Etruscans and Rome.

1 Initial research

Traditionally, the beginning of research on the Etruscans is taken to coincide with the activity of the Dominican monk Annio da Viterbo (1432?–1502).¹⁶⁵ Born in Viterbo, Annio studied in Florence and graduated in theology, then moved to Genoa where he taught grammar and began to work in astrology, successfully composing predictions and horoscopes for a variety of influential people of his time. He returned to Viterbo, where he took an interest in local history, especially Etruscan antiquity, and published the successful *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII* (1498). Using sources both legitimate and not, which he edited himself, the Dominican monk suggested at first that the Etruscans were the direct descendants of Osiris and, in turn, of Noah, known in Italy as Janus by the Latins and as Vertumnus by the Etruscans. His theories, notwithstanding the swift acknowledgement of the illegitimacy of some of the sources he used, enjoyed wide and long-lasting regard because they seemed to succeed in connecting the evidence of the Old Testament with that of the classical sources that were in the process of rediscovery, thus melding two distinct cultural traditions.

Similar theoretical positions were maintained by another well-known Viterban, Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532), who in his *Historia XX saeculorum* asserted that the Etruscans were natives of Chaldaea and the civilizers of Italy, and that their history developed in parallel with that of Israel. The Etruscan *lucumoni* would correspond to the Patriarchs of Israel.¹⁶⁶

In Tuscany, early and special attention to the Etruscans was due to the historian Giovanni Villani (ca. 1280–1348), who in his *Cronica* records with admiration the Etruscan past and compares it with the quite different present that thrived on the same ground, recommending the Etruscan governing ability as a political model for the Florentine ruling classes of the time.¹⁶⁷

The same enterprise, but more explicitly, was maintained by Coluccio Salutati, who in a letter dated July 19, 1388, suggested looking to the Etruscans in progressing toward civil and moral renewal. Leonardo Bruni—Salutati's pupil—continued along the same lines by praising the Etruscans and their republican system, as opposed to the imperial system of Rome, in his *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII*.¹⁶⁸

In Tuscany, attention was paid—however prematurely—to individual objects that more or less accidentally came to light. Between 1491 and 1495, Francesco di Giorgio completed a drawing of a cinerary urn found in Chiusi; in 1507, Leonardo da Vinci drew the plan and elevation of a monumental hypogeum found at Castellina in Chianti. In the mid sixteenth century, Vasari

recalled another monumental hypogeum discovered at Chiusi that was mistakenly identified as Porsenna's. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger had previously drawn a variety of Etruscan antiquities, and offered a reconstruction of the tomb of the famous king from Chiusi on the basis of the description given by Varro and transmitted by Pliny.¹⁶⁹

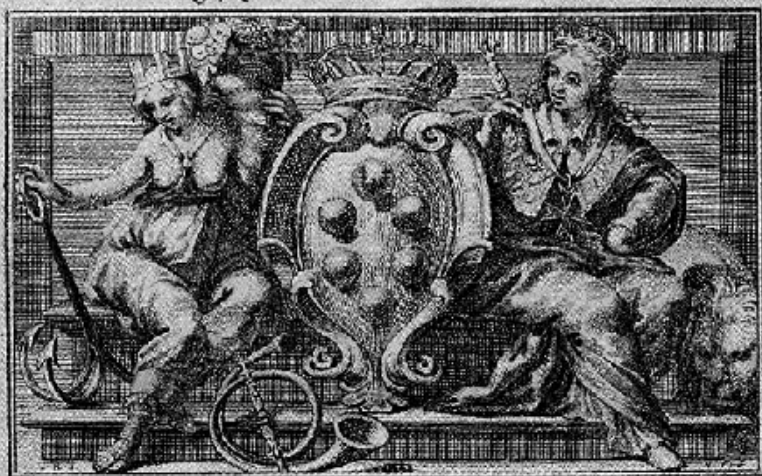
The architecture of the Etruscans had already been appreciated by Leon Battista Alberti and by Filarete (Antonio di Pietro Averlino), while positive judgment of Etruscan art was passed by Giorgio Vasari, who, in the famous Chimera of Arezzo, found in 1553, recognized "an Etruscan style" as opposed to a Greek style. Alberti chose to refer to the plan of the Etruscan temple—known from the description given by Vitruvius—in his project for the church of Saint Andrew in Mantua.¹⁷⁰

Still in Tuscany, already during the fifteenth century a passion had developed among the Medici family for collecting Etruscan finds, or taking them. Donatello was the first curator of the hoard gathered by Cosimo the Elder. We also know of some items given to Lorenzo the Magnificent, including a statue with inscriptions from Pistoia, an inscribed terra-cotta urn from Siena, vases from Arezzo, and a ceramic vase from Greece.¹⁷¹

The second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who became pope (1513–1521) under the name of Leo X, commissioned Baldassarre Peruzzi to depict events from Etruscan and Roman history in a room of the Campidoglio.¹⁷² In this new cultural climate, the accent shifted (and would do so increasingly in the future) from the republican organization of the Etruscan city-states, which had been extolled by Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni, to the figure of the monarch Porsenna.¹⁷³

Under grand duke Cosimo I (1519–1574), there began to be attributed to the Etruscans an ever-increasing ideological value. He proclaimed himself *Magnus Dux Etruriae* and in his court propaganda, his politico-military behavior came to find precedent and—to some extent—motivation in the Etruscan past. This interest drove the increase in acquisitions of antiquities and added to the Medician collection three especially prestigious works discovered between 1541 and 1566—the Minerva, the Chimera, and the *Arringatore* (the Orator).¹⁷⁴ The grand duke also established the Accademia Fiorentina, which was joined by most of the intellectuals who gravitated to the court. Their work often returned to the theme of the Etruscans' supremacy, successfully reviving, in the debate about the language, the thesis that was initially elaborated in pontifical circles. In the *Gello*, P. F. Giambullari stated that the Etruscan language underlay the Tuscan language and that it could not be understood without a thorough grounding in Hebrew and Chaldaean.¹⁷⁵

THOMÆ DEMPSTERI
DE
ETRURIA REGALI LIBRI VII.
NUNC PRIMUM EDITI
CURANTE
THOMA COKE
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ ARMIGERO
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COSMI III.
MAGNI DUCIS ETRURIÆ.
M G



FLORENTIÆ. M.DCC. XXIII.

Fig. 4.1: Thomas Dempster, *De Etruria regali*, Florentiae 1723 (Photo Delia Fina)

In 1551, the first book devoted to the Etruscans was published—significantly, it is dedicated to Cosimo I—by Guillaume Postel: *De Etruriae regionis quae prima habitata est originibus, institutis, religione et moribus et in primis de aurei saeculi doctrina et vita praestantissima quae divinationis*

The seventeenth century could have opened with the appearance of another monograph dedicated to the Etruscans, the monumental *De Etruria regali*, by Thomas Dempster, a Scottish teacher at the athenaeum in Pisa. *De Etruria regali* had been written between 1616 and 1619, but remained unpublished for another century. Dempster used the ancient and Renaissance sources that were available to him and any antiquities that could be recognized as Etruscan. The work includes encomia toward the ruling house of the Medici, for whom he arrived at the hypothesis of Etruscan origin, but Dempster's work did not see the light of day until a century later (Fig. 4.1).¹⁷⁷

During the seventeenth century, major new collections of antiquities were founded that featured Etruscan items, albeit on a small scale compared to Greco-Roman items. One such example is the assemblage gathered in Rome by the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher. The Volterranean aristocrat Curzio Inghirami was certainly a unique figure. Inghirami forged Etruscan and Roman inscriptions and published them in a volume—*Ethruscarum antiquitatum fragmenta*—printed in Frankfurt in 1637 to promote his own native city. The scholar Leone Allacci promptly identified them as fakes, but Inghirami did not recant and continued to defend his actions.¹⁷⁸

Interest in the Etruscan world continued—albeit in a minor way—in the Papal States as well, where, understandably, more attention was paid to Rome's imperial past. In 1669 we hear of research carried out at Veii on behalf of cardinal Flavio Chigi.

2The eighteenth century: *Etruscheria*

The lukewarm interest in the Etruscan world characteristic of the 1600s changed profoundly in the next century. Thomas Dempster's unpublished manuscript was acquired by the English bibliophile Thomas Coke, who entrusted its publication and the necessary revisions to the antiquarian Filippo Buonarroti. The work appeared in 1723–1724 and set off a period of considerable interest in the Etruscans, which has received the name Etruscomania (It. *etruscheria*). Scipione Maffei, one of its most influential practitioners, observed that Dempster's volume had the principal merit of stimulating the research of many scholars.¹⁷⁹

During this cultural period, the most amazing and varied achievements were attributed to the Etruscans, including feminine beauty. The principal actors of the time were above all intellectuals and scholars active in communities with a significant Etruscan past. To glorify the Etruscans was for them a way of singing the praises of their own native or adopted cities.

In this intellectual milieu, the figure of Monsignor Mario Guarnacci (1701–1785) stands out. Born in Volterra, Guarnacci studied in Florence and Pisa,

and then moved to Rome, where he undertook a successful ecclesiastical career that was interrupted suddenly in 1757. Returning to the city of his birth, he focused his studies on the Etruscans. His most important work was *Origini Italiane* (1767), in which he maintained the chronological priority of the Pelasgians-Etruscans over the other peoples of Italy and Greece.¹⁸⁰

The other leaders of the debate were the greatest antiquarians of the age, including the Scipione Maffei, Anton Francesco Gori, and Giovan Battista Passeri. Gori, a Florentine, is responsible for a series of editorial projects of great promise, such as the *Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae in Etruria urbibus extantes*, the *Museum Etruscum*, and the *Museum Florentinum* (Fig. 4.2).

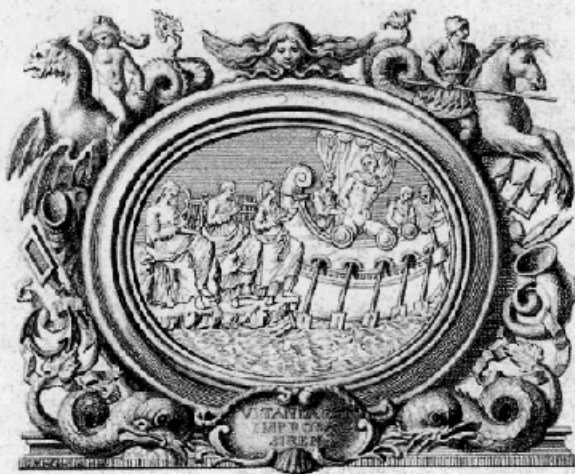
Maffei, from Verona, was the author of, among other things, *Etruria illustrata*, which remained unpublished, and of *Della nazione etrusca e degli Itali primitivi*, which was published in 1739.¹⁸¹

Around 1730, a dispute between Maffei and Gori arose about the Etruscan alphabet, which degenerated into a real quarrel. In competition, the two of them set out on tours through the Etruscan region to gather information and materials. Gori reached Arezzo, Cortona, Perugia, Chiusi, Montepulciano, Siena, Poggibonsi, Pogni, Panzano, and San Casciano Val di Pesa. Maffei, on the other hand, got to Rome, Civita Castellana, Tarquinia (at the time called Corneto), Bolsena, Chiusi, Montepulciano, Volterra, Siena, Monteriggioni, and Florence.¹⁸²

Philo-Etruscan attitudes are also found in the theoretical writings of Giovan Battista Piranesi, and in Girolamo Tiraboschi's wide-ranging work *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1772). The former, in *Ragionamento apologetico in difesa dell'architettura egizia e toscana* (1769), focuses on the debased artistic output of Etruria, which he believed to have profoundly influenced that of Rome. Tiraboschi proposed that Italian literature could have sprung from the Etruscan, though he did not gloss over the problems.¹⁸³

The first Italian reformers were also fascinated by the Etruscans, and they tended to accentuate their republican-style institutional arrangements and the federal structure of their state. Among these we may mention the jurist Giovanni Maria Lampredi (*Saggio sopra la filosofia degli antichi Etruschi*, 1756) and Carlo Denina (*Rivoluzioni d'Italia*, 1769). The topic of the Etruscans also came up in the nascent journalism of the day, as is suggested by the experience of the weekly *Novelle Letterarie* published in Florence from 1740 on the initiative of Giovanni Lami.¹⁸⁴

M V S E V M
E T R V S C V M
EXHIBENS INSIGNIA
VETERVM ETRVSCORVM
MONVMENTA
 AEREIS TABVLIS CC. NVNC PRIMVM
 EDITA ET ILLVSTRATA
 OBSERVATIONIBVS
ANTONII FRANCISCI GORII
 PVELICI HISTORIARVM PROFESSORIS.
 VOLVMEN PRIMVM.



FLORENTIAE. ANNO. CIO. IO. CC. XXXVII.

IN AEDIBVS AVCTORIS REGIO PERMISSV EXCVDIT
 CAIRATANVS ALBIZINIVS TYPOGRAPHVS.

Fig. 4.2: Anton Francesco Gori, *Museum Etruscum*, Florentiae 1737 (Photo Della Fina)



Fig. 4.3: Coat of arms of the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona (Photo Della Fina)

Interest in the Etruscan world was not limited to the Italian antiquarian and cultural sphere. Among the foreign scholars, at least Anne-Claude-Philippe de Caylus and Johann Joachim Winckelmann must be remembered. In his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), the latter attempted the first critical analysis of Etruscan art, proposing a classification and subdivision into three styles. The first and oldest was quite “rigid” and similar to the Egyptian; the second was more developed; and the third was characterized by slavish imitation of Greek art. He ended with a negative evaluation of

Etruscan artistic output, while continuing to recognize its chronological primacy, whose limitations he identified by attributing them to the character and habits of thought of the Etruscans: “It seems that they were more inclined to melancholy and sadness than the Greeks ... and it may be observed that a man endowed with such a temperament is undoubtedly suited to the deepest study, but it leads to profound sensations; for this reason, the sort of mild emotion is not generated in him that renders the spirit perfectly sensible to the beautiful.”¹⁸⁵

During the eighteenth century, an important role was played by the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona, which was founded in 1726 by the brothers Marcello and Ridolfino Venuti (Fig. 4.3), and the Società Colombaria in Florence, established in 1735.¹⁸⁶

3Nineteenth century: Etruscology

A severe verdict on the results of eighteenth-century scholarship was handed down by Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810), who is considered—not without reason—the father of scientific Etruscology (Fig. 4.4). The author of *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia* (1789) was responsible for the almost completely definitive decipherment of the Etruscan alphabet and an initial sketch of phonetics and grammar. His judgment of Etruscan art—in comparison with that authoritatively expressed by Winckelmann—was less reductive but did recognize the influence of the Greek experience.¹⁸⁷ Meanwhile, a different periodization of Etruscan art into five phases was proposed by Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812).¹⁸⁸

The nineteenth century opened with the publication of a significant volume, *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* (1810) by Giuseppe Micali, whose innovativeness was not understood at the time in antiquarian circles because of its primarily historical and economic approach. Its underestimation must also have influenced the intellectual development of the author, who was only loosely tied to the Italian scholarly environment. The picture of the nineteenth-century scholar was fully reevaluated in the 1970s and 1980s by Massimo Pallottino, who recognized Micali's role as the “definitive start” of Pre-Roman Italian historiography comparable to that of William Mitford for Greek historiography and Barthold Georg Niebuhr for Roman.¹⁸⁹

Another important book was published in 1828, *Die Etrusker* by Karl Otfried Müller, which is considered the first handbook of Etruscology; it contains yet another critical judgment (or prejudgment) on the artistic output: “The art of Etruria seems like an exotic plant.”¹⁹⁰

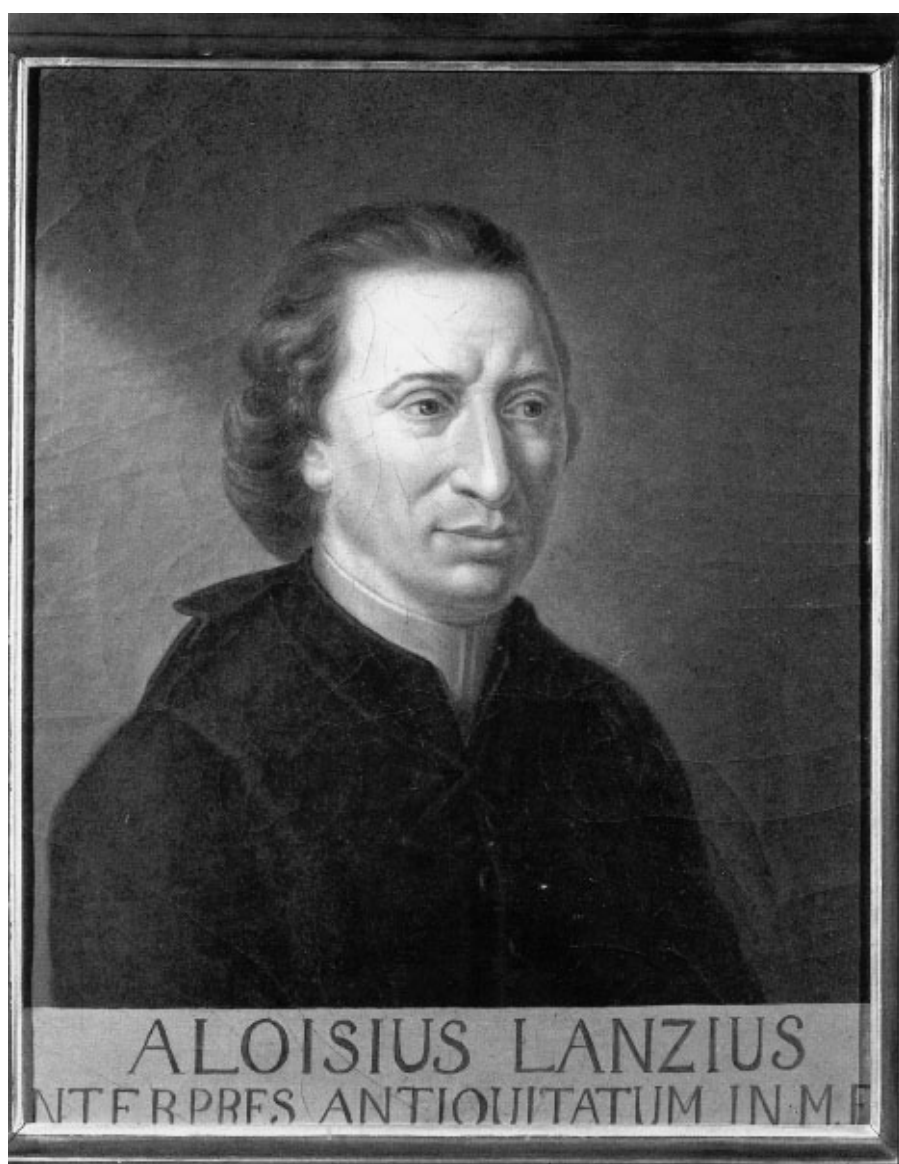


Fig. 4.4: Portrait of Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810). Oil painting, circa 1800 (Photo Della Fina)

Archaeological investigation on the ground carried out during the nineteenth century yielded considerable results. Entire necropolises were investigated (and often plundered), numerous sacred precincts were brought to light, and some major cities were located. Among the most important undertakings was the discovery of the necropolis of Vulci, accomplished by the prince-archaeologist Luciano Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon. His successful excavations, carried out with innovative methods for the time, allowed him to amass a noteworthy collection, which was soon dispersed. He

was also a late adherent to “Philo-Italic” theories. For example, he continued to maintain the Etruscan origin of the Greek vases he discovered—against the opinions of Luigi Lanzi and Eduard Gerhard—and the supremacy of Etruscan art. These opinions were probably also due to the desire to curry favor with pontifical authority and, more generally, toward the nascent “public opinion” of the Italian peninsula, hoping to build a political future for his own family in Italy.¹⁹¹ This is not to say that the prince considered the Philo-Italic positions outmoded, and that he favored them solely to exploit them, but that he realized they concealed ideal and political values and here recognized the ideological bases for the more or less imminent redemption of Italy.¹⁹²

Successful campaigns of excavation also concerned other sites in southern Etruria. At Cerveteri, in 1834, fifty-three chamber tombs were discovered, including the tombs of the Shields and Chairs and the tomb of the Painted Animals. A few years later, the archpriest Alessandro Regolini and General Vincenzo Galassi found the famous tomb that bears their names. At Tarquinia, many of the painted tombs we know today were discovered—among them the tomb of the Baron, found by August Kestner in 1827, and the tombs of the Triclinium, the Querciola, and the Typhon, brought to light respectively in 1830, 1831, and 1832.¹⁹³

In central and northern Etruria, the most thoroughly investigated city was Chiusi, where the antiquities market was especially rapacious. Over several decades, trafficking in archaeological objects in the area became an economic activity of primary importance, second only to agriculture.¹⁹⁴ At Perugia, in 1840, the Hypogeum of the Volumni was discovered and promptly published by Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli.¹⁹⁵

The first half of the century also saw the dynamism of singular archeologist-entrepreneurs like Alessandro François, who has given his name to a very famous painted tomb in Vulci, and the members of the Campanari family. Originally from Tuscania, they were among the promoters of a show organized in London in January of 1837, which enjoyed great success in England.¹⁹⁶

Special importance accrues to the 1829 founding of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, which, through a compact network of corresponding members, succeeded in documenting the finds that continued to be made, preserving their memory. The Istituto also maintained solid relationships with the contemporary flourishing trade of antiquities.

The opening decades of the nineteenth century also saw the founding of several museums devoted to Etruscan antiquity, among them the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in the Vatican, which opened in 1837.¹⁹⁷

The fevered activity of these years flowed together in the volume *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* by George Dennis (first edition 1848), which was destined for remarkable and long-lasting success. Born in London in 1814, Dennis undertook a diplomatic career, which culminated in postings as consul in Crete, Sicily, and Smyrna, but continued to cultivate his interest in

literature and archaeology. They were combined in his book on the Etruscans, which was updated and reprinted several times.¹⁹⁸

The second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a further increase in the documentary base. The excavations carried out in the middle of that period were already realized to be important, but others were added, including Orvieto (the Etruscan Velzna) with the 1863 discovery in Settecamiini of two painted tombs, which preserve the name of the discoverer Domenico Golini, and the excavation of the necropolises of Crocifisso del Tufo and of Cannicella.¹⁹⁹

In the first decades of Italian Unification, there was renewed attention to archaeological museums centered on Etruscan themes. In 1870, one was opened in Florence, followed by one in Bologna (1881) and the Villa Giulia in Rome (1889). In these decades, primarily on the initiative of German scholars, *corpora* were still dedicated to Etruscan mirrors (the project had begun in 1839), cinerary urns, and inscriptions. Other works of synthesis also appeared, such as Jules Martha's handbook *L'art étrusque* (1889), where the negative evaluation of Etruscan art does not appear to have been modified at all.²⁰⁰

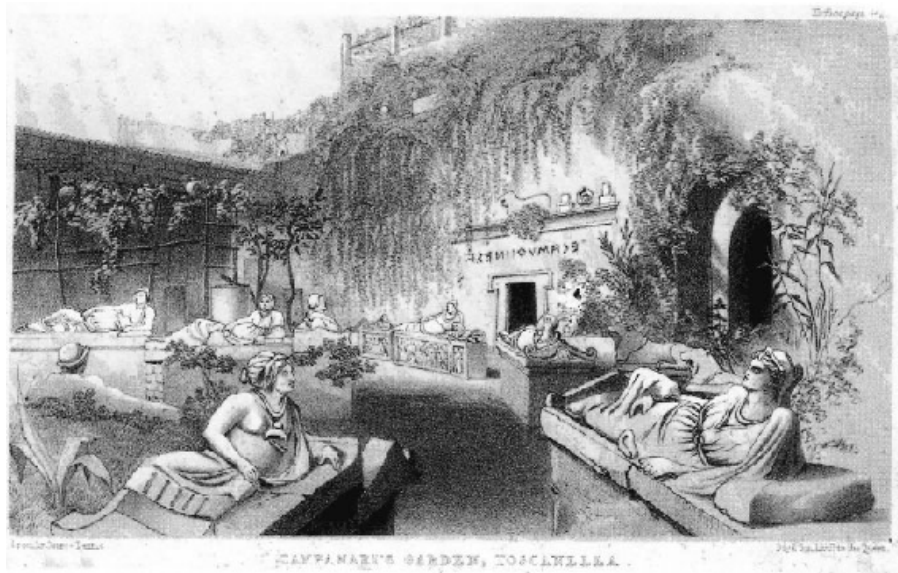


Fig. 4.5: View of the Campanari Garden, Tuscania (after Dennis 1848)

4The twentieth century

The 1916 discovery of the Apollo of Veio, in a vastly different cultural climate, contributed to altering the verdict on Etruscan art. The “limitations” designated by Winckelmann and those who followed him became “values” in

the interpretations of the artistic avant-garde critics of the 1920s and 1930s, who were inclined to transcend naturalistic and figurative art.²⁰¹

In 1928, the first Congresso Internazionale Etrusco was organized (preceded in 1926 by the first Convegno Nazionale Etrusco), and in 1932 the Istituto di Studi Etruschi e Italici was officially recognized, which has played a central role in the development of Etruscological research ever since.

In the first half of the twentieth century, excavations in the necropolises continued (Antonio Minto's discoveries at Populonia are especially noteworthy), and useful collections—at least Arvid Andrén's *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples* (1939–1940) must be mentioned—and a variety of monographs on individual sites were published. Among these we may highlight those dedicated to Chiusi by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1925), to Tarquinia by Massimo Pallottino (1937), and to Populonia by Antonio Minto (1943).

The central figure of twentieth-century Etruscology is M. Pallottino (1909–1995), to whom is owed the ascent of the study of the Etruscans and the other peoples of ancient Italy to the dignity of an independent scientific discipline (Fig. 7.1.). Among the results of his work is the solution he proposed to the problem of Etruscan origins—which he began by examining Herodotus—arrived at by shifting attention from the question of origin to the question of the formation of the people. Among his other major contributions, he enhanced our comprehension of the Etruscan language and of the historical development of the Etruscans, who he saw fully participating in the cultural sphere of the Italian peninsula of the first millennium BCE. Furthermore, Pallottino was the organizer and director of successful excavations, including of the Pyrgi sanctuary in the environs of Caere (Cerveteri), which yielded the renowned bilingual gold tablets with inscriptions in Etruscan and Phoenician.²⁰²

The second half of the twentieth century was characterized by the work of Pallottino and his school. Excavations were begun that focused primarily on dwellings and commercial structures, breaking with the tradition that—as we have seen—favored the necropolises. Close to the excavation of the Pyrgi sanctuary should be mentioned the investigation of the residential quarters of the center of Acquarossa near Viterbo, advanced by the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, and of Murlo (near Siena), directed by American archaeologists.²⁰³

In more recent years, scientific investigations have concerned the urban areas of several major *poleis*: Cerveteri, under the direction of Mauro Cristofani (who was also responsible for the excavation of several buildings in the industrial quarter of Populonia); Tarquinia, explored by Maria Bonghi Jovino; and Veii. Excavations have not been lacking in commercial areas such as quarters dedicated to craftsmen, ports, and factories. On this subject, we may mention the excavation, carried out by Giovannangelo Camporeale, of the installation near the lake of Accesa that is closely linked with mining.

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Maurizio Harari

5Etruscan Art or Art of the Etruscans?

Abstract: It is agreed that Etruscan art may be associated with the whole range of figural pieces produced in the historic region usually referred to as Etruria, and with a period extending from the Early Iron Age to the Middle Hellenistic (ninth–second centuries BCE). This definition, though seemingly obvious, presents us with a historical and ethnic context which is both challenging and compelling.

As Greek art belongs to the Greeks and is an expression of what it is considered Greek, so must Etruscan art belong to the Etruscans and reveal specific elements of their cultural identity. We may question, however, whether it is really justified to claim to be able to identify a uniform and consistent Greek identity among the fragmented Greek city-states (for as long as they maintained their independence and autonomy) or, later, within the variegated context of the Mediterranean koine of the Hellenistic era. As a consequence, and much more seriously, we must face the problem of recognizing a *single* Etruscan identity reflected by manifestations of art, which, although local, developed under the influence of concepts that emerged largely from ethnically Greek—and not Etruscan—contexts. We may say, then, that the paradigm for Etruscan art was in fact derived from a different source, namely Greek art (though of questionable homogeneity), and that this source paradoxically became the determining criterion of an Etruscan identity, always defined in the negative, *ie.* as non-Greek.

We mean that, if Etruscan art may be said to rely on Greek sources, its alleged original elements must be sought on those occasions when this dependence on the Greeks appears to have become somewhat looser or to have lessened.

Keywords: antiquity, renaissance, iconology, Etruscan art's history

Introduction

It is agreed that Etruscan art may be associated with the whole range of figural pieces produced in the historic region usually referred to as Etruria, and with a period extending from the Early Iron Age to the Middle Hellenistic (ninth–second centuries BCE). This definition, though seemingly obvious, presents us with a historical and ethnic context which is both challenging and compelling.

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We mean that, if Etruscan art may be said to rely on Greek sources, its alleged original elements must be sought on those occasions when this dependence on the Greeks appears to have become somewhat looser or to have lessened.

1In antiquity

This critical dilemma is evident in the reflections of at least two ancient writers who, united by an idea of ethnicity which is far less problematic than our own, identified Etruscan art as possessing the features of an exemplary non-Greek artistic language.

Strabo (17.1.28) compared the bas-reliefs which adorn the “wings” of Egyptian temples with those of archaic Greek and Etruscan art, a suggestion that was to enjoy an extremely long life. Some seventeen centuries later, Johann Winckelmann and Christian Heyne likewise identified a primitive and “Egyptianizing” phase of Etruscan art.²⁰⁴

According to the ancients, just what this so-called “Egyptian” Etruscan art was is unclear, but a well-known passage in Quintilian (*Inst.* 12.10.7–9) may be of assistance. It narrates a sort of evolutionary sequence of Greek bronze sculpture, and places the works of Callon and Hegesias next to Etruscan pieces (*Tuscanicis proxima*) on the basis of a chronological-stylistic parameter related to the hardness of their modeling or shape. The rigidity of modeling to which Quintilian refers would have gradually softened, from the most archaic sculptures (and therefore the more “Tuscan”) in the works of the masters of Aegina, up to the time of Calamis and Myron. The use of this hard approach seems to have lessened with the *diligentia* and the *decor* (of Polyclitus), and to have been finally abandoned in the works of Lysippus and Praxiteles. Therefore, the ideal of softness in sculpture should be assumed to be the same as naturalness—that is, naturalism (Lysippus’s *veritas*); and the ideal of hardness, which seemed to be so characteristically Etruscan (or Egyptian), to be nothing but a lack of naturalism. When one finds in the same essay (12.10.1) the possible suggestion of a comparison that claimed some similarity between Tuscan sculpture and Asian eloquence, and so between Greek sculpture and Attic eloquence (*ut Graecis Tuscanicae statucae, ut*

Asianus eloquens Attico), one would understand that the lack of naturalism of Etruscan art was caused not only by its morphological delay, but also by an overload of exaggerated, unnatural schemata and postures.

We have stressed these passages of ancient literature because they contain more than one of the slogans that extend through all of the (modern) history of Etruscan art criticism: the idea of the persistently exotic and archaic connotations and an almost rhetorical emphasis on an artistic language that seemed to belong more to the original figural world of the eastern Mediterranean than to the later spread of the great Greek naturalism.

2In modernity

2.1From Renaissance to Enlightenment

As early as the sixteenth century, the penetrating stylistic comments made by Giorgio Vasari on the impressive bronze known as the Chimaera (unearthed in November 1553 during work on the fortifications of Arezzo)²⁰⁵ highlighted the contradictory “Etruscan manner” of this piece. The stylistic character of Etruscan sculpture—indicated by the “clumsiness” of the Chimaera’s mane—was recognized on the basis of a somewhat vague notion of Greek art, which Vasari was able to gather from his knowledge of Roman sculpture.

We must, therefore, seek the critical fate of Etruscan art—although considered to be indigenous, Tuscan and thus Italian—between the poles of Egypt and Greece. In the fundamental theoretical debates of the eighteenth century, the studies of Winckelmann and Heyne and the work of the Count of Caylus and the Abbot Luigi Lanzi began to understand the formative history of the Etruscan artistic language in terms of its participation in a process of Hellenization, whereby it was gradually freed from those primitive elements—whether Egyptian or Pelasgian or Egyptian and Pelasgian—from which it had in part originated.²⁰⁶ It is important to note that by this understanding, it is simply not possible to identify any unmistakably Etruscan elements within the works of the more advanced—and so, more fully Hellenized—stages. As a consequence, such ethnic, non-Greek elements were sought in intermediate stylistic periods. Winckelmann’s so-called “second style” refers to the “strained and violent” figures—colored, we might say, by an Asian eloquence—that were taken as an indication of a collective psychology characterized by a sense of jealously guarded freedom and violent melancholy, personality traits which can be applied to the Tuscan people of the Middle Ages and beyond.²⁰⁷

The recognizably “Etruscan” elements of Etruscan art were therefore based on the extent to which they differed from Greek art. The latter abounds in attractive and authoritative models, for just this reason having been called

“classical;” but a truly “classical” supreme model is eminently inimitable. In such a perspective, the unavoidable failure of Etruscan art had to be ascribed to a hereditary predisposition and temperament. Here we may notice a significant deviation from the ideology of the Enlightenment. The early romantic concept of a “spirit of the people” was even being applied to the visual arts.

2.2 Nineteenth century

Etruscan studies in the nineteenth century, which had developed alongside advances in archaeology and epigraphy as sciences with an increasingly solid methodological foundation, yielded useful corpora of figural monuments, including engraved mirrors and urns with reliefs. But they addressed the theme of the difference between Greek and Etruscan art in nothing more than taxonomic terms (this was particularly the case with discussions of decorated pottery).²⁰⁸ In comparison with the intense debate of Winckelmann’s time, scholars did not take significant steps toward a general historical interpretation of Etruscan art until the end of the century, when the synthesis by Jules Martha—despite the promising title of *L’art étrusque*—was nothing more than a comprehensive, purely antiquarian survey.²⁰⁹

2.3 Early twentieth century

The most critical period for debate on Etruscan art is in fact the twentieth century, with a particularly lively phase, at least in Italy, from the 1920s to the 1940s. The reasons for this chronological and cultural framework are clear. From a methodological perspective, we may refer to the work of the anti-Winckelmann group that had developed among art historians at the University of Vienna, which led to the abandonment of Hellenophile prejudices and to the historical contextualization of other possible figural options (especially those of Roman art).²¹⁰ On the other hand, from an ideological-political perspective, the completion of the process of the political unification of the Italian State led some of the major scholars of antiquity to reassess the evidence of the several pre-Roman archaeological cultures of Italy and, most notably, the Etruscan.²¹¹ Lastly, we should also take into consideration anti-classical artistic tastes,²¹² which were stimulated within the intellectual milieu of the early twentieth century by the displays of unexpected masterpieces, such as the terra-cotta statues of the temple of Portonaccio at the Museum of Villa Giulia (Figs. 51.1. and 51.7).

In Italy, this debate, which precedes the tragic cut-off point of World War II, developed almost entirely on the assumption that particular ethnicities are

connected to artistic productions, and it involved a close comparison of the figural world typical of the Etruscans with that of other ancient Mediterranean cultures. This approach claimed that Etruscan artistic concepts survived and extended into the Italian Middle Ages and the Renaissance (such claims were made to argue for the originality of such works and to grant them a position within the nation's cultural history). The attempt to maintain this position was carried out with critical tools and terminology that were much closer to Winckelmann's than to Alois Riegl's, and that were dangerously exposed to the Romano-centric propaganda of the fascist regime. In fact, they produced an irreversible crisis within the interpretative model of ethnicity, a model consumed by internal contradictions.²¹³ The extent of this crisis can be clearly read in the studies of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, who had a firsthand knowledge of German bibliography and found in the philosophy of Benedetto Croce a theoretical approach appropriate for the full reestablishment of a historical view of ancient art. The art of the Etruscans (and of other ethnic groups in pre-Roman Italy) was described in his studies, through the metaphor of language, as being something of a lowly "dialect" in contrast with the high and "literary" paradigm of Greek art.²¹⁴

2.4 Post-World War II

Immediately after the war, Italy saw a substantial slowdown—almost a collapse—of this debate, with Bianchi Bandinelli himself even turning to other issues: the representation of Greek figural art as an art of reality; and regarding the field of Roman art, the development of a characteristically dialectical model of interpretation.²¹⁵ In Germany, on the other hand, Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg identified what he presumed to be a structural and unchanging aspect of Etruscan (and Italian) art, a persistently "stereometric" organization of the form; so he relocated the connotation of ethnicity to within the artwork itself, a process that led the Viennese *Kunstwollen* ("taste") to become an irrational metaphysical category.²¹⁶

As a result, the general awareness that it was impossible to speak of an "Etruscan" art (understood as a product and expression of an ethnic culture) gradually surfaced. In place of "Etruscan art," an alternative model was developed in which the art *of the Etruscans* (that is, *for the Etruscans*), although produced in Etruria for the Etruscan market, appeared to be quite largely based on an alien, imported figural repertory. So Massimo Pallottino introduced and developed new ways of understanding the relationship—the dualism—between an artistic center and its periphery, and argued that the periphery, too, could be characterized by activity and creativity, both of which could be identified in the selection criteria used and in the timing of the adoption and application of Greek historical styles.²¹⁷ The idea of an Etruscan civilization, which inspired a memorable and multifaceted series of

exhibitions in 1985,²¹⁸ still fit into the varied social context of the Greek city-state and could be used to explain (sometimes using the anthropological model of colonial “acculturation”) the relationship between and application of external contributions and local modifications.

It is no coincidence that two of the most influential art monographs of the 1970s and 1980s were entitled *The Art of the Etruscans* instead of *Etruscan Art*.²¹⁹ This signified a conscious detachment from any illusory ideas of ethnicity and the use of a strategic approach to the analysis of the economic and social structures (*Production and consumption* is the eloquent subtitle used by Mauro Cristofani).

This approach has led research to focus on content rather than form. If there is no “Etruscan” style as such, but only a range of Greek styles (and before these, Levantine styles) that were introduced over time in Etruria and from which Etruscans extracted the forms of their artistic language, it is the themes within Etruscan art that become the true object of the critics. An exegesis of such topics has become the high point of any analysis. These forms of visual communication are not Etruscan, in this sense, because of their morphology, but on account of what it is that they represent, in that the *how* (i.e., the style, the way they look) is modeled on the *what* (i.e., the subject, the content of the images).

This, I believe, may justify the turning point that originated in Erwin Panofsky’s iconology, one of the most innovative critical trends of the last thirty years. It may help us to understand why Françoise-Hélène Massa Pairault identified this methodology as the best way to coherently develop the teachings of Bianchi Bandinelli.²²⁰ Given the scarcity (or absence) of literary sources and the lack of a sufficiently instructive context, the interpretation of iconographic codes must be pursued through a circumstantial reconstruction of the representational programs, and it is within such schemas that it may be possible for us to recognize the specific contribution (which is to some extent a cultural identifier) of the Etruscan “producers” and “consumers” of art.

An alternative form of criticism, built on the seemingly more traditional base of morphological analysis and on the history of styles, is exemplified by the (posthumous) essay of Otto Brendel,²²¹ a figure who has, with a few prominent exceptions, been unjustly marginalized within the Italian debate. Brendel does not doubt that it is possible to identify an Etruscan art that was organic, and that appeared to him to be the only Western equivalent of the Greek classical (thus virtually international) experience. As a consequence, he made use of the same Greek sequence of art styles (from the Geometric to the Hellenistic) to classify Etruscan art, arguing that such an approach would allow for the systematic identification of the ways in which Etruscan productions differed from the Greek norm.

In my opinion, a stylistic criticism based on Brendel can very profitably accompany and complement the interpretation (and decryption) of figural programs. Let us assume that there was a certain amount of continuity and

group cohesion among the purchasers of art. In the Etruscan city-state, these consumers were for centuries a structured and aristocratic elite, and, as a consequence, the figures and monuments that were designed for commemorative purposes—both in life and above all in death—were almost always of a private and not a civic character. It is possible, then, to detect in the adoption (or rejection) of Greek language the presence of a conscious strategy of communication, which adopted Greek styles according to circumstances and requirements that were strictly related to the contents.

This point may be clarified with some examples. The artisans who served the seventh-century Etruscan *aristoi* adapted the animalistic and mythological iconography expressed in the grandly naturalistic manner of the palatial schools of the Near East. They did this in order to express princeliness in funerary contexts²²² through a direct transfer of key images of power, legitimacy, and divine protection from the Levantine royal citadels to the necropolises of Tyrrhenian Italy. This choice obviously involved an irreversible conversion to a properly figural art.

In a similar sense, in the second half of the sixth century, the sophisticated language of Eastern Greek sculpture and painting—created to lend an appealing grace to the luxury of the tyrannical courts—became the typical Etruscan style that can be found on the antefixes and *acroteria* of temples as much as on the walls of tombs and on high-quality painted pottery. At the end of the century, Thefarie Velianas, the king of Caere, built an architectural complex like a Levantine sanctuary in the sacred northern precinct of Pyrgi and dedicated it to the Phoenician goddess Ishtar.²²³ He commanded his terracotta modelers to design the antefixes of the house of the sacred prostitutes by an East-Greek reinterpretation of images, which were at least partly derived from ancient Mesopotamian and Urartian models. Such an iconographic choice constitutes a revival of the Orientalizing culture and does not appear to have been borrowed from the Greeks, but must be regarded as genuinely Etruscan.²²⁴

Some other examples may be taken from the Hellenistic era, with its engraved mirrors displaying mythological scenes, highly complex painting programs (such as the François Tomb at Vulci), and reliefs of the funerary urns of Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia. The valuable and pioneering iconological survey of Massa-Pairault²²⁵ was followed by contributions from young scholars.²²⁶ Using not entirely coincidental interpretative criteria, they agree in identifying the presence of an articulated system of schemata that were derived from the Greek narrative repertoire and were reused in these late monuments as adaptable all-purpose additions. Those schemata can be assembled to signify ethical concepts as well as the fundamental values of family life and *concordia civium*.

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Iconography and iconology, Nineteenth to Twenty-first centuries

Abstract: The different approaches to the figure-decorated material of the last fifty years, such as Erwin Panofsky's opposition between iconography and iconology, or the anthropological study of the "cité des images" developed in the "École de Paris" around Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, have not superseded some of the positions that were taken in the early nineteenth century. From that time through the most recent publications, we can observe three distinct interpretations of the Etruscan images. First, they represent the happy or terrifying life the dead can expect after the funerary rituals are completed; second, they symbolize the aristocratic life they led and, like the *symposion* sets deposited in the grave, define the social status of the dead; and third, they reproduce the rituals conducted during the funerals, as a testimony of their correct observance.

It therefore seems necessary not to separate the study of the iconography from various questions concerning the date, artist, place of production, and external formal influences displayed by the image.

Keywords: images, Greek, Etruscan

Introduction

Reflecting on the different ways figure-decorated representations on Etruscan artifacts have been interpreted, one has to look back to the early period of scholarship when those images were discovered in considerable number and their meanings were first thoroughly discussed – that is, back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time, the discovery of a vast number of painted vases in the necropolis of Vulci and the unprecedented evidence of wall paintings in the Monterozzi cemetery in Tarquinia-Corneto added a lot of new evidence to the already considerable number of relief urns and engraved mirrors, and antiquarians had to invent and elaborate original methods to classify and explain those items.

The different approaches to the figure-decorated material of the last fifty years,²²⁷ such as Erwin Panofsky's opposition between iconography and iconology, or the anthropological study of the "cité des images" developed in the "École de Paris" around Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, have not superseded some of the positions that were taken in the early nineteenth century. From that time through the most recent publications, we can observe three distinct interpretations of the Etruscan images. First, they represent the happy or terrifying life the dead can expect after the funerary

rituals are completed; second, they symbolize the aristocratic life they led and, like the *symposion* sets deposited in the grave, define the social status of the dead; and third, they reproduce the rituals conducted during the funerals, as a testimony of their correct observance. The funerary orientation of some of these interpretations is explained by the archaeological provenance of most of the Etruscan images: they were produced for the grave or deposited in it.²²⁸

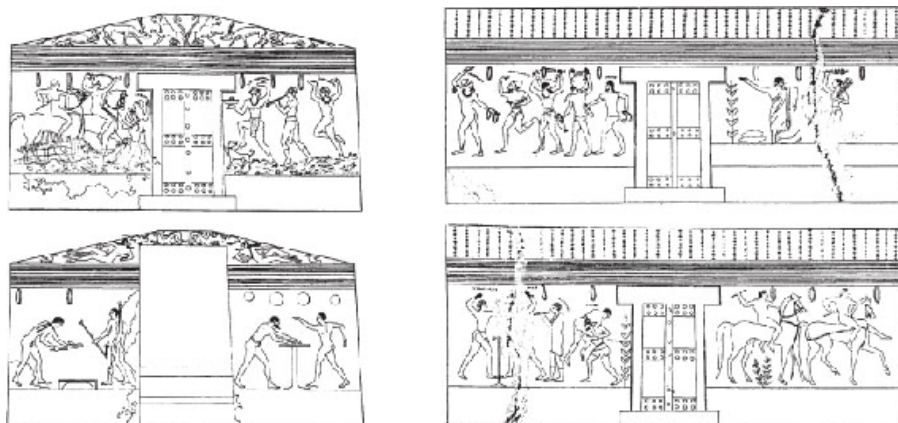


Fig. 6.1: Tarquinia. Copy of Tomb of the Inscriptions (after Torelli 1997, p. 134, fig. 107).

Another recurrent statement by archaeologists and art historians over the last two centuries is the importance of the debt owed by Etruscan art to Greek artifacts and artists in every period. This influence is taken into account by scholars when dealing both with the formal components of the figure-decorated scene and with its meanings. It therefore seems necessary not to separate the study of the iconography from various questions concerning the date, artist, place of production, and external formal influences displayed by the image.

The following chronological survey of nineteenth- to twenty-first-century scholarship on Etruscan figure-decorated representations focuses on two monuments—the Tomba delle Iscrizioni (Tomb of Inscriptions) in Tarquinia (510 BCE; Fig. 6.1) and the calyx-krater from Vulci in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (330–300 BCE; Fig. 6.2)—both discovered around 1830 and discussed throughout this period by numerous scholars.²²⁹



Fig. 6.2: Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. Calyx-krater from Vulci (330–300 BCE)
(after *Monuments Inédits* 1834, pl. 9).

1The establishment of research methods in the second quarter of the nineteenth century: Corpora and series

An appropriate starting point is the Latin maxim of Eduard Gerhard, published in his famous *Rapporto Volcente*:²³⁰ “Monumentorum artis, qui unum uidit nullum uidit, qui milia uidit, unum uidit” [Concerning monuments of art, who has seen one has seen none; who has seen a thousand has seen one]. This sentence states the “corpus” principle and explains the method of analyzing images by arranging them in series. Two of these nineteenth-century corpora are that of engraved mirrors, started by Gerhard—who abandoned the previous identification as mystic plates²³¹—and that of Hellenistic figure-decorated urns, also conceived by Gerhard but carried out by Heinrich von Brunn (1870) and then Gustav Körte (1890–96), who assembled an extensive series of items, almost all decorated with mythological scenes.²³² The other two important corpora of Etruscan artifacts are of wall paintings and figure-decorated vases, both of which were in progress for many years (see below).

Concerning the figure-decorated vases, the first question to be solved at that time was their place of production. They represented a major field of antiquarian study because they were the main documents other than Greek and Latin texts from which to learn of myths and ancient practices. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all such vases—kept on library shelves above the books—were considered Etruscan, because they were discovered in the necropolises of Etruria, part of the phenomenon known as “Etruscomania.” By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, most of the painted vases discovered in Etruscan graves had been properly identified as Greek in origin, thus depriving Etruscan archaeology of a major field of study. This took place in the antiquarian sphere and soon received general acceptance. By 1850, very few vases were still credited to Etruscan workmanship. All that were left as Etruscan were bucchero, Etrusco-Corinthian ware, and red-figure vases. Not until 1947 did John D. Beazley publish the first corpus of Etruscan vase-painting.²³³

By what criteria, then, were Etruscan figure-decorated vases analyzed at that time? The calyx-krater of the Cabinet des Médailles was discovered in 1833 (quickly entering the Baron Beugnot’s collection) and published, one year later, by Desiré Raoul-Rochette, claiming to write the first real study of Etruscan painted vases.²³⁴ Etruscan features were first sought in the inscriptions that were integrated into the scenes and then in the style and the subject depicted. According to the author, the scene, representing Ajax slaughtering a Trojan prisoner, was typical of the taste for cruelty, bloodshed, and pain that Etruscans appreciated. To identify the subject on the other side of the krater—Charun greeting three dead women—the scholar compares

other Etruscan art as well as ancient texts: he clearly identifies Charun as the Etruscan demon of death, citing urns from Volterra; but for the woman on the right, identified as the Amazon Penthesilea by an inscription, he finds no text in ancient literature to explain the scene, which puzzles him greatly. This systematic reference to a text in order to interpret the image is another way of analyzing figure-decorated objects that would last long in scholarship.

As for wall painting from the necropolises of Etruria, the scholars of this period saw it as important evidence because there was no doubt as to its place of production (the paintings that cover the walls of the tombs were made on the spot) and it explained the beginnings of Etruscan art, its imitation of Greek art, and gave some idea of the appearance of lost Greek painting that is known only from the textual tradition. The first scientific edition did not begin until 1937, with the collection *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia. Pittura etrusca*, complete catalogues appearing only after 1980.²³⁵ But as soon as they were discovered, the paintings were copied, as were mirrors and urns, given the additional problem that as soon as they were exposed, they quickly deteriorated.

The Tomb of Inscriptions in Tarquinia was discovered in 1827 by August Kestner, Otto Magnus von Stackelberg, and Joseph Thürmer, who immediately took charge of copying the paintings. Kestner published the monument almost immediately, interpreting the tomb as Etruscan work because of the rudeness of the forms, whereas the scenes depict rituals: the parade of horsemen and the pugilists represent the funerary games; the dancers, a procession for Dionysus (Fig. 6.1).²³⁶ This *realistic* thesis is explicitly opposed to a previous publication by Raoul-Rochette upholding an *eschatological* interpretation: the scenes illustrate the happy life in the hereafter gained by the deceased, who are depicted in the dance of wine, thanks to an initiation to Dionysus.²³⁷

This first period established the principal methods of research: constructing corpora of the artifacts, arranging them in series to understand their meaning (realistic or eschatological perspectives), taking into account their inscriptions, comparing them with ancient texts, and emphasizing Greek influence.

2Exegesis from the later nineteenth century to 1930

The first works of synthesis on the meanings of Etruscan figural scenes developed in the second period and involved intense scholarly debate.²³⁸ The widely read book by the French historian Jules Martha was published in 1889,²³⁹ in which he set down the main theories of the significations of tomb paintings. Martha distinguished two periods: before the third century BCE,

most of the scenes realistically depict the funeral ceremonies performed in honor of the deceased; they are represented in the tomb to attest to the piety of the dead's family and to grant him eternal happiness. From the third century on, the figure-decorated scenes take place in the underworld: the migration of souls, demons, and the deceased depicted as a hero justify this second eschatological approach.

Thus Martha links the Tomb of Inscriptions—belonging to the first period—to the iconography of funeral ceremonies: it depicts a horse race won by one horseman. The two sides of the calyx-krater, with the demon of death, would then relate to the second period: the women are depicted in the hereafter and the slaughter of the prisoner refers to a tragic death, in the presence of Charun waiting to ferry the soul.

Martha's interpretation very clearly set the terms of what was to become a dispute between the realistic and the eschatological readings, since scholars would soon be interpreting the scenes in funerary iconography of all periods as depicting the next world. This is the case of Fritz Weege,²⁴⁰ who states that tomb paintings represent the world of the dead from the Archaic period until the end of Etruscan culture. The only change concerns the tone of the scenes: beginning in the fourth century, the world of the hereafter is depicted as terrifying and dark, featuring dreadful demons like Charun, whereas it is filled with happiness in the Archaic period. This change was due to religious influence, Orphic and Pythagorean, coming from Magna Graecia.

Shortly after its publication, the book was sharply criticized by two scholars: the Dane Fredrick Poulsen upheld the realistic reading whereas the Dutch scholar Carel Claudius van Essen stated that the violent elements of the iconography from the fourth century had nothing to do with Orphism:²⁴¹ at that very moment, the Etruscans freed themselves from Greek culture, permitting a new language to arise.

3Mapping the workshops of Etruscan artifacts (1930–1960)

After the period of debate over the meaning of funerary iconography, the next three decades were marked by studies that probed the formal aspects of image. Inheriting the German approach of corpora and developing connoisseurship of vases, Beazley undertook the first complete classification of Etruscan figure-decorated vases, identifying the artists or workshops of more than a thousand items.²⁴² At the same time, several scholars treated wall paintings the same way: Franz Messerschmidt, Pericle Ducati, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, Luisa Banti, Massimo Pallottino and Giovannangelo Camporeale worked on the classification of the paintings, in order to map and date their production.²⁴³ Their creation was said to begin on the coastal cities

(Tarquinia) and then develop in inland Etruria (Chiusi). They also emphasized Greek influence on the Etruscan workshops: Corinthian, Laconian, Ionian, and lastly Attic.

Other corpora were studied as well: the relief stone monuments from Archaic Chiusi (urns, *cippi*), were gathered by Enrico Paribeni in the late 1930s,²⁴⁴ the figure-decorated stelae from Felsina in the Po valley²⁴⁵ and the Pontic vases (1932),²⁴⁶ by Ducati, to mention the main works that looked at workshop and formal aspects.

Thus, the style of the paintings of the Tomb of Inscriptions is related to the emigration of Ionian artists to Etruria, the workshop having also produced the Tombs dei Baccanti (of the Bacchants), del Morto (the Dead Man), dei Vasi Dipinti (the Painted Vases), and del Vecchio (the Old Man), according to Pallottino²⁴⁷.

As for the calyx-krater, Beazley attributes it to a period of decadence of vase painting, because of its coarse style. But against other scholars Beazley is ready to defend the quality of Etruscan art, and especially of violent scenes like the slaughter of the Trojan prisoner on the krater, a scene which actually comes from Greece and emphasizes the “heroic strain of the Etruscan character.”²⁴⁸ In analyzing the pattern of Ajax and the Trojan, Beazley compares it to several other monuments showing the same composition, but with Achilles, and proposes a Greek model. In the krater, the addition of Charun is an adaptation to the Etruscan beliefs; the different attitude of the victim is a variation from the Greek model; and the inscription indicating Ajax (*Aivas*) is a slip for *Achle* (Achilles). So again what is important here is to set down the dependence or originality of Etruscan forms with respect to the Greek forms.

Finally, by the end of the period, worldwide interest was excited by Erika Simon and Roland Hampe’s book on the question of Greek models, but interrogating the iconography. Examining the meaning of scenes on vases and bronze artifacts of the Archaic period, they reveal the Etruscans’ deep knowledge of Greek mythology.²⁴⁹

4New approaches to the meanings of images in the 1970–1980s: Social background, semiotics, and genealogy

In the late 1970s, several authors borrowed a methodology of analyzing images from archaeological studies, specifically concerning funeral data. The social reading of grave furnishings is associated with the anthropological concept of acculturation, another way to speak of influence, removing the problematic hierarchy between source culture (Greeks) and target culture (Etruscans).²⁵⁰ This sociological approach is well represented by Mauro

Cristofani, who shows how the funeral is a crucial moment in social life.²⁵¹ We can recognize in that moment a display of the social status of the deceased person, who has deployed very thoughtful strategies, including the production of images.

Another archaeologist, Bruno d'Agostino, has certainly taken this social reading of funerary figural representations the furthest.²⁵² The social reading is to take wall painting or engraved monuments included in the tombs as showing emblematic scenes of the life of the Etruscan lord, since the images remain a privilege of the aristocratic class. Those scenes are specifically designed to embody his social status. In the Tomb of Inscriptions, the *komos* (wine dance), and the *symposion* (wine consumption), are part of the worthiest activities and characterize, according to d'Agostino, the social and familial dignity of the deceased lord.²⁵³ We may also emphasize that different age classes are embodied by different activities: the horsemen in the left corner of the chamber represent the young men, the dancers with wine vases on the right, the adults.²⁵⁴ Thus in this interpretation, d'Agostino denies the realistic and "magico-religious" readings that recognize in Archaic-period scenes the different moments of the funerary rites or the future life in the underworld.²⁵⁵

In addition to this sociological view of images, d'Agostino has emphasized how French and Swiss scholars, such as Alain Schnapp, François Lissarrague, or Claude Bérard, have studied figure-decorated scenes using linguistic and semiotic principles.²⁵⁶ At the same time the "cité des images" was constructed for the figure-decorated vases produced in Athens, d'Agostino and, following him, Luca Cerchiali try to understand the language of Etruscan images by constructing series.²⁵⁷ For the Tomb of Inscriptions, d'Agostino tackles the interpretation of the doors that are painted in the middle of each wall in the tomb and are a common feature of funerary wall paintings.²⁵⁸ Between the two traditional explanations – the doors represent the possibility of enlarging the tomb with further chambers that had not yet been dug, or they symbolize death and the underworld²⁵⁹ – d'Agostino prefers the latter but adds the idea that they represent the deceased *ex absentia*: borrowing the notion of code-switching from the linguistic field, he sets an equivalence between the closed doors surrounded by various characters (dancers, musicians, pugilists, mourners) in different tombs, and the enormous krater in the Tomb of Lionesses flanked by the *aulos* and the lyre players. Like the doors, this vase represents the deceased *ex absentia*.

Lastly, the sociological and semiotic approaches go together with a renewal of the thesis that the Etruscans were very familiar with Greek culture, as Simon and Hampe stated. Recently, d'Agostino and Cerchiali have thus provocatively stated that "Etruria was a province of Greek culture."²⁶⁰ A good example is the case of the Greek *symposion*: although with some differences, it is borrowed by the Etruscan aristocracy in its more specific details, as comparison between Etruscan images and Greek epics shows.²⁶¹

As for mythological scenes, scholars also insist on the genealogical

interpretation of the myths illustrated. The characters depicted in the figure-decorated representations are connected with a discourse developed by the client claiming the Greek heroes as his ancestors.²⁶² Thus, the calyx-krater in Paris, with the slaughter of the Trojan prisoner, is interpreted genealogically:²⁶³ the presence of Ajax instead of Achilles is no longer considered a mistake, as Beazley claimed, but a choice of the purchaser of the vase who ordered for his tomb a special scene placing himself in the lineage of the Greek hero Ajax (Fig. 6.2).

This is confirmed by study of the inscriptions (an earlier inscription *Achle* has been found underneath *Aivas*) and comparison of the bearded Ajax with the other examples of this scene that always present Achilles as beardless.²⁶⁴

5 On rituals and beliefs in the 1990s and 2000s

The previous period of scholarship ended with a disruptive discovery: the Tomba dei Demoni Azzuri (Tomb of the Blue Demons) in Tarquinia, a discovery that was to bring about a return to the earlier studies of the religious aspects of iconography after the period of sociological discourse.²⁶⁵

The tomb was discovered in 1985. Dated to 440 BCE, it seems to be the first painted tomb that represents the demons of the underworld in a realistic manner: blue skin, red hair, and bloody mouth. The scenes are arranged to be viewed in order, from the front entrance of the tomb to the back. The scene with the demons is on the right-hand wall, and Francesco Roncalli has convincingly argued that it represents the passage of the deceased woman from right to left, across the rocks inhabited by the blue demons, toward the boat, where the boatman waits to conduct her to the world of happiness that she has been granted.²⁶⁶

Mauro Cristofani sets the monument in a moment of transition between two periods.²⁶⁷ First, before the middle of the fifth century, there is no representation of the underworld: instead there are either excerpts from the rituals, or scenes symbolizing the social status of the deceased. The second period is marked by the irruption of a realistic depiction of the underworld with its inhabitants, its demons, and a black cloud surrounding the scene: a suggestion not far from what was already understood by Martha.

This discovery has brought about in recent years a common line of research oriented toward the religious content of the images.²⁶⁸ Beliefs and dogma on the one hand, rituals on the other, are taken into account by scholars who have produced innovative readings. These new statements connect the images to ancient texts and to the architecture of the tomb (in the case of tomb paintings).

Concerning religious dogma, Roncalli refers to the literary tradition, unfortunately very late,²⁶⁹ of the Etruscan practice of divinizing sacrifices that

render the deceased equal to the gods by offering the blood of certain animals to certain deities. The architectural feature known as the console, which appeared, in the Archaic period, at the center of the pediment between fighting animals, recalls the shape of altars for sacrifice, the hunting of animals evoking the blood shed during sacrifice.

In the Tomb of Inscriptions, this specific “altar-console” is missing, but the tails of the two symmetrical lions, where the console would be in the middle of the pediment of the back wall, recall the volutes that adorn the console in other archaic tombs of Tarquinia.

Other contributions have studied the journey of the deceased to the underworld, a topic that had been forsaken since the social reading of images was undertaken. The argument concerns vases and funerary monuments of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, a point that doesn’t give rise to discussion,²⁷⁰ whereas for the Archaic period, the iconography remains ambiguous and the point is still at issue.²⁷¹ Those religious inquiries also stress the funerary role of deities, such as Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Hermes-Turms, and Orpheus, whose cult, according to some scholars, can already be discerned in images of the Archaic period.²⁷²

As for rituals, on the other hand, scholars have emphasized the location of the images inside the tomb. Their location bears a precise signification. According to Agnès Rouveret, the decorative system of the tomb painting (trees, tents, doors) corresponds to a practice, well known among the Etruscans, of cutting out and marking off some areas as sacred spaces.²⁷³ Arranging the tombs in a series, the author underlines the division into two groups of tombs in the Archaic period. In the first, the trees are combined with doors to adorn scenes of games, whereas in the second, the tents shelter banquet scenes. The Tomb of Inscriptions belongs to the first group: we see three false doors associated with the various games. This must thus be connected with a ritual organization of the paintings and the space in the tomb.

According to Mario Torelli, the ritual is displayed differently, though again through tomb architecture.²⁷⁴ What has permitted this new analysis is the discovery of the Tomb of the Blue Demons: there is a progression from the entrance of the tomb to the back wall that corresponds to the journey of the deceased to enter the underworld. Likewise in the Tomb of Inscriptions: the horsemen symbolize the journey toward the underworld. The cavalcade on the left and the procession of dancers in the right rear corner take place by the doors – a symbol of the path to the underworld: they are performed in an ambiguous space, between the world of the living and the world of the dead. The other scenes that happen before the doors in the two side walls are located on earth: games on the left, rewards of the games on the right, and in the entrance wall, funerary rituals of preparing food for the dead.²⁷⁵

This emphasis placed on the rituals is not exactly the same as the realistic or mimetic readings that see funerary ceremonies in the tomb paintings; here

the images directly participate in the ritual, since they are located in strategic places of the funerary space with respect to the ritual.

Fernando Gilotta finds the origin of the expression of this ambiguous time and place of Etruscan funerary iconography in Attic vase paintings,²⁷⁶ while Torelli tends to root the references to rituals in Etruscan and Italic ground. The inquiry into the meanings of the images is thus connected to their formal study, which again illuminates the links with the Greek world.

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Enrico Benelli

7 Approaches to the study of the language

Abstract: The process of decipherment of the Etruscan alphabet culminated in the groundbreaking work by Luigi Lanzi (first published in 1789), who for the first time employed the immense collection of Etruscan inscriptions assembled by Pietro Bucelli and acquired by the Florence museum. From 1789 on, it was possible to read all common Etruscan letters. Some rare graphemes of the Archaic period were finally deciphered only in the twentieth century, but this delay did not affect the study of Etruscan language, which Lanzi effectively started. One of the most notable achievements of Lanzi's work was the understanding of the most common features of Etruscan name formulae; since almost 90 percent of all Etruscan words known to us are personal names, this enabled scholars to understand at least the simplest epigraphic texts.

Keywords: Etruscan language, decipherment, bilingualistic method

1 In search of the Etruscan language

It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the decipherment of the Etruscan alphabet seriously began. In the preceding centuries, only a small number of Etruscan inscriptions were known—often through inaccurate handwritten transcriptions. Moreover, the evidence that scholars knew as “Etruscan” included a significant amount of fakes and inscriptions in other languages (first of all, the “*tabulae Iguvinae*”). The “Etruscan alphabets” drawn by scholars before the last years of the seventeenth century included some letters that are actually nonexistent.

During the eighteenth century, the knowledge and understanding of Etruscan writing increased dramatically, and fakes and non-Etruscan inscriptions were gradually recognized. Many uncertainties persisted, however, especially concerning the various shapes many graphemes could present. The most striking example of the state of knowledge in this period is the fake inscription carved on the rock, which was the original location of *CIE* 8 before it was sawn off and carried to The Florence National Archaeological Museum. Its author would have known only a typographic transcription of the text, and transformed it again into Etruscan—or rather, what he assumed was Etruscan.²⁷⁷

The process of decipherment culminated in the groundbreaking work by Luigi Lanzi (first published in 1789), who for the first time, employed the

immense collection of Etruscan inscriptions assembled by Pietro Bucelli and acquired by the Florence museum. From 1789 on, it was possible to read all common Etruscan letters but one (the <z>, recognized by Lepsius in 1833). Some rare graphemes of the Archaic period (like the cross-shaped <θ> and <š>) were finally deciphered only in the twentieth century, but this delay did not affect the study of Etruscan language, which Lanzi effectively started.

One of the most notable achievements of Lanzi's work was the understanding of the most common features of Etruscan name formulae; since almost 90 percent of all Etruscan words known to us are personal names, this enabled scholars to understand at least the simplest epigraphic texts.²⁷⁸

2The pioneers

The possibilities opened by Lanzi's momentous decipherment were immediately exploited. The first modern etruscological handbook, published in 1828 by Carl Ottfried Müller²⁷⁹ included historical and sociological observations based on epigraphic evidence. Since knowledge of Etruscan language was limited almost only to personal names and name formulae, Müller made reference to inscriptions in a pioneering attempt to sketch the composition of ruling elites of Etruscan cities and the inner structure of the Etruscan family.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, scholars realized that further advances were not possible without new readings of all Etruscan inscriptions. Sketches and transcriptions published in older works were now recognized as mostly unreliable. Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli, Arcangelo Michele Migliarini and Giancarlo Conestabile della Staffa all contributed to the assemblage of partial *corpora* of Etruscan inscriptions (although Migliarini's work remained unpublished, and it is preserved today only in manuscripts). The task was finally accomplished by Ariodante Fabretti in 1867, with the publication of the *CII*, soon to be followed by three supplements (1872, 1874, 1878) and a further massive update conveniently called an "appendix" (*Appendice*) by Giovan Francesco Gamurrini in 1880. Fabretti collected inscriptions in all indigenous languages of ancient Italy, because he considered all of them dialects—or at least late developments—of one ancient "Italian" common tongue. This belief was widely shared by scholars at that time, and also served political and ideological purposes in the cultural framework of Italian "Risorgimento" (Fabretti himself was forced into exile from his native Perugia in 1849, and was later to become a senator of the [re]instated Italian kingdom).

The ponderous *Glossarium Italicum* accompanying the *CII* summarized all what was known at that time about Etruscan language. It was in some ways the first reliable

Etruscan dictionary, although it mirrored a state of knowledge that may seem rudimentary. In fact, after 1867, the distinction between scientific research and pseudo-scientific speculation on Etruscan language was finally drawn, and a decade or so later the study of Etruscan entered an entirely new phase. In 1874, Wilhelm Paul Corssen published a grand volume in which he applied the new achievements of linguistic science to Etruscan. Like many others in his time, he considered Etruscan an Italic language, and attempted to translate it through etymological methods.²⁸⁰ It was immediately followed by a tremendously incisive reply by Wilhelm Deecke,²⁸¹ to whom Corssen was unable to reply because he met a sudden and early death. Deecke pointedly noted inconsistencies in Corssen's work, and caused the etymological method to be put aside forever in the study of Etruscan language. He showed that all proposed affinities of Etruscan to other known languages did not seem safe enough to work with etymologies. On the contrary, each etymological series led inevitably to dead ends and sharp conflicts with the evidence. This is why he proposed a new method, which he called "kombinatorisch," according to which Etruscan linguistic evidence should be studied in itself, the translation of each word (or stem) being the result of a comparative study of its occurrences.

3The new generation at work

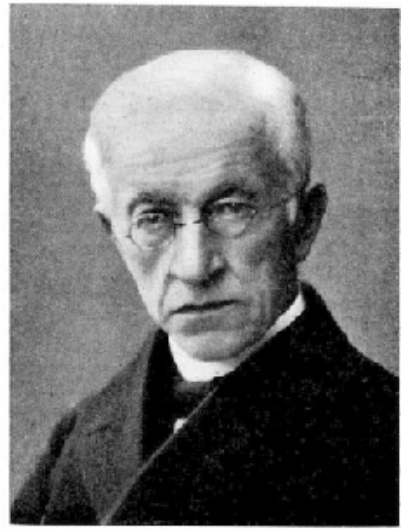
The new method quickly became the standard approach, and survived Deecke's later retraction of his assumptions about the affinities between Etruscan and Italic languages. In fact, both ideas (Etruscan as Italic and as non-Italic) remained alive in the following decades. However, the "combinatory" method was widely accepted by both parties. It was especially the four series published by Deecke and Carl Pauli (*Etruskische Forschungen*, *Etr. Studien*, *Etr. Forschungen und Studien*, *Altitalische Studien*) that contributed the most to the development of Etruscan language studies, alongside the work of many other scholars like Sophus Bugge, Alf Torp, Jules Martha, Gustav Herbig, Franz Skutsch and Elia Lattes. It is also important not to forget the important role of Gamurrini who, being an archaeologist rather than a linguist, focused especially on the material aspects of epigraphy.

One of the greatest achievements of this period was the publication of the *CIE*. It was a monumental enterprise, started and mostly realized—despite countless difficulties—thanks to Carl Pauli's stubborn commitment (Fig. 7.1). The project started as a volume of *addenda et corrigenda* to the *CII*, but it rapidly gained momentum, especially when Pauli involved Olof August Danielsson (Fig. 7.1). The actual aim of the project (an entirely new *corpus*, and not simply *addenda et corrigenda*) was kept secret, because Pauli was aware that it would cause troubles among Italian scholars, especially after

Lattes had announced a similar project of his own. In fact, the publication of the first fascicle in 1893 “seems at first to have caused consternation and disappointment.”²⁸² This and the subsequent fascicles were promptly and thoroughly reviewed by Bartolomeo Nogara, Lattes’ pupil and fellow worker. After the completion of the first volume in 1902, Lattes himself published an entire book of *corrigenda*.²⁸³ Curiously enough, he failed to highlight the actual weakness of the first volume of the *CIE*—that the authors had worked with little or no interaction with local archaeologists (professionals and amateurs alike), failed to make any research in public and private archives and did not include a complete set of bibliographical references, resulting in a disproportionate number of (supposedly) unprovenanced inscriptions, especially from the area of Chiusi. This was a fault never repeated in later volumes. Meanwhile, Danielsson was finally recognized as co-author by the late Pauli (d. 1901), and had become the director of the project together with Gustav Herbig. Both of them agreed to include Nogara as their co-worker.



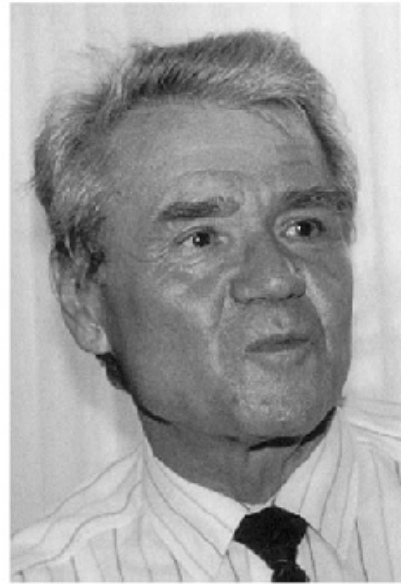
Carl Pauli
(1839-1901)



Olof August Danielsson
(1852-1933)



Massimo Pallottino
(1909-1995)



Helmut Rix
(1926-2004)

Fig. 7.1: Portraits of famous linguists

In this same period, alongside the constant flow of new discoveries that systematically increased the number of known Etruscan inscriptions, a major new acquisition began to exercise its disrupting effects. In 1892, Jakob Krall recognised as Etruscan the text inscribed on the linen wrappings of a mummy preserved in the museum of Zagreb—a text that contained a great number of

words never attested elsewhere. Although its overall interpretation as a ritual calendar was generally accepted almost immediately after its discovery, a word-to-word translation appeared to be impossible (as it is still today).²⁸⁴

4In the dead end

The new editors of the *CIE* decided to modify the general structure of the work, following the most recent developments in epigraphic studies. The main innovation was in the distinction between *tituli* and *instrumentum*. Danielsson was in charge of the *pars prior* of the new *volumen alterum*, comprising the *tituli* of areas of Etruria not included in the first volume; Herbig received the general overview of a rather miscellaneous *pars posterior*. This includes all Etruscan inscriptions from outside Etruria (comprising *ager Faliscus et Capenas*), unprovenanced ones, *instrumentum* inscriptions from everywhere, and two *indices* (an *index vocabulorum* by Danielsson, and an *index librorum* by Herbig). Nogara had to cooperate with both Danielsson and Herbig.²⁸⁵ Danielsson succeeded in publishing two fascicles (in 1907 and 1923), while Herbig published two more, including one supplement devoted to the *liber linteus Zagrabienensis*, which had not been included in the original plan. Herbig's death in 1925 forced Danielsson to find a new co-worker. Ernst Sittig helped in the completion of the third fascicle of the *pars prior*, whose final publication Danielsson never saw.

In these same decades, the study of Etruscan language effectively reached, for the first time, a dead end. The preceding generation had exploited all the possibilities of the “combinatory” method. New discoveries could of course help to achieve further developments, but it was at the same time painfully clear that the major new discovery (the *liber linteus*) had created more problems than it had solved. Drawbacks of the method became increasingly evident. In search of a translation, the most subjective good sense supplied what evidence could not provide. Literature of the period until the World War II is full of “translations” which are almost useless to the present-day researcher.

The main focus of the research was to determine the position of Etruscan within the general classification of languages—and if it was Indo-European or not? Many of the proposed “translations” served to support one or another view, with a partial reprisal of the “etymological” method. A violent dispute arose between supporters of the different theories, with intermediate positions gradually emerging. One must not forget that in those decades, the classification of languages had profound political implications, and the dispute was not immune to ideological issues.

Completely outside this debate, and partially recognizing the futility of much of it, stood Giulio Buonamici, who focused mainly on the epigraphic

aspect of Etruscan inscriptions. His methods (like our own) owed more to the plain and rational positivistic approach of the preceding generation, rather than to his contemporaries' works.²⁸⁶ His thorough investigations of material aspects of inscriptions opened many new fields of research, and in fact prompted a restart of Etruscan epigraphic studies from the dead end they had reached. It is no accident that Søren Peter Cortsen's and Arthur Rosenberg's works²⁸⁷ about Etruscan society and government—focused on historical and epigraphical issues rather than on linguistic ones—were among the few from this period to be referred to continuously for many decades; linguistic studies were on the contrary quickly forgotten.

5A new beginning

In the years immediately preceding and following the World War II, something began to move. It became increasingly clear that the quest for a translation had led to self-referential works, and a new method was needed. Massimo Pallottino stressed the need to merge linguistic and archaeological data in the process of interpretation of Etruscan (Fig. 7.1). Linguists of the last generation (especially Emil Vetter) focused on understanding the structure of the language, instead of wasting time in highly speculative translations. This ultimately led to the introduction of the “bilingualistic” method, theorized by Karl Olzscha. Every inscription should first be understood in its cultural framework, with the help of similar inscriptions in other (understandable) languages from areas culturally related to Etruria. The translations ought not to conflict with the cultural evidence, and have to suit the grammatical structure previously identified.²⁸⁸

The dramatic increase of archaeological research in Italy from the 1950s onwards brought to light a great number of new Etruscan inscriptions, most of them funerary or proprietary ones. Knowledge of personal names consequently increased, and it became possible to give many names specific geographical and chronological coordinates. This led to a gradual definition of an Etruscan epigraphic research partially independent from linguistic issues, and more interested in historical and social topics. The reference book in this field of study was Helmut Rix's *Das etruskische Cognomen* (Fig. 7.1).²⁸⁹ In this same year, the then young scholar published a review article about Etruscan language, in which clearly emerged his dissatisfaction for the current methods. Further developments were left for times to follow.²⁹⁰

Meanwhile, the *CIE* project stalled. The last editor, Ernst Sittig, had little or no interest in its continuation, and in 1940 an agreement had been signed, which conferred to the Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (established at Florence in 1925, now Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici) the task to realize the fourth fascicle of *CIE* II, 1. It is not clear why Danielsson's

extensive preliminary work was known neither to Sittig, nor to Nogara, who was put in charge of this enterprise. In fact, Danielsson's sketches and notes reached Uppsala University unnoticed, and were only published in 2003.²⁹¹ The Istituto di Studi Etruschi promptly obtained a budget from the Italian government to accomplish the task, and a lot of work was made before the war disrupted the project.²⁹² Nogara's death in 1954 and the huge number of new discoveries from the extensive excavations raised serious doubts about the actual possibility to fulfill an ambitious plan like a *corpus* as it was intended. Also in 1954, Pallottino published the first edition of his fortunate *Testimonia linguae Etruscae*, in which he collected all known Etruscan inscriptions, including words other than personal names. In order to achieve an updated repertoire of all epigraphic evidence considered "useful" for the reconstruction of language, comprehensiveness was abandoned. This required managing hundreds of inscriptions rather than thousands, and was considered more appropriate to the possibilities of an era during which research was so intensive that a *corpus* could become outdated even before its publication.

6 From the Pyrgi tablets to the present day

The discovery of the Pyrgi gold tablets in 1964 arrived exactly when the study of Etruscan language was ready for new developments. During the 1960s, Olzscha's "bilinguistic" method, mostly shared by Pallottino, gradually developed into a more systematic research about Etruscan grammar. The clear distinction between almost certain, reasonably possible, and hypothetical translations was an important methodological achievement by Pallottino. Only the former can be employed for further developments; those in the second group require additional care. Mere hypotheses are all but useless outside of the specific context for which they have been guessed (and to some extent even within it). If it is not possible to understand an inscription completely, it is better to attempt to define the grammatical role of unknown words, and eventually the semantic field within which their significance should be, if they mean something about, for instance, the parts of a tomb, or of a temple building, or some rite, and so on. At the same time, others focused on archaeological and epigraphic issues, whose study had been greatly encouraged by the massive flow of new discoveries. The proper places for such developments were especially the entries of the *REE*, gradually recognized as an update of the *CIE*. This field of study, more properly called "Etruscan epigraphy," immediately appeared to offer many more possibilities than language itself. This is why Mauro Cristofani, the author of a book entirely devoted to such topics,²⁹³ was entrusted with the edition of the *REE* from 1966 on (which he held until his death in 1997), and the completion of the *CIE* volume II, 1, 4, abandoned twenty years earlier. This enterprise

required the financial and logistical cooperation of the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), which was the publisher of the *CIE* when it finally appeared in 1970. Meanwhile, a revised edition of Pallottino's *Testimonia* (1968) had appeared, and new discoveries contributed to open entirely new fields to epigraphic research, which gradually became much more fertile than had been thought possible.²⁹⁴

Etruscan epigraphy as we understand it now is born between 1968 and 1970. A series of conferences and various papers, especially by Giovanni Colonna, Mauro Cristofani, Carlo de Simone and Helmut Rix, gradually defined methods and targets of an entirely new discipline, which accomplished to some degree Buonamici's forty-year-old statement. Instead of attempting to obtain new (highly hypothetical, and almost useless) translations of untranslatable words, scholars began to employ what we do understand in Etruscan inscriptions to reconstruct social and political histories of Etruscan cities.²⁹⁵

The turning point finally came in 1978. Pallottino had decided to resume Lattes' attempts to index all known Etruscan words (like the index that was expected to be included at the end of the *CIE* per Danielsson's and Herbig's intentions, even though completion of the *CIE* in 1978 appeared unattainable in a short term, in the lifetime of the authors). Pallottino planned an entirely new work, called a *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae* (*ThLE*); the immense card catalog, which was necessary to fulfill the task, was realized again thanks to the financial and logistical cooperation of the CNR, and filled three huge filing cabinets. The publication of the *ThLE* (which was to receive three supplements, before being completely renewed as a second edition in 2009) had far-reaching consequences. For the first time, all known evidence of Etruscan language was collected in a single volume, making it possible to study it without the need to waste a lot of time looking for inscriptions. Not surprisingly, the following decade saw the most important developments in the understanding of Etruscan, especially thanks to Rix, who focused primarily on the reconstruction of grammar. Some of his achievements—the recognition of the plural suffixes, the complete map of enclitic pronouns, and the discovery of the definite article—have completely changed our knowledge of Etruscan language. His method has been widely accepted by other scholars, who have contributed to further developments (among them, see Luciano Agostiniani's works on negative particles and on numbers). The new achievements, which made the complete and reliable understanding of most of the inscriptions possible, also propelled the study of Etruscan epigraphy, in what had gradually become a “trademark” of Italian etruscology, from Gamurrini, through Buonamici, to Cristofani, Colonna, and Adriano Maggiani and an entire generation of scholars employing the massive epigraphic evidence to reconstruct Etruscan history, society, religion, and political organization.

The *CIE* project has continued under Pallottino's inspiration, with the

Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici becoming the effective publisher. It enjoys a large cooperation with the CNR, especially on the part of Maristella Pandolfini, who realized the first three fascicles of a newly-introduced volume III, devoted to *instrumentum* inscriptions, which new discoveries had made too abundant to be accommodated into a single fascicle, as Herbig had hoped in 1907. In 1995, the care of the enterprise was transferred to the CNR. The new editor, Mauro Cristofani, published only one fascicle (II, 2, 2) before his untimely death transferred the responsibility to Maristella Pandolfini, who was joined by the author of the present chapter in 2003. Another two fascicles have been published since then, and four more are in progress.

Meanwhile, directed by Helmut Rix, the *ET* appeared in 1991. This “abridged” *corpus* has been extremely useful, although the criteria Rix chose make it extremely dangerous for people without really strong knowledge of Etruscan epigraphy. The assumptions that “Etruscan” is “what is included in the *ET*,” and that Etruscan inscriptions are actually always as Rix (and his fellow workers) read them, have misguided even skilled scholars. The 1991 edition is now outdated, and a new one is expected by Rix’s academic heir Gerhard Meiser.²⁹⁶

7 Challenges for the future

The study of Etruscan grammar, as developed by Rix and widely accepted in present-day scholarship, seems to have exhausted all possibilities offered by the evidence. This is also true for the research of a “translation” for Etruscan words, which descends from a correct comprehension of the grammatical structures of the lexical contexts in which any word is attested. Most proposals for new translations are highly hypothetical, and cannot be confidently used in further developments. To put it more plainly, if several translations for the same word are theoretically possible, there is no compelling reason to accept one or another of them, and any series of deductions based on one of these translations gets dangerously close to inconsistency. Even if some minor acquisition of translations, for instance, or facts of grammar is always possible, dramatic developments in these fields require new discoveries.

This is not to imply that the study of Etruscan epigraphy and language has again reached a dead end. Many other topics remain to be investigated. For instance, the process of the formation of family names, fifty years after Rix’s groundbreaking study, needs to be thoroughly re-examined, especially because the last half century has witnessed a dramatic increase in evidence of personal names, especially for the Archaic period. A recent paper by de Simone²⁹⁷ about the wide diffusion of phenomena of *falsche Abtrennung* in

suffixes of Etruscan family names—which is an entirely new perspective for the reconstruction of onomastic families—is a good example of what research can still achieve. Epigraphy in its broader sense, including archaeological, historical and sociological issues, is far from having exhausted all possible developments.

The fiercest debate in present-day Etruscan epigraphy concerns methodologies of realization of epigraphic *corpora*. The traditional *CIE* (whose standard is followed by the *REE* and the *ThLE*), as we have seen, has been joined in 1991 by the innovative *ET*. This has led to a methodological dispute clearly beyond the purposes of their authors, who intended their work only as an easy-to-use repertoire of all known Etruscan inscriptions. The work does not imply the uselessness of all preceding editions, especially as regards the archaeological data related to inscribed items, which the *ET* contain only in a drastically abridged form.

One of the two main issues concerns the transcriptions of Etruscan sibilants. The traditional system is a plain transliteration of Etruscan graphemes. The new method first employed in the *ET* implies a phonetic interpretation; the “plain” sibilant is transcribed *s*, and the “marked” (maybe palatal) sibilant is transcribed *σ*, with diacritics showing the grapheme actually used. This system raises some questions. Interpretive transcriptions require reliable knowledge of the phonemic value of each grapheme, which is not the case with Etruscan. The basic scheme (south Etruscan <s>=/s/; <ś>=/σ/ vs. north Etruscan <s>=/σ/; <ś>=/s/) does not work with enough regularity to support a phonemic interpretation of *all* Etruscan words, only of *most* of them. There are some cases that escape any interpretation. This is especially true for some archaic inscriptions from Caere, Veii, and neighboring areas, where a graphic differentiation between the two sibilants appeared strikingly late. How to interpret, for example, the fragmentary inscription from Rome *CIE* 8601 (*ET* La 2.2), *uqnuś*[? If we assume the ending is complete, and thus the word is—as it seems—a personal name inflected in the genitive case, the sibilant will be /s/; but we cannot be sure. It is equally possible that it was, for example, *uqnuś*[*a*], consequently interpreting the sibilant as /σ/. Moreover, personal names ending in <s> retain this same sibilant grapheme in northern as well as in southern Etruria. How can we interpret them? With good reason, Rix supposed that these personal names always ended in /s/, and that the (anomalous) northern spelling was a consequence of southern influence.²⁹⁸ Agostiniani, on the other hand, with equally good reason, holds that this ending should be interpreted as /s/ in the south, and as /σ/ in the north, thus reflecting dialectal differences between the two areas.²⁹⁹ Other personal names, like *sentinate* and the *śatna/satna* series, raise similar questions.

The main argument supporting the interpretive transcription of Etruscan sibilants (northern and southern spellings of the same words are easier to find in a word index) seems to disguise an ideological crusade against traditional *corpora*. This is because, for instance, nobody thought to suggest a similar

method to transcribe the voiceless velar /k/, represented by as many as three different graphemes (their phonetic interpretation, at least, is certain). Ideological crusades are worthless in the scientific debate. The necessary conditions for an interpretive transcription of Etruscan sibilants (a reliable interpretation of all—or nearly all—sibilant graphemes in Etruscan inscriptions) are still lacking.

Another issue put forward by the edition of the *ET* is how much information should be included in each entry. The *CIE* volumes (and the *REE*, working theoretically as its update) require a comprehensive gathering of all data available and thorough updates (for example, about the archaeological context, or about chronology, especially if previous publications are heavily outdated). Moreover, an apograph is always required, with the obvious exception of lost inscriptions recorded only in typographic transcription. Collecting so much information requires a large amount of work, including archive and bibliographical research, autoptic documentation in museums and collections, and so on. As a result, each volume needs many years to be completed, and the *CIE* (like all great *corpora*) is likely to be always incomplete or at least partially outdated. At present, five fascicles are still lacking, and about three quarters of what has been published requires substantial updating. The *ET*—which the authors conveniently called an *editio minor*—only include some basic information about the texts, and no apograph at all, making it impossible to handle palaeographical issues or evaluate how much of any suggested reading relies on the interpretation of the authors rather than on the material evidence. This enables the authors to realize an almost complete collection of all known Etruscan inscriptions in a reasonable time span. But such a collection can be confidently used only by scholars with very good knowledge of Etruscan epigraphy—in its archaeological and linguistic aspects—who are thus able to find all lacking data by themselves. In fact, any study making use of Etruscan epigraphic evidence should imply that its author knows as deeply as possible all aspects of every inscription referred to. It would be highly unsafe, for example, to draw conclusions employing a single text that ultimately would reveal itself, for example, only as an interpretation of a somehow confused seventeenth-century sketch, no matter the authority of the scholar who proposed it. The simple entry of *ET* Cl 2.8, which informs the reader that the inscription is on a “vase,” conceals the fact that the vase itself contained the cremated remains of an individual, and that the inscription can be interpreted as a funerary as well as a proprietary one—the difference matters. The only advantage the *ET* offer in comparison to the plain word index of the *ThLE* is that all texts appear in full. In both cases, users have to check all archaeological and epigraphic data of every single inscription they need to refer to.

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8DNA and Etruscan identity

Abstract: From the time of Herodotus, who suggested that the Etruscans were immigrants to Italy, to the present day, the origin of the Etruscans has been debated. Since the mid-twentieth century a convincing academic consensus has been built that the Etruscans were an autochthonous people. The development of molecular archaeology, investigating ancient biological molecules, particularly DNA, has brought new evidence to the debate. This area is still developing and many of its findings are experimental or provisional.

Keywords: Etruscan origin; DNA; molecular archaeology

Introduction

From the time of Herodotus—who suggested that the Etruscans were immigrants to Italy—to the present day, the origin of the Etruscans has been debated.³⁰⁰ Since the mid-twentieth century a convincing academic consensus has been built that the Etruscans were an autochthonous people. The development of molecular archaeology, investigating ancient biological molecules, particularly DNA, has brought new evidence to the debate.³⁰¹ This area is still developing and many of its findings are experimental or provisional.³⁰²

1The search for Etruscan DNA

A fundamental feature of gene distribution in Europe is a gradient of variability from high diversity in the southwest of Asia toward lower diversity in the northwest of Europe.³⁰³ This gradient is thought to derive from the Neolithic colonization of Europe after the last Ice Age when much of Europe was depopulated.³⁰⁴ The variability in the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) in modern samples from southern Tuscany lies between these extremes.³⁰⁵ Assuming some degree of continuity between the modern Tuscan and Etruscan population,³⁰⁶ this observation suggests that the Etruscan population was descended from the Neolithic population, which would be consistent with the hypothesis that the Etruscan language is a relic of pre-Indo-European times and with the current archaeological consensus of an autochthonous origin. Subsequent research has sought to identify genetic material distinct

from this generalized Neolithic “background” that might be related to a distinct Etruscan ethnicity, whether autochthonous or immigrant. A further challenge for studies using contemporary genetic variability is that it is associated with contemporary linguistic and geographic variability and the distribution of recent social groups.³⁰⁷ This means that contemporary samples from Tuscany will have patterns of variability generated by their geographic, linguistic, and social origins and contacts, irrespective of any relationship to an ancient Etruscan ancestry.

Since about 2000, the study of population genetics has made significant advances in its methodology, particularly in the adoption of statistical techniques to interpret laboratory findings, the development of computer simulation techniques to model population histories, the extraction and analysis of ancient DNA, and the development of techniques that can analyze sections of the genome that are larger than the single molecules that were the focus of earlier studies.³⁰⁸

The first major investigation of the Etruscans analyzed eighty samples of bone from ten cemeteries in Etruria along with samples from Adria in the Po Valley and Capua in Campania.³⁰⁹ The investigation sought to answer two questions. (1) Were the Etruscans a biological population or just people who shared a culture but not ancestry? And (2) what is their relationship to modern populations and are they linked to other Eurasians?³¹⁰ The first question is interesting because it directly addresses a basic assumption: that the Etruscans were a people. This assumption is rarely questioned in Etruscology; after all, the Roman sources identify the Etruscans (the *nomen Etruscum*) as a group, even if they are then subdivided into the *duodecim populi Etruriae* (twelve peoples of Etruria).³¹¹ The research group led by Vernesi found that the internal genetic diversity in the Etruscan DNA was low, comparable to that in modern European populations, and not distinct, meaning there is no clear Etruscan “genetic fingerprint” that could be detected. The research also suggested that the Etruscan samples had a shared set of ancestors,³¹² and this is consistent with the existence of the gentilicial system of family structure based on blood lines that is directly observable in Etruscan personal names and in the sharing of family chamber tombs over several generations that became widespread from the Late Orientalizing period onward. Genetic relationships between individuals from the same chamber tomb have also been demonstrated using mtDNA evidence at Tarquinia.³¹³ At a more general level, the findings are consistent with Etruscan autochthony, since cultural and settlement continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Etruscan period would generate a shared ancestry extending over at least ten generations.

2Etruscans and modern DNA

The second question, posed by Vernesi and colleagues, of the relationship between the genetic diversity in the ancient DNA from Etruria and the genetic diversity observed in modern populations, aimed to investigate any genealogical or emigrational links between the Etruscans and other Eurasian populations. The results were not decisive: the samples were found to have less genetic resemblance to modern Tuscans than there is resemblance between randomly chosen modern European populations.³¹⁴ Analyses of the shortest genetic difference between the (Etruscan) samples and modern populations found them closest to Tuscans, with Turks, other Mediterranean peoples, and the Cornish (from the southwest of England) following. Assessment of the mix of genetic material in the samples (admixture coefficient)³¹⁵ suggested that Etruscans are more closely related to Turks and North Africans than to Basques and northeast Europeans, and that the samples were more likely to have components of Turkish or North African DNA than samples from Tuscans, southern Italians, or Sicilians. The conclusion drawn was that the findings support an autochthonous origin for the Etruscans, inasmuch as their DNA is similar to that of other Europeans, but without excluding some component of female-derived DNA originating in the eastern or southern Mediterranean. This study was subsequently criticized for technical and methodological reasons, including the origin of the samples in old, possibly contaminated museum collections;³¹⁶ however, this need not invalidate tentative conclusions despite the hazards involved in being certain that the DNA identified is authentically ancient.³¹⁷

The tentative observation that Tuscans have the shortest genetic distance from the Etruscan ancient DNA (aDNA) has been further investigated by attempts to simulate population histories that could have led to the degree of relatedness between Etruscans and Tuscans that was observed by Vernesi's group.³¹⁸ This work concluded that the Tuscans are largely descended from non-Etruscan ancestors.³¹⁹ Projecting the simulations backward in time suggests that the genetic lines of the Etruscan samples emerged in the early Neolithic ca. 5500–4000 BCE (coalescence), a hypothesis consistent with an unbroken sequence of cultural development.³²⁰

Contrary to these studies, principal component analysis comparing 322 samples of modern Tuscan DNA with samples from other parts of western Eurasia found that Tuscan mtDNA has many affinities with European DNA but samples from Murlo had a higher proportion of haplogroups that are commonly found in the Near East.³²¹ Eleven haplotypes in the Tuscan samples were not found in 10,589 samples from Europe, including Italy, but were found in samples from Near Eastern populations spread from the Levant through Jordan, Mesopotamia, Iran, and the Caucasus, with one in Turkey. The findings indicate post-Neolithic, genetic input from the Near East to the present-day population of Tuscany.³²²

A subsequent, more detailed study of 258 samples from Tuscany has identified that approximately three percent of these contain typical Near

Eastern haplogroups, significantly reducing the proportion estimated by Achilli and colleagues in 2007.³²³ Other studies have also identified a link between modern Tuscan and Anatolian DNA but suggested that the two populations divided at least as far back as the Neolithic Period.³²⁴

An alternative approach to identifying intrusive populations is to identify a restricted geographic distribution of a gene mutation and then attempt to chronologically reconstruct the history of the mutation of that gene to provide a date for the first occurrence of that mutation. In Tuscany, nine of fifty-three samples from Elba contained a distinct mutation (U7a2a subsequently renamed U7b1) of a haplotype most commonly found in southwest Asia, with a distribution centered in Iran.³²⁵ The occurrence of this mutation has been tentatively dated to 750 BCE–950 CE, which could indicate the arrival of a Near Eastern immigrant carrying the mutation in the Etruscan period. However, the date range is wide and many other historical scenarios could easily account for the presence of this material in Italy.

Yet more recent work, using genome-wide, rather than maternal mtDNA, has identified a component of near eastern DNA in Tuscan samples, estimating that the genetic material mixed into the pool between 600–1100 BCE. Once again, as the authors note, these are estimates and various historical circumstances may have led to the formation of the observed dataset. Likewise, from an archaeological point of view, eastern genetic material in Italy is not to be unexpected in that period, and does not do anything to prove migration from Anatolia to Etruria. One new element of the study is the identification as the Caucasus as the area with the most closely related DNA to Tuscany, as an ancestral location this would seem, on the face of it, to be historically unlikely.³²⁶

3Italian cattle DNA

A study of DNA from eleven rare breeds of Italian cattle identified Near Eastern haplotypes in Tuscan breeds,³²⁷ and this led to a hypothesis that the cattle arrived in Tuscany with Etruscan settlers in the Late Bronze Age. Earlier studies of cattle DNA also detected genetic variation in European cattle that can be associated with southwest Asia, where *Bos taurus* was originally domesticated. Those studies also identify the highest levels of alleles associated with *Bos indicus* (zebu) in Italian cattle and relatively high levels of them in Greek cattle, and these are said to derive from cultural associations between Anatolia, Greece, and Italy over the past three millennia.³²⁸

A more comprehensive study concluded that the cattle originating in the Neolithic in the Near East also have mtDNA deriving from North African cattle and wild aurochs; it presents a circum-Mediterranean distribution of

cattle DNA illustrating that the African (T1) and Near Eastern (T and T2) haplotypes are found around most of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, making the Tuscan cattle less of a special case that could be associated with a hypothetical migration of (Etruscan) people from the Near East.³²⁹

4Conclusions

Given the Neolithic colonization of Europe, it is to be expected that Tuscan, or indeed Etruscan, DNA should contain haplotypes characteristic of southwest Asia. The Tuscans or Etruscans occupy a position on the clines of various distributions of haplotypes, just like any other European population. There have not yet been enough studies to reliably distinguish a Tuscan combination of haplotypes as distinct from other combinations in Italy, even if it is now possible to separate northern Italian samples from Bergamo from Tuscan samples.³³⁰ Even if the arrival of southwest Asian haplotypes could be dated to ca. 2,800 years ago, this would not confirm that the Etruscans were immigrants, because we already know that people moved around the first-millennium Mediterranean, either as immigrants or as groups of Greek or Phoenician colonists. Traditional archaeological techniques find it challenging to convincingly identify intrusive alien individuals, but ethnic diversity is indicated by the presence of foreigners, particularly Sardinians, in cemeteries in Etruria from the tenth–ninth centuries onward,³³¹ and there is plentiful evidence for cultural and economic exchange in the subsequent Orientalizing period³³² that has led to the suggestion of Near Easterners in the elite of Etruria³³³ and provides a plausible context for genetic exchange to occur. Mythistorical accounts, new artistic styles or uses of materials, and personal names occasionally suggest the movements of people³³⁴ and also occasionally suggest a non-Etruscan origin of individuals, who are usually assumed to be males. The mtDNA evidence indicates there was also immigration of childbearing females across the Mediterranean, possibly in the Etruscan period.

None of the DNA studies to date conclusively prove that Etruscans were an intrusive population in Italy that originated in the Eastern Mediterranean or Anatolia. Likewise, none conclusively prove that Tuscans are descended from Etruscans. On balance, there are indications that the evidence of DNA can support the theory that Etruscan people are autochthonous in central Italy. The absence of decisive results derives from the fundamental fact that archaeological ethnicities do not neatly map onto patterns in genetic diversity. Studies of modern genetic variation mapped with socio-cultural categories can demonstrate correlation between the two,³³⁵ but the time-depth of the archaeological perspective creates complex layering in genetic diversity as

population dynamics change, populations relocate and intermingle over time.³³⁶ The genetic diversity of the ancient people we identify as Etruscans, will have been a complex mix of genetic material deriving from western European, south west Asia and neighboring areas. Unraveling that mix, and relating it to the socio-cultural development of archaeological societies is an exciting challenge for both archaeogeneticists and archaeologists.

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II. Issues

Politic and society

Gianluca Tagliamonte

9Political organization and magistrates

Abstract: In the last few decades of the eighth century BCE and even more so in the first few decades of the seventh, the role of the Etruscan elites grew further, part of an overall process of social restructuring along aristocratic lines linked to the urbanization already in progress. Archaeologically, the allusions to the “princely” status of the most eminent members of the Etruscan elites of the Orientalizing period are consistent with the information provided by the literary sources, which describe Etruria’s most ancient historical phase as monarchical. The reconstruction of Etruscan political structures and organization in the seventh to sixth centuries BCE should, in the first instance, be conducted with reference to the individual local contexts: Etruscan cities were autonomous political entities whose authority extended to the surrounding area (city-states). In the current historical interpretation, the period from the last decades of the sixth to the first decades of the fifth represents a long phase of transition, by the end of which the Etruscan cities (or at least most of them) had abandoned monarchical regimes in favor of some form of republican order. The archaeological evidence (above all, the Etruscan inscriptions of the fourth to the second centuries BCE) enables us to reconstruct some aspects of the magisterial system in force in the Etruscan settlements of the time. Etruscan literary and epigraphical sources also make mention of the existence of a (con)federal-organism encompassing the twelve *populi* of Etruria.

Keywords: Kings, magistrates, city

Introduction

For the most ancient phases of Etruscan history, our knowledge of the forms of political organization adopted by the individual communities is essentially based on data derived from archaeological evidence, especially from funerary contexts. It is only in the late seventh century BCE that Etruscan inscriptions begin to yield data of institutional interest. The few indications in the literary sources of the political structure and organization of Etruscan towns in the seventh to sixth centuries, especially concerning the existence of monarchical regimes, are generally of the annalistic type, and as such their reliability needs to be carefully assessed. Indeed, it is important to consider the difficulties experienced by the ancient authors in verifying and describing the events of the past solely on the basis of annalistic data, together with the considerable period of time separating the facts from their annotation in the primary sources. The composite and often artificial character (especially regarding the earliest phases) of the ancient historiographical reconstruction would not, however, seem to invalidate the basic historicity of the data on which it is founded. This would seem to be confirmed by what is known of the Etruscan

world through other channels (i.e. archaeological evidence).

However, the difficulty in reconstructing the most ancient phases of Etruscan political organization does not stem solely from a problem of documentation. It should also be borne in mind that the “political” dimension, as it is commonly perceived today, only began to emerge in the Etruscan world in its autonomous, fully fledged “institutional” form when the seventh century was well under way. The earliest archaeological evidence of this development, especially epigraphical data, dates from this period. Associated with processes of urbanization and the acquisition of literacy, it is seen throughout the various regions of Etruria. The case of Tarquinii (Civita di Tarquinia), with its associated problems of interpretation,³³⁷ clearly illustrates the difficulties inherent in describing situations where the various structural components (be they “political,” “religious,” “economic,” etc.) of a social system appear to be closely intertwined. These difficulties appear even more evident if one considers that the local social system of Tarquinii has one of the highest degrees of structural and functional differentiation of all the Etruscan towns.

The reconstruction of Etruscan political structures and organization should be conducted with reference to the individual local contexts: Etruscan cities were autonomous political entities whose authority extended no farther than the surrounding area; they may be compared to the Greek city-states (Gk. *poleis*)³³⁸. The distinctive form of political organization in the Etruscan world was the city-state, and each community had its own institutional development.

One factor they had in common, highlighting the alliances between them and their ethnic solidarity, is the existence, cited in the literary sources, of a federal organism encompassing the entire *nomen Etruscum*: ancient tradition portrays this as an Etruscan League (see below, [section 4](#)).

1 Orientalizing and Archaic Periods

1.1A “princely” society

In the course of the eighth century, the process of “socio-political” development within the Villanovan communities³³⁹ seems to have generated significant and stable forms of socio-economic differentiation. These no longer affected individuals only but were extended to the other members of the family unit, depending on their degree of integration, based in turn on their family background. In other words, heredity of rank seems to have become an established principle. This is most evident in those areas (southern Etruria and Po valley Etruria) where proto-urban formation processes were most advanced and the local communities were more cohesive. The “socio-political” organization of those communities, whose leaders were members of

the local elites, thus followed models which the social sciences (particularly anthropology) have described, in neo-evolutionist terms, as pre-state (*chiefdom*) or proto-state (*early state*) entities.³⁴⁰

In the last few decades of the eighth century and even more so in the first few decades of the seventh, corresponding to the most ancient phase of the Orientalizing period, the role of the local elites grew further, part of an overall process of social restructuring along aristocratic lines linked to the urbanization already in progress. The exponents of these dominant social groups, whose power and privileges were founded on the possession of land, goods, and the means of production, seem to have gradually taken on the role of *principes*. Archaeologically, this is shown above all by the richness of their grave goods, among which were large quantities of luxury and prestige items including imported products. The exhibition of their wealth and power frequently made use of forms and symbols taken from oriental and Homeric royal models.³⁴¹

1.2 Kings of Etruria

These clear allusions to the “princely” status of the most eminent members of the Etruscan elites of the Orientalizing period are consistent with the information provided by the literary sources, which describe Etruria’s most ancient historical phase as monarchical. As well as with Rome, the monarchical traditions are associated most closely with the cities of southern Etruria. Monarchical forms (if they may fairly be considered such) seem to have been particularly strong in Veii, a city for which the ancient authors provide the names of a whole series of kings with mythological characteristics. Vibe is said to have had dealings with Amulius, mythical king of Alba Longa (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 334); Thebris is the namesake of the Tiber River (Varro *Ling.* 5.30); Propertius is said to have sent a group of young colonists from Veii to found Capena (Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.697); and Morrius is said to have founded the priesthood of the Salii (Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.285). Of undisputed historical authenticity is the figure of Lars Tolumnius,³⁴² explicitly referred to as *basileus rex* of Veii,³⁴³ whose noble lineage, in its Etruscan form (*Tulumnes*), is seen in Etruscan inscriptions of the seventh to sixth centuries discovered in Veii.³⁴⁴ Recognizable in battle by his clothing (*regio habitu*; Livy 4.19.2), the king is said to have been killed by the Roman military tribune Aulus Cornelius Cossus in 437, who dedicated his remains (*spolia opima*) to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline Hill (Livy 4.20.1 ff.). It was only after the death of Lars Tolumnius that the people of Veii adopted a republican form of government, which, was abandoned shortly afterward in 404 (or 403), if Livy is right in asserting that *Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitonis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere* (Livy 5.1.3). Their choice cost them the opprobrium of the other

Etruscan *populi* (Livy 5.1.6), who declined to support them in their struggle against Rome (which finally conquered Veii in 396).

Monarchical traditions are also attested in Caere, associated both with rulers that were probably of the “tyrannical” type (Mezentius, Thefarie Velianas) and with later figures of the fourth century. As king of the Etruscans (“he who reigned over the Tyrrheni”), ancient tradition also mentions Arimnestos, who is said to have dedicated *ex voto* a throne in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia —the first barbarian to do so (Paus. 5.12.5). The circumstances and the motives for the dedication of an object that was so highly symbolic of power (*insignia imperii*) remain unknown. Of equal uncertainty is the chronology of the episode, dated by some³⁴⁵ to the Orientalizing period (due to the type of offering, a possibly wooden throne), and by others³⁴⁶ to the late archaic period (also ascribing the offering to a sovereign of one of the Etruscan cities of Campania). In any case, that it was not an isolated case seems to be shown by the probable dedication of Etruscan thrones in Olympia³⁴⁷ and an Etruscan *diphros* (perhaps a *sella curulis*) in Delphi.³⁴⁸

Monarchical traditions are also found in other Etruscan cities, even in the northern area such as Arretium (ruled over by the Cilnii, the *gens* from which Maecenas descended),³⁴⁹ although it is not known how far back in time they originate. They were also present in Rome, where the dynasty of Etruscan kings (Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus) gave rise to what the famous Italian philologist Giorgio Pasquali described as the “great Rome of the Tarquinii.”³⁵⁰ The personal name of the first of the Tarquinii (Tarquinius Priscus) is associated with one of the most ancient traditions referring directly to the existence of kings in Etruria. According to Servius, a late commentator on Virgil’s *Aeneid*,³⁵¹ the term *lucumo* was the Etruscan word for *rex*. However, according to some ancient authors,³⁵² *Lucumo* was also the original name of the future Tarquinius Priscus. Born in Tarquinii from the union of the Corinthian exile Demaratus and a local noblewoman, he is said to have changed his name to Lucius after moving to Rome.³⁵³ According to other sources, *Lucumo* (or *Lycmon*) was the name of an Etruscan leader allied with Romulus in the war against the Sabines,³⁵⁴ and an eminent personage from Clusium who lived at the beginning of the fourth century.³⁵⁵ In addition, *lucumo* is attested as a personal name (especially as a *praenomen*, but also as a *nomen* or *cognomen*), in Etruscan epigraphical texts of the fifth to second centuries, with the forms *Lauchume* and *Lauchme*.³⁵⁶ Scholars have thus deduced that this is a late tradition, interpretable as the conversion of a personal name to an institutional term.³⁵⁷

In this context, the ancient sources highlight the role of the Etruscan lady Tanaquil, the wife of *Lucumo* / L. Tarquinius Priscus, as the “*faiseuse de rois*,”³⁵⁸ in reference to both her husband and his successor, Servius Tullius. The woman is said to have woven the *toga regia undulata* that was subsequently worn by Servius Tullius with her own hands.³⁵⁹ The latter’s

daughter, Tullia, wife of Tarquinius Superbus, is said to have played a similar role to that of Tanaquil in predicting the royal destiny of her husband and in facilitating his rise to the throne, to the point that, according to Livy (1.48.5), *regemque prima appellavit*.

As in the case of the Tarquinii, the rise of the Etruscan kings and magistrates was accompanied by auguries of power (*omina imperii*). Some authors³⁶⁰ record the extraordinary destiny reserved for those leaders who were struck by lightning in the exercise of their functions as *rex*, or plausibly as magistrate (*princeps civitatis*) and yet survived. However, in the Etruscan tradition, *omina imperii* were also indicated by other celestial phenomena or by certain animals. *Fulmina regalia* were defined by Aulus Caecina as those lightning bolts that struck the forum, the *comitium* or the main public places of a free city (as in the case of Rome), warning of the threat of monarchy (Sen. *Q. Nat.* 2.49.2). Macrobius³⁶¹ notes that even the color of the coat of sacrificial animals (rams, goats) was useful in this regard: if the hide had golden or purple patches, great fortune lay in store for the *princeps*. This form of augury, cited in the *libri Etruscorum*, is also to be found in the *liber Tarquitii* (*scil.* Tarquitii Prisci) *transcriptus ex Ostentario Tusco*. For other ancient authors, certain animals had a special symbolic value in terms of royalty. According to Pliny the Elder (*HN* 11.18.55), bees were considered an ill omen in that they were a symbol of monarchy, while Servius affirms that doves provide auguries only to kings, since, like them, they never travel alone (*ad Aen.* 1.393).

According to late testimony by Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.15.13), the Etruscan kings regularly gave audiences and made decisions on questions of public interest every eight days.

1.3 Symbols of power

To these traditions may be added those relating to the Etruscan origin of the symbols of power associated with Roman kings and magistrates (*insignia imperii*). In recent years this issue has been the object of renewed attention on the part of researchers,³⁶² partly as a result of important discoveries such as the group of bronzes (*lituus* trumpet, axe, shield) discovered in Tarquinii (Fig. 45.2).³⁶³

The ancient authors' accounts of royal clothing and symbols among the Romans show some discrepancies: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who provides the most exhaustive list, mentions the golden crown,³⁶⁴ scepter with eagle, ivory throne, tunic and cloak in purple (identified with the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta* worn by victorious Roman leaders during triumphs), and the staffs and axes borne by twelve lictors. Other authors also mention the *bulla aurea*, trumpets, spears, and other items. All appear to basically agree in attributing their origin to the Etruscans, either to Etruria and its twelve *populi*

generally or to Tarquinius in particular.³⁶⁵ The Etruscans are said to have passed these *insignia* to the Romans in the time of Romulus³⁶⁶ or Tarquinius Priscus.³⁶⁷ Subsequently, these symbols and items of clothing, except the golden crown and the *tunica palmata*,³⁶⁸ passed to the Roman magistrates. These symbols and items of clothing were retained by Rome in adherence to an explicit tendency to elevate the symbols of power to sacred status, and even to propose a divine origin for them, achieved by associating them with the city's most important divinity, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. The cult statue of the god, commissioned by Tarquinius Priscus and created by Vulca, a sculptor from Veii,³⁶⁹ was kept in the central cella of the temple on the Capitoline. It showed the god seated on a throne, with a bundle of lightning bolts in his right hand, wearing the clothing and *insignia* typical of Etruscan royalty, which were later worn by Roman generals on the occasion of triumphs.

In contrast, the isolated testimony of Silius Italicus claims that the Romans derived their magisterial *insignia* (*sella curulis*, *toga praetexta*, military trumpets, lictors' fasces) from Vetulonia, at an uncertain date (*Pun.* 8.483–488). The reference to Vetulonia has often been linked to the discovery of certain items in the settlement's necropolises, such as the Late Orientalizing funerary stela (late seventh century) of Aule Feluske, which shows a warrior armed with a double-headed axe,³⁷⁰ and the bundle of rods with a double-headed axe discovered in the Tomb of the Lictors (630–620 BCE).³⁷¹ The latter is the only known example of its kind for Etruria. As was subsequently the case with the “Roman” fasces, the rods (symbolizing the *imperium domi*, i.e. power in the urban context) and the axe (alluding to the *imperium militiae*, i.e. power in the military context) are clearly associated, although elsewhere in Etruria they are always separate.

In addition, Etruscan contexts abound in other objects of clear ideological and symbolic value, such as the *hasta*, considered to be the *summa armorum et imperii*,³⁷² and the *lituus*, representing an *imperium* based on the correct interpretation of the divine will.³⁷³

In the archaeological evidence from the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, this ideology of power, particularly royal or “princely” and aristocratic power, is expressed most clearly in a series of artifacts (ceramics, architectural terracottas, funerary sculptures, objects in ivory, etc.) that convey figurative cycles and programs. In the last few decades, these have been the object of iconographic analyses and iconological interpretations that have generated much debate.³⁷⁴ Of considerable importance in this context are the emphasis on genealogical data and the use of Greek myths for ideological and propaganda purposes. Indeed, Greek mythology was perceived and adopted by members of the Etruscan elites as an instrument of self-representation and legitimization of their power.

Demonstrating the complexity of the issue and the heterogeneity of the individual local contexts, data from Etruscan epigraphic texts of the seventh to

sixth centuries do not appear to provide explicit indications concerning monarchical forms. One of the Late Orientalizing funerary stones discovered in Rubiera³⁷⁵ in Po valley Etruria bears the most ancient (early sixth century) attestation of the term *zilath*, which in the Etruscan inscriptions of the fourth to second centuries indicates the city's supreme magistrate. It is possible that in this case *zilath* corresponds to a local *rex*³⁷⁶ or is used in a generic sense to refer to the "headman."³⁷⁷ It might, however, identify a magistrate, considering the variety of Etruscan constitutional arrangements and the typically precocious nature of "colonial" contexts such as Rubiera. Consider also that the *cippus* found in Tragliatella³⁷⁸ documents the presence of *maru*, another Etruscan magisterial office, in Caere in the mid sixth century.

2Late-Archaic Period

In the current historical interpretation,³⁷⁹ the period from the last decades of the sixth to the first decades of the fifth century represents a long phase of transition, by the end of which the Etruscan cities (or at least most of them) had abandoned monarchical regimes in favor of some form of republican order. In some settlements this shift is believed to have entailed experimentation with forms of radical "democracy" and/or experiences of tyranny, similar to what was happening in the same period in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily (as well as Greece itself).

Overall, this interpretation is plausible. There is no doubt that the urbanization of Etruscan settlements, the structural and functional differentiation of local social systems, and the growth of "intermediate" social classes (artisans, traders, etc.) all somehow weakened and reduced (but did not entirely obliterate) the preeminent political, social and economic role of the Etruscan elites in the Orientalizing and Archaic periods. It is also a fair assumption that in the Etruscan cities of the Late Archaic period such transformations led to experimentation with new forms of government.³⁸⁰ It is harder to say, however, precisely what these forms consisted of. From an assessment of the ancient authors' reconstruction of Late Archaic Etruscan history, with reference to historic and institutional contexts about which much more is known (Greece, Rome), it may be inferred that the figures found at the head of the city-states in that period played a role that was in some ways comparable to that of a tyrant (or tyrant-king). In fragments attributed to the sophist Hippias of Elis,³⁸¹ who lived in the second half of the fifth century, the association of the Etruscans with tyranny was cited as an etymological explanation of the Greek term *tyrannos*, said to be derived from the name of the Tyrrheni.

An example of a leader with tyrannical characteristics is the evil Mezentius of Caere, who was responsible for the brutal killing (by stoning) of the

prisoners from Phocaea following the battle of Alalia around 540.³⁸² The historicity of this figure, known primarily from Virgil's Aeneid,³⁸³ is highly debatable; he may be recognized today as the projection backwards into the mythical past of an Etruscan leader of the Archaic period. Another figure from Caere who appears to have been some sort of tyrant is Thefarie Velianas, "ruler over Cisra" in the late sixth century. From the three inscriptions on gold plates discovered in the sanctuary of Pyrgi ("the Pyrgi Tablets"),³⁸⁴ we learn that Thefarie Velianas had a temple and a sanctuary built in honor of Uni (assimilated to the Phoenician Astarte), to give thanks for the help received three years earlier on the occasion of his rise to power.

Another possible tyrant is Mastarna, identified by ancient tradition with Servius Tullius.³⁸⁵ He is shown with his friends and supporters Aulus and Caelius Vibenna, generals from Vulci, in the famous cycle of frescoes in the François Tomb in Vulci.³⁸⁶ Lars Porsenna, whom literary sources refer to as the lord of Clusium and Volsinii,³⁸⁷ may also have been a tyrant. Together with his son Arruns, he is described as seeking to help Tarquinius Superbus return to Rome after his expulsion (509 BCE), though his real objective was to seize the city himself.

The fall of tyrannical monarchies in the course of the sixth century in Athens (Hippias, in 510) and Rome (Tarquinius Superbus, in 509) was explained by ancient historians as the "expulsion of the king-tyrants." This interpretative model could also be applied to Etruria, at least in certain cases. In reference to the events of 509, the ancient authors mention popular assemblies (*ekklesiai*) and magistrates (*tele*) in the city of Tarquinii.³⁸⁸ In 404 the *populi* of Etruria declined to assist Veii, at war with Rome, while the city was still *sub rege* (Livy 5.1.6).

3 From the Fifth to the Second Centuries

For the period from the fifth to the beginning of the first century (the Social War, 91–89 BCE), the study of the forms of political organization in Etruscan cities benefits from much richer and more varied documentation. To the data retrievable from the archaeological sources may be added the information yielded by the numismatic evidence. Moreover, for the purposes of historical reconstruction, the literary sources pose fewer problems of reliability, although certain weak points remain. For one thing, the chronological distance between the events being narrated and their annotation in the sources is much smaller. However, the greater historiographical credibility of the information recorded by the ancient authors must be weighed together with their limited interest in the political and institutional arrangements of Etruscan cities and the complete absence of any information of a technical or juridical nature. Their attention is essentially taken up by the dialectic between *domini* and

servi, around which Etruscan society generally appears to have been polarized. There are isolated accounts, such as the late contribution by Hesychius of Miletus,³⁸⁹ who glosses the term *drouna* as an Etruscan word (*truna?* *thruna?*) designating “the magistrature among the Tyrrheni.” However, the term does not thus far seem to have any equivalent in the rich legacy of Etruscan epigraphy.

In any case, it is the epigraphic sources—much more abundant than previously—that provide the most explicit and significant data regarding the chronology of the fourth to the second centuries. There are dozens of Etruscan inscriptions containing information of institutional interest. In addition to magisterial terminology, they also yield an institutional lexicon, of limited extent but reasonably complex, essentially relating to urban organization and the territorial limits of the city’s jurisdiction. For example, the Etruscan term *spura* denotes the “community;” *methlum* the “city” or “urban space;” *tuthina* the “village” or the “area within its territorial jurisdiction;” *cilth*, the “arx” or “acropolis;” *rasna* the “people.”³⁹⁰

Above all, the Etruscan inscriptions of the fourth to the second centuries enable us to reconstruct, with a certain degree of reliability, especially for certain cities, the magisterial system in force in the Etruscan settlements of the time. This was a fairly complex system, with elected posts of one year’s duration³⁹¹ that could be held more than once, of an individual or collegiate nature, with functions and competences that are often hard to discern. Also active in Etruscan city-states were collegiate bodies that the ancient authors describe as local assemblies or senates,³⁹² made up of exponents of the city’s nobility. Possible analogies with the situation of Rome, together with clues contained in the literary sources,³⁹³ suggest that the populations of Etruscan cities, probably from the start of the monarchical period onward, were divided up into tribes, which were probably subdivided into *curiae*.

The existence of an institutional setup of this kind within the Etruscan settlements of the period constitutes explicit evidence of the shift from monarchical regimes (or similar arrangements) to republican ones.³⁹⁴ This process seems to have had different timescales and outcomes depending on the city. In some cases, it seems to have taken place quite early, as in Tarquinii, for example, a city which—apart from the local origin of the Tarquinii dynasty—had no known traditions of royal government. The presence here of republican institutions is recorded in the literary sources as early as the late sixth century, while in Caere the presence of a *maru* in the sixth century is documented epigraphically. In other cases, the shift may have been more gradual or discontinuous. Caere, for example, in the first half of the fourth century seems to have been ruled by a *rex Caeritum*, mentioned in the *elogium* by Aulus Spurinna.³⁹⁵ In Veii, apart from a brief, late parenthesis, the monarchical regime seems to have never really been abandoned, considering that as late as 404 the inhabitants appointed a *rex*. For Felsina too, on the basis of iconographic data, particularly the explicitly regal ideology that emerges

from the figurative decoration of the funerary stelae of the fifth to fourth centuries, some scholars have posited the prolonged survival of the monarchical system.³⁹⁶

In any case, the shift from monarchical to republican forms did not substantially modify the oligarchical nature of Etruscan government. In the first few decades of the fifth century, after the disastrous Etruscan defeat in the sea of Cumae (474) and in the same period as the so-called “closing of the patriciate” in Rome, the Etruscan oligarchies seem to have closed ranks in defense of their privileges, in what has been termed an oligarchic “closure” or “involution” in Etruscan society at that time.³⁹⁷

Until the Roman conquest, magisterial office and the priesthood continued to be the preserve of local elites (*domini* or exponents of the *ordo principum*), who occupied the assemblies of the senates and the citizens and from whom the *princeps civitatis* was chosen.

The names of these magistrates and priests appear mostly in Etruscan funerary inscriptions. There are significant quantitative differences, however, in the documentation available. Only in the case of Tarquinii and the settlements associated with it (Musarna, Tuscania, Norchia) is there sufficient information; about fifty inscriptions have been discovered there, containing elements of institutional interest. Only few inscriptions are available for the other Etruscan city-states. It has therefore rightly been observed that only for Tarquinii can the available material be considered significant³⁹⁸ —sufficient for example to enable a plausible reconstruction of the local *cursus honorum*. In the other cases this is not possible due to the scarcity of known evidence. This may not be pure coincidence, considering the city’s ancient and consolidated republican tradition and the absence of data concerning the existence of local *reges*. Nor is it likely to be pure coincidence that for Veii, a city strongly tied to monarchical institutions, there are no epigraphic attestations of local magistrates. However, this silence is also a result of its early conquest by the Romans (396), who put an end to the city’s autonomous institutional history.

In examining the magisterial system of the Etruscan settlements of the fourth to the second centuries, it is important to distinguish between the abstract form (i.e. the magistrature), almost always characterized by the suffixes *-uch* and *-uc*, and the concrete form (i.e. the individual magistrate), indicated by a broader range of suffixes.³⁹⁹ In the case of Tarquinii at least, it is possible, as mentioned above, to reconstruct the plausible career path (*cursus honorum*) of a public magistrate, as in the Roman world. This began with the *marunuch* magistrature, which then led to the *eisnevc* or perhaps *ep(ur)thnevc*, the *macstrevc*, and finally the *zilach*.

In Etruria the *marunuch* (corresponding to a *maru*), which is also attested among the Umbrians, appears to have existed as both an individual and a collegiate office.⁴⁰⁰ Very often an attribute or an appellative indicates the area of competence (*m. spurana*, *m. pachathura*. *m. spuran cepen*, to name just the

most frequently attested forms). This appears to have extended to the religious and building spheres, thus making it to some extent comparable with the Roman *quaestura* and *aedilitas*.

Etymologically, the *eisnev* (corresponding to an **eisne-*) is linked to the Etruscan adjective *aisna/eisna*, meaning “sacred action.” The office is believed to have had priestly functions, as did the *cepen*, which however should probably not be considered part of the Etruscan magistratures.

The office of *ep(u)rthnev* (corresponding to an **ep(u)rthne*), plausibly coreferential with the forms *purthsvac/purthsvana*, is also hard to define. Various unsatisfactory explanations have been proposed on the basis of its etymology, linking it to the name of Porsenna or the Greek institution of *pritanía*. In any case it is believed to have been a highly important office that was not included in the *cursus honorum*.

Military prerogatives are believed to have accrued to the *macstre* (corresponding to a **macstre*), which seems to be the literary transcription, via the transposition in the place name *Macstrna/Mastarna* of the Latin *magister*,⁴⁰¹ with particular reference to the *magister populi* or *equitum*.

At the top of the Etruscan magistrature was the office of *zilach/zilac* (corresponding to a *zilath/zilat*), which was held by eminent persons in the various communities. It is also the office with the earliest attestation, dating back to the beginning of the sixth century. It was both an individual and a collegiate post, appointed on an annual basis, which could be held for as many as eleven times, according to the available evidence. It was eponymous and often accompanied by attributes (*z. parchis*, *z. seleita/selaita*, *z. eterau/eterav*, *z. munica*, *z. mechl rasnal*, *z. cechaneri*, etc.) that specify the area of competence or allude to some form of hierarchy within the category.

For some of these specifications, we can be more precise. The *zilath eterau/eterav*, for example, was associated with the youth domain in that the post was held by a young person, preparatory to the *cursus honorum* itself, or corresponded to the leader of a youth organization.⁴⁰² The *zilath mechl rasnal* is today identified with the supreme citizen magistrate at the head of the *populus (rasna)*, i.e. of the individual city-state and its territory (for example Tarquinii and its *ager*). Another was the *zilath cechaneri*, corresponding to the highest office of the so-called League of the twelve Etruscan *populi*.

Of the magistrates, especially the *zilath*, there are many iconographic attestations in the Etruscan art of the period. One of the first representations is probably that of a funerary *cippus* from Clusium (475–450): seated on a dais, two magistrates (or perhaps two *agonothetes*?), a scribe, and a lictor observe a parade of winners of the *agōn*.⁴⁰³ However, it is above all in later Etruscan figurative works that the image of the magistrate becomes common. The scenes painted on the walls of the funerary chambers of Tarquinii or sculpted on the caskets of sarcophagi and urns from the settlements of southern Etruria (Caere, Tarquinii, Vulci) and northern Etruria (Volterra) portray the magistrate in a chariot or standing in a procession escorted by lictors, *apparitores* and

musicians.⁴⁰⁴ With the semantic ambivalence typical of Etruscan funerary iconography, this scene is loaded with symbolic and allusive meanings that represent the journey of the deceased magistrate to the world of the dead, but also, as some have pointed out,⁴⁰⁵ reflect real magisterial processions and faithfully reproduce their personages and attributes.

The earliest examples of the iconographic tradition of the magisterial procession in southern Etruria date back to the late fifth century. These include the representations on the sarcophagi of Ramtha Visnai in Vulci and the Tomb of the Sarcophagi in Caere (which both show distinctive attributes of magistrates such as the *sella curulis* and the *lituus*). From the beginning of the fourth century, this is also seen in the funerary paintings of Tarquinii (Tomb of the Pygmies), where it is attested in various contexts up to the third century (the Tomb of the Shields, the Bruschi Tomb, the Tomb of the Meeting, the Tomb of Typhon) (**Colour plates 42–48**). Even in the second century, it was still in use in Volterra, on the reliefs that decorate the caskets of the locally produced cinerary urns, although it was by then subject to the growing influence of Roman iconography.

4Etruscan federal organization

While Etruscan forms of political organization depended primarily on the individual cities (city-states), Etruscan literary and epigraphic sources also mention the existence of a (con)federal-organism encompassing the twelve *populi* of Etruria (*duodecim populi*, *duodecim populi Etruriae*, *dodeka hegemoniai*, or more simply *Etruria*, *omnis Etruria*).⁴⁰⁶

The expression of an ethnic-national identity linked to the *nomen omne Etruscum*,⁴⁰⁷ the League of the “twelve peoples of Etruria,” as it is conventionally referred to in modern Etruscological discourse, is believed to have been a stable but fluid political and religious structure, able to adapt over time and incorporate settlements that had acquired importance and political autonomy in place of others that had declined or had been conquered. It is therefore possible that it originally included the cities of Veii, Caere, Tarquinii, Vulci, Volsinii, Clusium, Vetulonia, Volterra, Perugia, Cortona, Arretium, and Faesulae; and that cities such as Rusellae, Populonia, and Pisa subsequently replaced others that were conquered by the Romans or simply declined, such as Veii, Vetulonia and perhaps even Caere.

In any case, the League of the twelve *populi* appears to be cited mostly by the ancient authors in connection with the assemblies that were held near Volsinii at the *fanum Voltumnae*, i.e. the federal sanctuary dedicated to Voltumna, *deus princeps Etruriae* (Varro *Ling.* 5.8.46), which is traditionally considered to be near Orvieto.⁴⁰⁸ Livy⁴⁰⁹ records a series of meetings of the *concilia Etruriae* between 434 and 352, in which questions of a political and

military nature were debated. These assemblies, which until 397 discussed issues relating to the conflict between Rome and Veii, could authorize armed intervention by the members of the League in support of an individual city or even the establishment of a federal army.

It is plausible that *concilia* had also been held in an earlier period. For some sources, especially those of the annalistic type, the existence of the twelve *populi* of Etruria dates back to the age of the Tarquinii,⁴¹⁰ or even to that of Romulus (e.g., Livy 1.8.3). It is practically certain that they continued to be held well into the fourth and even third century, if we consider the generic references in the literary sources to assemblies held by the peoples of Etruria in connection with their clashes with Rome.⁴¹¹ In the fifth and fourth centuries, the meetings of the *concilia* at the *fanum Voltumnae* seem to have been held regularly, perhaps once a year. The decisions of the assembly were made by vote, as explicitly recorded by the ancient authors,⁴¹² albeit in reference to the monarchical era. Any dissent from the common policy could lead to the exclusion of individual cities from the League.⁴¹³

When the *concilia Etruriae* were held, *ludi* were organized and “federal” officials were elected. In the monarchical period at least, the League was headed by a king elected from among the sovereigns of the twelve *populi*, to whom they entrusted their *insignia* (one lictor from each of them) and on whom they conferred full powers.⁴¹⁴ Subsequently, with the advent of republican institutions, the federal leader was chosen from among the *principes* (Livy 2.44.8), i.e. the superior magistrates (*zilath*) of the twelve *populi*. It is possible that the holders of this post were given the title of *zilath cechaneri* (“responsible for higher matters”), attested by Etruscan epigraphy. The anonymous occupant of the Tomb of the Meeting in Tarquinii may have held such a post (Colour plate 44).⁴¹⁵

The ancient authors also record the election (in 403) of a *sacerdos Etruriae* (Livy 5.1.5) during the *solemnia ludorum quos intermittit nefas est* (5.1.4). Although we do not need to accept—as has frequently been proposed⁴¹⁶—that the League was originally and essentially of a religious character, the literary sources provide compelling evidence of the centrality of religious practice in the context of the Etruscan League,⁴¹⁷ as in the case of other (con)federal institutions in ancient times. The sources also confirm the importance of the political and representative function of the sanctuaries in Etruria (or at least some of them), again amply attested elsewhere in the ancient world.

The purely formal survival of the Etruscan League in the Roman Imperial epoch—right up until the fourth century CE—is attested by Latin inscriptions that continued to make reference to official posts (*praetor Etruriae XV populorum*, *aedilis Etruriae*) that recalled the ancient structures of the League.⁴¹⁸ These were elective posts of a year’s duration, of a religious but essentially honorific nature, reserved for members of the municipal Italic elites of senatorial and equestrian rank. They reflect the Etruscan revival that

characterized the early Imperial age and led, in the Augustan and Claudian epochs, to the re-establishment—in an antiquarian perspective—of the Etruscan League, with the number of cities increased to fifteen.

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Maria Cecilia D'Ercole

10Economy and trade

To the memory of Mark Weir

Abstract: For many centuries, the Etruscan economy was one of the most thriving in the Mediterranean, driving intense trading over an area stretching from eastern Greece (Samos, Miletus) to the far Western reaches (Carthage, Iberia). Yet in spite of their importance, there are very few direct sources concerning these processes. After a brief overview of these sources, this chapter looks at the different scales of Etruscan production and trade (city, regional, and Mediterranean networks). This is followed by a diachronic presentation of the principal historical phases of the Etruscan economy. The development of the earliest processes of stockpiling and specialized productions, above all in metalworking (eighth century BCE), led to the formation of a highly prestigious aristocracy (seventh century) that was able to control production and trade over long distances. In parallel, various forms of highly specialized manufacturing developed. The sixth century saw the emergence of a phase of emporia, with specialized trading and the affirmation of a craftsmen class in the various Etruscan cities. Coastal trade was structured in a number of ports in southern Etruria (Gravisca, Pyrgi). This phase was characterized by a marked mobility of craftsmen and merchants, as is shown above all by the dedications found in various trading sites and sanctuaries throughout the Mediterranean (Mileto, Naucratis, Carthage). Transformations during the fifth century brought about a crisis in some local economies (above all in southern Etruria), but also fostered a notable boom for centers in the Po Valley (Felsina, Spina, Adria, Marzabotto) and on the Tyrrhenian (Aleria, in Corsica). In the fourth century, coinage entered commercial exchanges, even though—paradoxically—trading circuits had reformed on a local scale. The main goods exchanged over this broad chronological span were certainly staple commodities (crude metal) and the products of specialized agriculture (wine, oil), together with the products of luxury craftsmanship, such as metalworking and probably perfumes, textiles and other precious commodities. However, such a cursory overview must not obscure the many issues still under debate. Two such topics are outlined in the closing section: whether use was made of intermediaries in the network of Etruscan maritime trade, and how such a widespread trading network was sustained in an essentially pre-monetary environment, drawing on other systems of equivalence such as metal ingots of known weight.

Keywords: trade, land, mobility, agricultural products, craft products

1Methodological aspects and sources on the Etruscan economy

There are two immediate difficulties facing anybody wishing to write a history of an ancient economy: the lack of any theoretical consideration of economic factors in ancient times, and the difficulty of quantifying phenomena. These shortcomings are even more dramatic when dealing with a

people like the Etruscans, who left no direct written testimonies of their own history. This could be why very few attempts have been made to sum up the economic history of Etruscan societies,⁴¹⁹ even though there is an enormous literature concerning particular aspects of manufacturing, production, trade and everyday life. Nonetheless, rather than forgoing the attempt to trace an economic history of ancient societies, it is appropriate to perfect our interpretative models and collate all the various sources available to us. If we cannot pin down the exact quantities involved in transactions (and after all, for how many societies prior to the modern age are such calculations possible?), we have to focus on the quality of the evidence. This methodological approach, which owes something to the disciplines of anthropology and social history, investigates the impact—even indirectly—of exchanges on the development and configuration of ancient societies, without losing sight of the partial and hence modifiable nature of the results obtained.

The sources for a history of trade and the economy in Etruria fall essentially into three categories: a) literary; b) epigraphic; and c) archaeological. The sources of the first type, which are primarily Greek and Roman, are often affected by phenomena of distortion common in the representation of foreign societies. An eloquent example of such an attitude is the way in which the Etruscans' prosperity⁴²⁰ was perceived as excessive luxury—*tryphé*—and thus as a negative quality.⁴²¹ Another example of misperception is piracy. This activity is often associated with the Etruscan presence on the seas, at least from 530 BCE onwards, when the legend of the abduction of Dionysus by Tyrrhenian pirates first featured on Ionian and Attic vases.⁴²² In the Augustan age, Strabo (5.3.5) described joint actions of piracy by the Etruscans and inhabitants of Antium in the second half of the fourth century. Undoubtedly piracy involved the violent seizure of goods, and was particularly common in certain contexts such as the slave trade. But in antiquity it was a widely practiced economic activity: not only by the Phoenicians (Homer, *Odyssey*) but also by the Greeks themselves in a remote past (Thuc. 1.5).

The epigraphic sources never make direct reference to trade, meaning that we do not know the vocabulary used for this activity in Etruscan. On some recipients that have come to light, we do, however, have traces of calculations and the so-called “trademarks,” symbols representing owners or traders.⁴²³ The discovery of texts, such as the lead plaque found at Pech Maho (France), dating from the beginning of the fifth century, provides new information. Although it has elicited a series of controversial interpretations, in this text, all scholars recognize:⁴²⁴ a) the Etruscan name of Marseille, i.e. *mataliai*; b) the first evidence of the use of depots (Etruscan *kisne*); c) evidence of a very extensive commercial enterprise, involving an Etruscan (*Vel*) and a Latin merchant (*Utave*), who signed the contract in a Greek trading post in the western Mediterranean, probably Marseille or its Iberian colony, Emporion (now Ampurias).

Archaeology still provides the fundamental evidence for establishing Etruscan economic history, whether in terms of the landscape or traditional studies on the production and distribution of goods. Yet the use of archaeological remains obviously presents some problems of interpretation. Most of the data comes from funerary contexts, which, far from being the equivalent of ledgers, were intended as a kind of social and symbolic representation. Moreover, the process of circulation (seen in amphoras) only partially coincides with production processes (such as agricultural resources). In spite of these limits, archaeology gives a fairly reliable overview of economic processes, sometimes providing firsthand information. This is the case of shipwrecks, precious sources for studying trade routes and cargoes. But in this case too, the information that can be derived is never an objective entity, but rather a matter of interpretation.

2Regional, urban and Mediterranean networks

The economy occupied a number of spaces, which conditioned production and exchange mechanisms. In order to understand the specificity of the Etruscan economic system, it must be viewed on several different scales. On one scale we have the urban realities that constantly characterize the development of Etruscan history,⁴²⁵ from the “Villanovan revolution”⁴²⁶ through the Roman conquest. The affirmation of the Tyrrhenian ports in the sixth century testifies to the connections between emporium, city and territory, seen particularly clearly in the case of Tarquinia.⁴²⁷ Civic organization also accounts for the different reactions towards global events such as the so-called “crisis of the fifth century,” and the various policies concerning coinage during the fourth century. The second scale concerns the diversity of regional districts. The distinction between maritime, mining and Po Valley Etruria is not merely a modern convention but corresponds to different economic realities. However, these regional varieties should not be seen as idiosyncratic. On the contrary, the Etruscan communities soon distinguished themselves for their capacity to interact with their surroundings. We can think of the mining of metal ores but also of the hydraulic know-how that made it possible to manage apparently hostile environments, such as saline lagoons. Veii, Pisa, and Spina are three illustrations of the Etruscans’ ability to transform their natural environment. At the same time, their political strategies made it possible to extend the boundaries of regional realities, as is seen in the Etruscan expansion in the Po starting at the end of the sixth century, probably the work of the cities in the hinterland of northern Etruria, mostly Chiusi.

The third approach is on the Mediterranean scale, and in the case of the Etruscan economy, this became significant very early on.⁴²⁸ Commercial expansion took place first of all within the western quadrilateral lying

between Tyrrhenian Etruria, Sardinia, the Euboic settlements in Campania (Pithehekussai, Cumae), and the western Phoenician sites from Carthage to the settlements in Sardinia. But already in the Geometric period, this scenario extended to the Aegean Mediterranean, as is seen by the presence of Etruscan votive offerings—weapons, fibulae, vessels and ornaments, dating from the ninth–sixth centuries—in several Greek sanctuaries.⁴²⁹ Starting from 630, the Etruscan network regularly reached Celtic Europe⁴³⁰ and Iberia.⁴³¹

3The formation phase (eighth century)

Our investigation begins in the eighth century. This is when regional varieties emerge in the Italic peninsula, when Greeks (Euboeans, Achaeans and Corinthians) founded several cities in southern Italy and Phoenicians reinforced their existing footholds in Sardinia and Sicily. The occupation of the historic Etruscan sites (Veio, Tarquinia, Populonia) and their territories involved an intensive exploitation of the territory that has suggested a full-blown internal colonization.⁴³² For the first time, the Etruscans extended their territorial limits in the direction of the fertile lands of the Po Plain and Campania. This agricultural expansion also had a technological basis. It probably relied on the alternation of crops and fallow land and the introduction of new tools such as the plow, which occupies pride of place in one of the finest specimens of Italic and indeed Mediterranean craftsmanship, the cult-chariot of Bisenzio (Fig. 10.1). Individuals who were at the head of emerging family groups fostered this expansion, and these people eventually became genuine aristocrats, recognizable by the prestige objects found in some significant funerary contexts.⁴³³ These dynamics imply the formation of a class of servants who were dependent on their overlords and on the land, a social category that in some regions (such as southern Etruria) persisted until the fourth century.⁴³⁴ Moreover, already in the eighth century, Etruscan societies were able to intervene simultaneously in various sectors of the production and circulation of goods. In this period, metallurgical activities can be linked to the cities, while in the Late Bronze Age they took place on a regional scale,⁴³⁵ suggested, among other things, by the way in which the coastal system flourished (Populonia and Vetulonia). On the one hand, centers had common interests in the exploitation of mineral deposits on Elba, and on the other in exchanges with Sardinia, another major mining region. Some particularly dynamic centers like Tarquinia could have played an important role right from the Early Iron Age in the search for minerals, in particular iron.⁴³⁶ Another element is the richness of the metal objects produced in the various ateliers, found above all in tombs or deposits (the so-called “hoards”). The largest of such deposits came to light in Bologna. It contained 14,838 bronze objects, and three made of iron, weighing 1418 kg in all, dating mostly

from between the ninth century and the first decades of the seventh century, when the deposit seems to have been sealed.⁴³⁷ Moreover, starting in the mid eighth century, one can recognize an ever-larger network of exchanges with the Aegean and the Near East. At Veii and at Pontecagnano, for example, the presence of Euboic Geometric bowls (with semicircles and *àchevrons*,) seems to accompany or even precede the colonization at Pithecusa and Cumae.⁴³⁸ This process brought about a change in indicators of power. The control of wide-ranging exchanges allowed to emerging individuals to add a new political status to their private role of *pater familias*. The role of women became one of the linchpins of the trade system through matrimonial alliances. At the beginning of the eighth century, a female tomb from Vulci containing three Sardinian bronze statuettes shows how extraneous women could be assimilated into local society.⁴³⁹ The exchange process became at the same time cause and effect of the formation of a predominant class that was to become visible, exhibiting very pronounced exterior markers, over the following century.

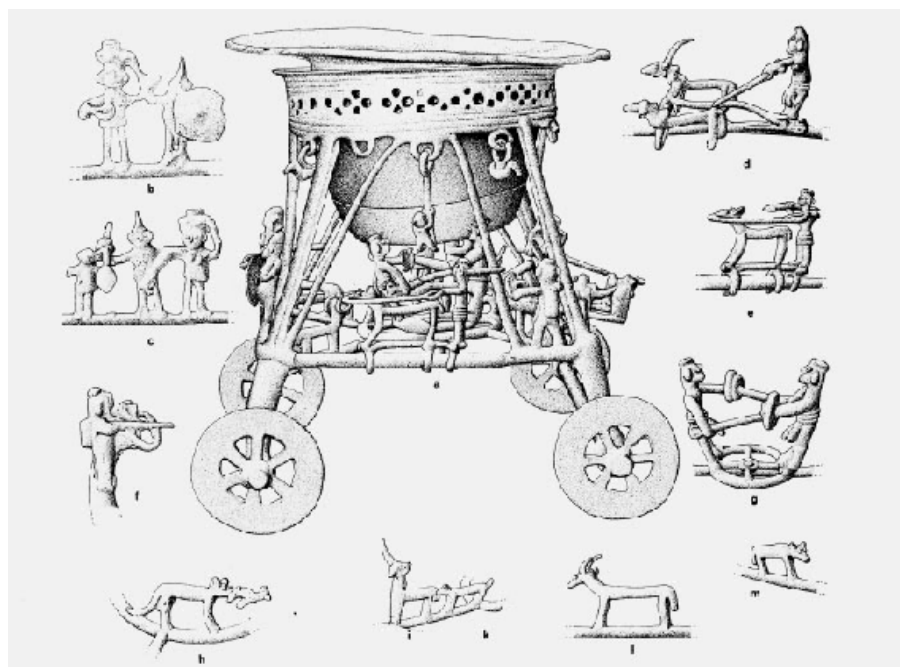


Fig. 10.1: The chariot of Bisenzio. Rome, Villa Giulia (after Woytowitsch 1978, pl. 24)

4Aristocratic expansion (seventh century)

In the seventh century, the aristocracy attained a political and economic rank

that was of a very high level, perceptible in this phase thanks to epigraphs and archaeological evidence. This is when the gentilitial—an onomastic formula that establishes membership of a family group in which the name, and presumably also the estate, is passed on—came into existence.⁴⁴⁰ Once again, the exploitation of resources (both agrarian and mineral) and the predominance of trading networks were the cornerstones for the enormous expansion of Orientalizing Etruscan objects. In parallel, the introduction of specialized cultures (such as grapes and olive) created new forms of wealth and exportation networks. The rural area of Caere, one of the leading cities of Orientalizing Etruscan society, numbered 113 farms and agricultural holdings dating to between the end of the seventh and the sixth century.⁴⁴¹ The discovery of grindstones, dolia, amphoras and animal remains, including game, indicate that cereals, grapes and olives were cultivated, as well as animal husbandry. Finally, the presence of aristocratic tumuli (e.g. in the Monteroni necropolises) together with the existence, already in the Archaic period, of gentilitials associated with the local toponym (*Alsaia*) suggest that an aristocratic component was directly involved in the dynamics of territorial occupation.⁴⁴² To this we can now add the increased technical prowess of Etruscan craftsmanship. Like the Greeks and Phoenicians, the Etruscans became famous for the manufacture of prestigious objects, made in a wide range of materials, including clay and bronze, certainly, but also ivory, amber, gold and ostrich egg. It is no coincidence that around the mid seventh century, the sources place in this phase the arrival in Tarquinia of the Corinthian noble Demaratus, with craftsmen in his entourage.⁴⁴³

In practice, these phases of trade in Etruria seem to have been centered on gift exchange an economic as well as a ritualized process.⁴⁴⁴ This model of trade, which was common among their Greek trading partners, is based on mechanisms of reciprocity⁴⁴⁵ and presupposes a parity—generally at a socially elevated level—of the partners. In this type of commerce—*prexis* in Greek—the production of resources (e.g. from the land) and the sale of surplus are substantially identical.⁴⁴⁶ The donors' dedications frequently inscribed on the precious objects and ceramic ware conform to this model.⁴⁴⁷ A vase found in a tomb in Tarquinia dating from around 630 bore mention of a “*rutile hipucrates*”⁴⁴⁸ whose onomastic formula undoubtedly denotes the Greek aristocratic name *Hippocrates* preceded by the Latin name *Rutilius*, probably given to him in the individual's Etruscan place of residence (Fig. 47.2a).⁴⁴⁹ The “aristocratic” model of production and trade likely persisted at least until 590–580, when a vessel—believed to have been sailing between Etruria and Eastern Greece (Ionia), with ports of call at Corinth and possibly Pithecusa—sank off the Isola del Giglio.⁴⁵⁰ The objects found on board indicate that the *naukleros* (the captain, and possibly also owner of the craft) and crew, probably natives of an Ionian city, enjoyed writing and quite possibly also music.

5The emporic phase (sixth century)

By the time between seventh and sixth centuries the transformation was under way. The rise and fall in the fortunes of Etruscan bucchero ware is a good example of the dynamics of development in Etruscan societies starting in the last decades of the seventh century.⁴⁵¹ In the first phase (680–630) such ware began to be exported from Caere towards southern and maritime Etruria, with very few craftsmen involved. From 630, ateliers proliferated particularly in southern Etruria (Caere, Vulci, Tarquinia) and their products were exported over a large area, stretching from Marseille to Carthage to the Nile delta. This boom attained spectacular proportions in the Late Orientalizing period (610–580).

During the sixth century, manufacturing was the protagonist of many significant changes in Etruscan cities, where it had acquired autonomy, no longer at the service of the *princeps* but rather catering for public requirements (such as the construction of temples). The production of surplus and the circulation of goods involved ever-broader segments of the population that gained visibility in the topographical and architectonic organization of towns and necropolises (Orvieto).⁴⁵² At Caere, the craftsmen's quarter in the area of the Vigna Parrocchiale was found to contain pigments and various waste materials, proving that glass, iron and copper were all worked here.⁴⁵³ At Populonia, structures for iron working were in use from the second half of the sixth through to the first half of the fifth century.⁴⁵⁴

In parallel, Etruscan trade took on features that can be described as specialized or “emporic,” reflecting an evolution that also affected Greek cities, which were constant trading partners of the Etruscan world in the sixth century.⁴⁵⁵ To give the briefest outline of what is the subject of immense debate, the emporium is a place for trade separate from the urban community but subject to its juridical and political control, a fixed and often obligatory port of call in a trading process and finally somewhere that undergoes an influx of foreigners. Our knowledge of the emporic phenomenon in the archaic and classical Mediterranean owes much to archaeological research carried out along the Tyrrhenian coast over the last fifty years, in particular at Gravisca, the port for Tarquinia, founded at the beginning of the sixth century, and at Pyrgi, the port for Caere, founded around the end of the seventh–early sixth century.⁴⁵⁶ The two ports have certain features in common. Both were the point of convergence for cosmopolitan trading carried out over great distances. The Ionian component predominates at Gravisca in the first quarter of the sixth century, while in the second and third, there is a higher incidence of East-Greek and Laconian ceramic ware. From the fourth quarter of the sixth century, the Aeginian component began to predominate at Gravisca, as can be deduced from epigraphs, in particular the unique dedication by Sostratos to Apollo Aeginas, dating from about 510 (Fig. 35.12). This may be the merchant Sostratos cited by Herodotus (4.152), and also the same person

who left his signature in the emporium of Naucratis. If so, in view of the quantity of trademarks found at Gravisca, he was the Greek merchant responsible for bringing “from Athens to Etruria (...) more pots than any other individual.”⁴⁵⁷ Other graffiti illustrate the variety of ethnic components in this emporium: Ionians and Aeginians, of course, but also Corinthians and Achaeans.⁴⁵⁸ At Pyrgi, the foreign component is Phoenician, probably from Carthage itself, as indicated by the exceptional record of the inscriptions on the golden plaques found in Temple B, dating from the beginning of the fifth century (Fig. 35.2). The text, inscribed in Etruscan and Punic, states that *Thefarie Velianas*, the king of Caere, consecrated a temple to the female divinity Uni-Astarte, who was worshipped by both the local and the Phoenician (probably Carthaginian) communities. These texts show three important things. The first is the ability to set up strategies and alliances. Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.5.10–11, 1280a) knew of the existence of conventions (*graphai*) between Etruscans and Carthaginians concerning the goods that could be imported and forms of mutual alliance. The second is the active intervention of a political figure—Thefarie Velianas—to create the conditions that would encourage the arrival of foreign merchants and the development of trade. The third is that in these Tyrrhenian ports, as at the major Greek emporium of Naucratis in Egypt, the divinity played a vital role in the reception of foreigners and in underwriting commercial dealings. In the case of Etruria, the divinity took over the functions that in the Orientalizing society had been performed by the princes.⁴⁵⁹

In this phase the trading network became very widespread. In Italy, exportations from Etruria itself and from Etruscan Northern Campania (Capua) were directed above all towards the aristocracies of the Peucetians and Daunians, taking advantage of internal river-borne routes (along the Calore-Sele).⁴⁶⁰ Etruscan sea-borne destinations involved not only the traditional Tyrrhenian area, stretching from the Gulf of Lion to Carthage (as shown by the wine amphoras from Vulci and Caere), but also Central Europe and the eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 10.2). Further afield Etruscan trade went as far as North-Eastern Iberia⁴⁶¹ and regularly to the South of France, from where Etruscan objects found their way to Celtic aristocracies in the hinterland.

The forms of contact and mobility arising out of exchanges began to multiply. The most ancient inscription left by an Etruscan craftsman (from Vulci?) was found at Saint-Blaise, in the South of France, and dates from the middle of the sixth century.⁴⁶² In the settlement of Lattes, a dramatic increase in the presence of Etruscan amphoras and scripts occurred during the last quarter of the sixth century.⁴⁶³ Between the third quarter of the seventh and the mid sixth century, direct contacts may explain the presence of bucchero ware (Fig. 88.3) and Etruscan-Corinthian vases (twenty specimens in all) found at Carthage, the latter probably made at Vulci and Tarquinia.⁴⁶⁴ Personal relationships—possibly deriving from more ancient forms of contact

and exchange—appear at least in part to be codified in the so-called *tesserae hospitales*. These objects, evidence of twinning arrangements to be exhibited on arrival in a foreign port, have been found at various places throughout the Tyrrhenian area, from the emporic sanctuary of Sant’Omobono at Rome (an ivory miniature lion mentioning an Etruscan), to the necropolis of Santa Monica at Carthage (a tessera inscribed in Etruscan mentioning “a Punic of Carthage”) (Fig. 88.4).⁴⁶⁵ In some cases, we have evidence of the involvement of Etruscans in Greek commercial dealings, as for example two generations of merchants from Vulci who were active between 560 and 500, appear to have participated in the commerce of Attic pottery, using the “trademark” *fa(ltu)* found painted or more often scratched on vases.⁴⁶⁶ Greeks are known to have been assiduous visitors to Etruscan sites. The presence of Etruscan bucchero ware at Samos and Miletus in the second half of the sixth century may be due to personal dedications by Etruscans⁴⁶⁷ or more likely Greeks,⁴⁶⁸ as the rare inscriptions found on bucchero are always written in the Greek alphabet. Southern Etruria, above all, continued to attract Aegean craftsmen, often coming from Ionia. The famous hydriae from Caere, a small group of vases manufactured between 530 and 500 by Ionian craftsmen who were in residence at Caere,⁴⁶⁹ are an example of these processes. A Greek with the Etruscanized name *Larth Telicles*, cited in the inscription on an Orientalizing aryballos in bucchero, may have been involved in the local perfume industry.⁴⁷⁰

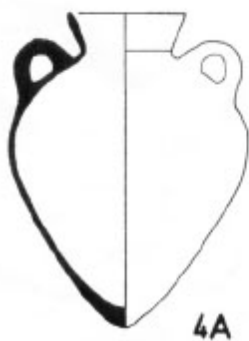
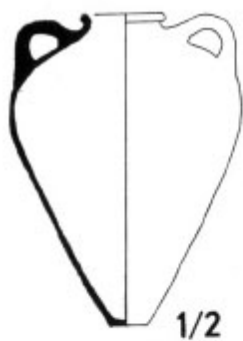


Fig. 10.2: Main types of Etruscan trade amphoras (after Py 1985, fig. 2)

6 Transformations and epilogue (fifth–fourth centuries)

In the Italic peninsula, the fifth century was a period of major social and political changes, also in macro-historical terms. One can think of the fall of Sibari in 510 and the downfall of the last Etruscan dynast in Rome in 509. Etruscan society responded in different ways to this situation, reflecting regional and urban diversities. Social conflicts took up much of the fifth century, although there was no single chronology or modality.⁴⁷¹ As a rule, we can say that the economic system in the southern cities took more of a battering. To go back to the case of the rural area of Caere, there was a “marked contraction of the rural settlement” (from 113 to 55 sites) in the fifth and fourth centuries, and an analogous contraction can be seen in the *ager cosanus*, near Vulci.⁴⁷² These transformations had a strong impact on trade. After the phase of monumentalization in 470, the sanctuary and emporium of Gravisca appears to regress to an essentially local dimension. On the other hand, the crisis did not affect Po Valley Etruria in the least. In the fifth century, it actually experienced an enormous economic and cultural development,⁴⁷³ with a large throughput of people and goods. At the end of the sixth century, *Felsina* (Bologna) looked like a new city, almost as if it had been “refounded,”⁴⁷⁴ the importation of the highest quality Attic vases soared in the years 475–450.⁴⁷⁵ In the western sector, the thriving emporium of Alalia in Corsica seems to display analogous features, with the site being intensely frequented and yielding a great variety of products.⁴⁷⁶ The Po Plain sector (Adria, Spina, Marzabotto) became an authentic powerhouse of both local resources (wheat, salt and hides) and craft (in bronze and amber) products, capable of fueling exchanges with various regions of the Greek world—especially Attica, as is evident from the wealth of imports of figured and black varnish pottery, but also Corinth, Samos and Chios (amphoras for wine and oil) and southern Italy (“Greek-Italic amphoras”).⁴⁷⁷ Both Spina and Alalia give the impression of being prosperous settlements characterized by a mixed culture, Etruscan but also Greek and indigenous, Celtic and Italic in Corsica, Umbro-Venetian in the Po Plain. In both cases, onomastics reveal a weakness or lack of the gentilitial nomen, typical of the aristocracy, and the presence of a very dynamic middle class that appears to have controlled trading in complete autonomy. This could explain why Spina was defined as a “polis” by Strabo (5.1.7). The first onomastic attestations of Alalia are *Kaile* and *Klavtie*, dating from the mid fifth century; either one could denote an origin from Caere.⁴⁷⁸ The grave goods of the population of Spina display great wealth, which justifies the tradition that exists in some ancient texts concerning a dedication by a native of Spina in the sanctuary at Delphi.⁴⁷⁹

Certainly relations were maintained with the political class of the hinterland. The stele of *Vel Kaikna*, a member of one of the most important families of Felsina, features a warship and alludes to the office of a magistrate who may have been engaged in the protection of the ports at Spina (Fig. 61.1). But such relations probably indicate forms of territorial integration between Felsina, Spina and other centers in Po Plain Etruria, rather than the relationship of dependence.⁴⁸⁰

Diversity continued to characterize the Etruscan world in the fourth century, when Rome began its systematic conquest of Etruscan territories. Manufacturing tended to have a local circulation, with only a few centers of ceramic production (Volterra, Tarquinia) managing to go beyond the local sphere. The Etruscan cities began to mint coins (in gold, silver and bronze) in the last quarter of the fifth and the first decade of the fourth century. However, this innovation was restricted to the individual cities. Only the currency issued in Populonia succeeded in establishing itself on a wider circuit during the fourth century.⁴⁸¹ At the same time, some large tombs appear to indicate that land ownership was in the hands of a few elite groups. These fertile lands were taken over by the Roman *plebs* when Veii was conquered in 396, and owned by rich Roman citizens when Tiberius Gracchus visited an almost entirely deserted southern Etruria in 133.

7Exchange commodities

One of the typical features of Etruscan trade was the ability to dominate and control a very extensive network of exchange commodities, ranging from staple goods (*biotos* in Greek) to the most varied and exotic luxury items. This ability invariably went hand in hand with a technological expertise that excelled at luxury products.

Commerce in metals illustrates the complexity of Etruscan production and exchange networks. Etruscans are known to have exported crude or semi-crude metal in the form of ingots, as exemplified by the copper bars found in the shipwreck of the Isola del Giglio, dating from 590–580. They also exported manufactured products, above all tableware (*Schnabelkannen*, basins with beaded rims, *infundibula*), to the Italic peninsula (Campania, Daunia⁴⁸²) and Celtic settlements in the South of France and Central Europe. As personal dedications, Etruscan metal implements associated with the symposium traveled as far afield as the major Greek sanctuaries (Olympia, Samos, Miletus).⁴⁸³ But this was not a one-way migration. In spite of the richness of the Etruscan mineral deposits, it must have been necessary to import metal to maintain such a major production. The wrecked ship of Rochelongue, which sank off Gaul in the mid sixth century, contained more than 1,700 bronze objects and copper bars, dating at the latest from the mid sixth century. This

cargo was probably intended as payment for supplies of wine from Vulci and Cerveteri.⁴⁸⁴ Although to date, little work has been done on it, the dissemination of tin was also important, since it was essential for the production of bronze and could be procured only in a few regions of Europe (Cornwall, Brittany, northwestern Spain, northeastern Germany, and Croatia). In this connection the presence of a tin cheese grater in a tomb at Spina is a very significant indication.⁴⁸⁵

Wine was a true dynamo of trade in the Mediterranean, and one of the chief commodities to be exported from archaic Etruria. In brief, we can observe that a recognizable circuit for the distribution of Etruscan wine was in place from the beginning of the sixth century, serving essentially the South of France, the Iberian sector and also stretching further north towards the Celtic world. Some vessels give a good idea of the scope of this trade. The so-called Grand Ribaud F had a cargo of 800–1,000 amphoras probably originating in the region of Caere. It was traditionally thought that Etruscan trade in Gaul declined with the foundation of Marseille, and did not persist beyond the middle of the sixth century. However, recent finds have shown that it continued until the end of the fifth if not into the fourth century, even though the general conditions did change when Marseille became a center to be reckoned with from 450.⁴⁸⁶

Together with the exportation of wine went the dissemination of Etruscan table customs. These enjoyed considerable prestige even in the Aegean, where Etruscan wine did not arrive very commonly, if at all. To date, only one Etruscan amphora has been found at Miletus (Fig. 14.1), while a number of fragments of bowls in bucchero dating from the sixth century have been found in sanctuaries (e.g. that of Aphrodite) as dedicatory offerings, possibly by Greek merchants who had had contact with Etruscan communities.⁴⁸⁷ The form of these bowls is very informative—they are *kantharoi*, sometimes very large (“giant-kantharoi”). First appearing in Etruria in the third quarter of the seventh century, the bucchero *kantharos* of this shape is the emblem of the vases used by Etruscans to serve wine, and is systematically found accompanying exportations of Etruscan amphoras towards Southern France until the middle of the sixth century.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, this vase is not the only indication of the extent of the Etruscan commercial network and of the appeal of a model that was cultural as well as economic. In the second half of the sixth century, bronze funnels (lat. *infundibula*) probably manufactured at Volsinii and Vulci were the most common Etruscan bronze implement throughout the Mediterranean, from Carthage to Cyrene and on to the Aegean world, where they were imported by Greek merchants.⁴⁸⁹

Wine and oil are not enough to explain the complexity of trading around the Mediterranean and on the mainland; the reality was undoubtedly more composite.⁴⁹⁰ According to Diodorus of Sicily (5.13.3–5; 14.1), at the time of their Tyrrhenian thalassocracy, the Etruscans went to Corsica to stock up on resin, wax and honey. Corsica was famous for its animal husbandry, and also

for slaves. The Etruscan cargo shipwrecked off the Isola del Giglio contained pine nuts, which are a spicy food with high nutritional value. Other quality goods had more specialized circuits. Perfumes began to be used in Etruria from the beginning of the Orientalizing period, as shown by the first importations of Cypriot, Eastern Greek and Rhodian vases identified in southern Etruria (Caere and Vulci). This phenomenon really took off between 630–580.⁴⁹¹ It is likely that perfumes were also produced locally, since there was a flourishing industry of oil vases—the so-called Etruscan-Corinthian *aryballoi*—manufactured at Caere and widely exported in the first half of sixth century. Such vases are found throughout southern Etruria as far as Cumae and Carthage and down the Italic peninsula (Sabins, Faliscans, Picenians).⁴⁹² They do not seem to have been exported to Gaul, which points to a substantial autonomy in the orientation of trade.⁴⁹³

The trading of textiles is likely to have taken several routes, both regional and further afield. Some imports of linen probably came to Etruria from other Italian regions such as the Po Valley and Campania.⁴⁹⁴ Although it is an isolated case, the surprising discovery of fragments of cashmere in the Etruscan settlement of Lattes could be interesting evidence of trade with central Asia.⁴⁹⁵ On the other hand, some Etruscan fibulae in bronze and amber common in Central Italy (Verucchio) reached the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus during the seventh century.⁴⁹⁶ As Verucchio was a flourishing center of textile production, some of these personal ornaments could have traveled with textiles.

8Open issues

The summary nature of all this information should not mask the complexity of the questions we have been considering. For example, not only was there a gradual passage from the type of aristocratic commerce to the specialized emporium, but the two patterns could at times overlap. Moreover, many topics can give rise to new interpretations and be modified by archaeological and epigraphic discoveries. What were the interactions between Etruscan and Phoenician trading?⁴⁹⁷ Was the first influx of commercial activity towards southern France Greek or Etruscan? When can we date the last forms of Etruscan presence in these regions? These have all been the objects of recent studies and debates that will certainly help us achieve a better understanding of the Ancient Mediterranean. There are two open issues in particular. The first is whether the Etruscans were directly involved in the sea-borne conveyance of their products or if they called on intermediaries (Phoenician, Ionians, Aeginians, etc.). Recently, Patrice Pomey has called attention to the archaeological “invisibility” of Etruscan vessels, which suggests that they might have used intermediaries.⁴⁹⁸ However, this is to argue *ex silentio*, and

new discoveries may well disprove this suggestion. In the same conference proceedings, Giovanni Colonna made a good case for the direct involvement of Etruscans in maritime traffic by illustrating the great mobility of Tyrrhenian merchants.⁴⁹⁹ It appears unlikely that this far-flung circulation of men and goods could have taken place entirely on foreign-owned vessels, but for the moment, it remains unresolved.⁵⁰⁰ This investigation touches on one of the classic topics in the history of commerce in the ancient world—namely, the role of intermediaries and the practice of leasing means of transport. After all, this practice was at the heart of the Athenian practice of maritime loans, well documented in the speeches of Greek orators from the second half of the fifth century.⁵⁰¹

One surprising feature of Etruscan trade is the fact that it was able to develop for centuries without minting coinage, even though it involved a circuit of exchanges extending over most of the Mediterranean. Etruscan coinage only appeared quite late, and had a local circulation, whereas counterparts had long been in circulation in Greece, southern Italy, Carthage and Rome. We also only know of rare episodes of the hoarding of foreign coins (with just a few exceptions, for example at Volterra⁵⁰² and Pyrgi⁵⁰³). This suggests that most Etruscan trading did not involve monetary exchange but was based on other forms of payment. It is likely that a fundamental role in the assessment of value was played by the weight of metals. The letters inscribed on the metals in the deposit of San Francesco in Bologna, from the seventh century, are probably an indication of calculations of this sort.⁵⁰⁴ A century later, the bars of metal known as “with dry branch” probably served a function in “trading requisites,” even though it is difficult to place them in a system of weights and measures. Guaranteed by the hallmark, these ingots had a vast circulation (from Sicily and Campania to the Po Plain and the eastern Adriatic), which testifies to their reliability.⁵⁰⁵ But there may also have been other systems of value equivalence, based for example on the capacity of some forms of ceramic ware. The role of “vase-étalon” has been attributed to the bucchero *kantharos*.⁵⁰⁶ There remains the possibility that this function may have been performed by Attic vases (e.g. *lekythoi*), found in some cases to feature numerical marks, for example at Spina. The letters and numbers imprinted on the archaic Greek amphoras found in Po Plain emporia have been associated with the city of provenance—e.g. “S(icyon?),” on a Corinthian amphora, “A” from Marzabotto—or interpreted as an indication of capacity, above all for the Chiote amphoras, whose contents was subject to variations.⁵⁰⁷

More generally, we have to consider why the Etruscan cities should have been unwilling to mint coinage. Some scholars have pointed out that money appeared as an internal solution to the crisis of the Etruscan economical system. In fact, the marked differences in ponderal systems shows the lack of political unity, and undoubtedly detracted from its economic effectiveness.⁵⁰⁸ But we can also wonder whether such a belated appearance may not have

been the outcome of a political design aimed at containing the forms of social mobility that the introduction of coinage entails. We should not forget that in Plato's ideal city, coinage was to serve only for day-to-day, local purposes,⁵⁰⁹ and that according to Xenophon,⁵¹⁰ the circulation of coinage was practically impossible in oligarchic Sparta. It is significant that the great majority of pre-monetary ingots (50%, no less) came from the Po Plain, precisely the area in which, from the sixth century onwards, the social transformations brought about by manufacturing and mercantile activities were most evident.⁵¹¹

These considerations suggest that the economic history of the Etruscans is itself currently a highly dynamic sector. Yet one fact has been securely established. To adopt the elegant expression of Jean-Paul Morel the Etruscans have taken their place in the company of mariners, merchants, and perhaps also colonial settlers and immigrant residents of the northwestern Mediterranean,⁵¹² and indeed, of the Mediterranean *tout court*.

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Markus Egg

11War and Weaponry

Abstract: The development of armaments and warfare in Etruria can best be followed through the tombs of warriors. In the ninth–eighth centuries BCE, there arose independent armaments that were strongly influenced by central European traditions, which can best be shown through helmet shapes and the *antenna* sword. Beginning in the seventh century, influence of the Greek art of war—including the phalanx tactic—increased in Etruria. The Etruscans adopted the hoplites’ shield and the flexible greaves, and probably also linen armor. Here and there Greek helmet shapes were taken over as well, but the Etruscan armorers from the seventh to the third centuries always developed their own helmet types, clearly distinct from the Greek forms. In the fourth century, the successful occupation of northern Italy made the influence of Celtic weaponry noticeable to some extent. Etruscans adopted the iron sword and helmet of the victorious Celts. The Etruscan artisans adapted the iron helmet to their own preferred material, bronze. With the subjection of the Etruscan cities to the Romans in the third and second centuries, the independent Etruscan tradition of war disappeared and with it the weapon-tombs as well.

Keywords: Helmet, Spear, Greave, Sword

1“War makes the man” in the ancient world

War played an entirely different role in ancient Italy than it does today on account of the numerous martial conflicts, since the army was of fundamental importance for the survival of a society. In contrast to today, the business of war was highly regarded, and bravery in battle counted as the highest manly virtue. It constituted one of the few possibilities for transcending the mostly very narrow social boundaries of the distinct social classes. Military success, just like wealth, ambition, shrewdness, and rhetorical ability, was an essential prerequisite for a leading position in politics. War was deadly serious and was the cruelest and most fearsome challenge that men faced. Because in the ancient world plunder was not as today forbidden, but an integral part or sometimes even the purpose of military undertakings, war also brought the possibility of achieving economic success. Thus in ancient times war exuded a certain fascination, so that the Greek philosopher Heraclitus even called war

the “father of all things.” Ancient Greece was also acquainted with the bitter side of war and not for nothing is it always accompanied in the Iliad by the adjective “man-killing.”

It is not so simple to draw up a history of war, and hence also of warriors, using the tools of archaeology. Finds that directly illuminate the events of war are extremely rare. Normally, the corpses of the losers were burned or turned over to the wild animals and thus lost forever. Traces of their ultimate sacrifice are therefore scarce. A further possibility for interpreting pre- and proto-historic war is contemporary representations of battle and warriors. But these must not be understood as direct reflections of reality, since early pictures mostly deal with a mythological or idealized image, representing the combat of various ancestors, heroes, or even gods. The study of “instruments of war”—weapons—also permits drawing conclusions about the nature of ancient war. Besides isolated finds, weapons appear in dedicatory finds. These dedications of weapons in ancient times, called Gk. *tropaia* (trophies), are closely related to military events. With good reason, they are interpreted as the dedication of weapons seized in battle to the honor of the divinities that supported the victors.

What we encounter much more often is the warriors themselves in their graves. Since warriors enjoyed high status, it was usual to bury their weapons alongside them, so that in the afterlife their warrior status could be recognized. It can be assumed that by and large in archaic societies, one took on the same role in the afterlife as in the here and now. Weapons of course are used to kill people, but the brutal moments of their use are in fact swift and short. Because of the high esteem of war in many archaic societies, weapons were often provided with military insignia and symbols of power, often richly ornamented, for the purpose of self-representation during the owners’ lifetime as well as in funerary use. To what extent these claims of warrior status in the grave necessarily corresponded to reality—or reflected a somewhat idealized and distorted image—will not be considered here.

The consistent production of iron began in Italy in the ninth or eighth century BCE. This new material had serious consequences for the conduct of war. Not only is iron harder than bronze, but iron ore is much more common in nature than copper or even tin. Much more extensive segments of the population could therefore be equipped with metal weapons, and men of warrior rank could have made an ever greater claim to power within any individual society. The replacement of bronze in the context of offensive weapons was not sudden, but gradual. Beginning in the late eighth century, iron offensive weapons—such as swords and lance—dominated the battlefield. But bronze remained the prevailing material for defensive equipment such as helmets.

2The Villanovan period (1000–730 BCE)

Curiously, the development of weapons in Iron Age central Italy begins not with ordinary weapons, but with miniaturized specimens or clay models. The earliest indications of weapons as grave goods are found in some graves from Lavinium and Santa Palomba in Latium.⁵¹³ A set of miniature weapons was found in the tenth-century Grave 21 from Lavinium, consisting of a lance, a dagger, a knife, a pair of greaves, and two figure-eight shields. We may suppose that the deceased was a warrior and entered into the afterlife as such, but his family was not quite ready to surrender actual weapons for his benefit.

The clay helmets from the Villanovan period are quite similar.⁵¹⁴ These too substituted for the valuable metal helmets. They were used as lids for the urns and presumably also characterized the deceased as outstanding warriors. The clay helmets often represent very early helmet designs and lead us to suspect that at first only clay helmets were placed on the urns and not until later, beginning about 800, were metal helmets used (Fig. 11.1).

From the late ninth through the eighth century, grave goods increase from generation to generation and a real race sets in for more and more elaborately furnished graves, which eventually peaked in the princely graves of the Orientalizing period.⁵¹⁵ This development reflects the rise of an elite from simple circumstances to the rich princely graves. At the latest, from the time of the erection of the first princely tombs, the Etruscans were successfully participating in maritime trade.⁵¹⁶

During the late ninth century, metal weapons appear in the tombs of the Villanovan culture. These are short bronze flange-hilted swords (Ger. *Griffzungenschwerver*) with T-shaped pommel, and lance points.⁵¹⁷ In the eighth century, the Italic *antenna* sword of the Tarquinian type develops, which emerged from central European models.⁵¹⁸ In the late Villanovan period, daggers as well as lance heads were more and more often made of iron. Lances took center stage to a somewhat greater extent in the late Villanovan period. The points became longer and often had a faceted socket, and the shafts were provided at the other end with an often likewise faceted ferrule. In addition, the shaft was occasionally wound with coils of bronze wire. The peak was reached by a lance from the rich warrior's Tomb 871 of the Grotta Gramiccia necropolis at Veii, whose shaft is alternately surrounded with spirals and studded with bronze nails.⁵¹⁹ Even the pouch for the slingshots were made of wire and nailed to the shaft. These especially distinctive lances remained in use during the Orientalizing period.

In the eighth century, bronze defensive equipment also appears in burials, above all in the form of bronze helmets,⁵²⁰ which (as the clay helmets had been) were placed as a lid on the urns. Most common are the striking crested helmets with towering bronze crests; helmets with knobs and helmets with simple dome-shaped caps appear also in Etruria. All these types of helmets come from Central European models from the Late Bronze Age. Crested helmets were preferred in western Central Europe, knob helmets in the Carpathian basin, and cap helmets were worn in between in southern

Germany. The Italic representatives are also distinguished from their Central European predecessors by a few technical details and their very much richer decorative bosses.

Around the middle of the eighth century, the decorated Villanovan shield developed.⁵²¹ This is a round shield of sheet bronze with a low boss in the middle. The grip is on the back behind the boss and in addition four arches or loops were riveted to the shield to take rattling pendants.⁵²² The shield was more than a defensive item and insigne; it could also make noise, possibly in connection with ritually motivated war dances. Into the Roman period, connected pairs of these Villanovan shields, being the sacred Shields of Mars, led the processions and dances of the Salii, a Roman priestly collegium.⁵²³ The decoration of the still quite small shields in the Villanovan period was limited to circles of bosses, circular bulges, groups of lines, and images of horses. The bronze Villanovan shields made of thin sheets of bronze were not very effective defensive equipment and appear to have served more as indications of status. That much more effective shields made of organic material must have existed is shown by some depictions of a large oval shield, known as the *scutum*, which counted as the preferred defensive paraphernalia of Italy until Roman times.⁵²⁴

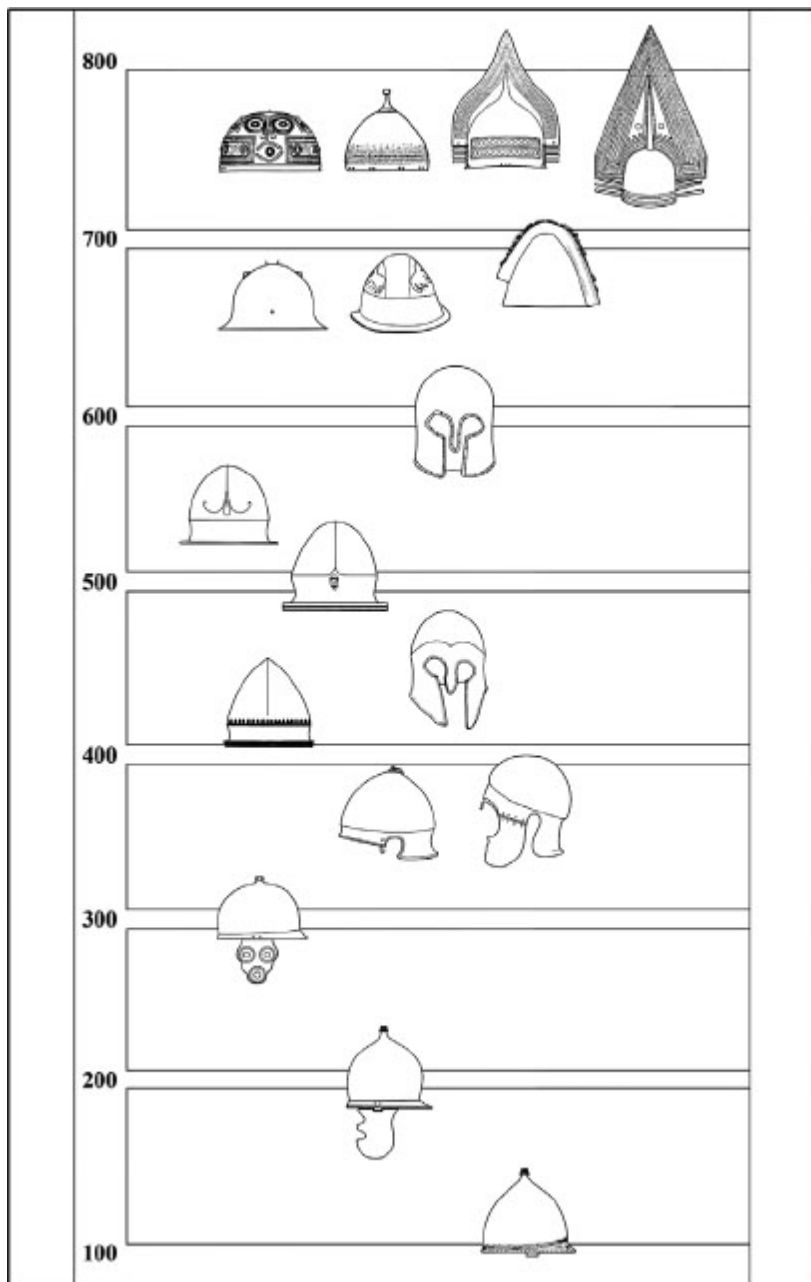


Fig. 11.1: Chronological development of Etruscan helmets (drawing M. Ober, RGZM).

In the late Villanovan period, body armor consisted of rectangular plates of armor worn on the chest. The bronze plates that are more or less firmly attached along the long sides were fastened to the upper body with leather straps. This form of body armor still persists in the following Orientalizing period.

Figural representations, such as horse tripods,⁵²⁵ demonstrate that Villanovan warriors fought not only on foot, but also mounted on steeds.

Villanovan defensive items are found not only in Etrurian tombs, but also in Greek sanctuaries, such as Olympia and Delphi.⁵²⁶ They are very likely traces of military encounters between Etruscans and Greek colonists, who had settled in southern Italy in the eighth century. Captured weapons were dedicated to the gods by the victorious Hellenes in Greek sanctuaries.

3The Orientalizing period (730–580 BCE)

The Orientalizing period brings serious alterations in weaponry, while at the same time several traditions were preserved. The Villanovan shields are included among the traditional elements in the new period.⁵²⁷ Shields became ever bigger and often lost their grips; they had become a symbol that could no longer be used in battle. The “Tomb of the Shields and Chairs” in Caere illustrates that these shields were hung over a throne in ceremonial spaces and served only “heraldic” purposes any more⁵²⁸. At the same time the *scutum* continued to be an important component of weaponry.

Figural representations, such as the stela of Aule Feluske in Vetulonia,⁵²⁹ show that during the seventh century, Etruscan warriors had adopted the Greek hoplite shield, a round shield constructed from wood, leather, and sheet bronze. This shield with two shield handles made possible the phalanx tactic developed by the Greeks, in which dense rows of heavily armed foot soldiers face each other.⁵³⁰ The Chigi vase (an *olpe*), made in Greece and discovered in Veii in southern Etruria, represents one of the oldest illustrations of this new and very effective battlefield technique.⁵³¹ Every soldier in the offensive line uses the shield to cover not only himself, but also his neighbor to the left, which led to a highly consistent approach to battle, since if a soldier deserted from the line, he exposed his comrades, a capital offense. There arose an uncompromising battle tactic, which demanded ironclad obedience and unconditional comradeship. To this battlefield tactic the Greeks owed many victories over barbarian enemies, and it stands to reason that the Etruscans as well adopted this tactic during the seventh century. The Corinthian helmet was also adopted in the seventh century by Etruscan warriors, but only a few of these helmets, which are so characteristic of the Greek hoplites, have been found in seventh-century Etruria. Yet another element of the Greek hoplite armament, the flexible greave, also appears in Etruria for the first time in the seventh century.⁵³²

Quite sporadically, the beginning of the Orientalizing period still yields the last of the crested helmets, as in the “Tomb of the Throne” from Verucchio in the Romagna.⁵³³ These helmets have an oversized crest and like the late Villanovan shields are no longer intended for military use. Not for nothing

was a second helmet, a legitimate defensive item, included in that “Tomb of the Throne.” It was a conical helmet with a crest in the form of a horse’s mane, a type of helmet widely known in the area of Caput Adriae. Orientalizing period Etruscans developed a new type of helmet in the seventh century surrounded by a distinctive brim. Among the earliest representatives are the buckle helmets,⁵³⁴ which have a semicircular dome with two buckles that cover the rivets that secured the organic-material lining of the helmet and a turned-down brim. The helmets were topped with a horse’s mane crest, just like the Greek helmets. Alongside the buckle helmets there also still appear in Etruria helmets with composite cap,⁵³⁵ distinguished from the buckle helmets by construction from several plates, but still included among the brimmed helmets. The early brimmed helmets, however, do not play as significant a role among grave goods as the crested helmets, and they primarily appear in northern Etruria.

Beginning in the Orientalizing period, offensive weapons were largely made of iron. In close combat, Etruscan soldiers use iron daggers and large knives, whose hafts are dressed up with sheet silver or made of ivory and amber, like those from Tomb A from Casale Marittimo in Tuscany.⁵³⁶ Longswords also occasionally appear in central Italy⁵³⁷ that are related to the Greek sword, the *xiphos*. Socketed iron axes also take on special significance as weapons. From time to time the shafts of these weapons are richly decorated, such as the examples from Tomb A from Casale Marittimo in Tuscany,⁵³⁸ which indicates that they were not merely weapons, but also major status symbols. In the “Tomb of the Lictor” in Vetulonia there was even found an iron double-headed axe with a bundle of rods,⁵³⁹ the sign of dignity, that in Rome was borne before the important dignitaries. The canes were intended for clearing the path, and the axe symbolized the right to impose the death penalty.

Orientalizing-period warriors’ tombs often include a two-wheeled wagon among the grave goods.⁵⁴⁰ The *currus* is suspected of being used as a war chariot, without it being possible to prove it. The many artistic metal fittings are not particularly appropriate to a war chariot; rather they must have pertained to the privilege of driving a vehicle and with it the prestige that continued into Roman times in the form of the triumphal procession. For a short time, the successful commander was granted the originally royal right of the prestigious chariot. Figural representations in the Orientalizing period depict scenes of battle wagons,⁵⁴¹ although whether they represent contemporary battle tactics or depict mythic heroes remains uncertain.

4The Archaic period (580–450 BCE)

In the Archaic period, except for the helmets, Greek armaments and along

with them the tactic of the phalanx of hoplites ultimately prevailed in Etruria. Tendencies in that direction could already be observed in the Orientalizing period. Although it is not the case that in Italy no imported Greek weapons were in use, Etruscan artisans developed their own Etruscan variations on Hellenic weaponry.

According to the testimony of pictorial representations, the Greek hoplite shield became the Etruscan standard.⁵⁴² There are also a few physical examples of wooden shields covered with thin sheets of bronze from Etruria, as from the warriors' tombs from Vulci and Bomarzo.⁵⁴³ Alongside the Greek hoplite shield, the *scutum* remained in use in Etruria; this is verified by the bronze mounting of a spindle-shaped central rib of a *scutum* from Gualdo Tadino in Umbria⁵⁴⁴ as well as by a variety of depictions elsewhere.

Flexible bronze greaves, other components of the phalanx tactic, are also part of the normal equipment of warriors beginning in the Archaic period, and an impressive number have been preserved in Etruscan tombs.⁵⁴⁵ The simple representation of the musculature of the calf and the trim added to the edge to which the organic-material lining was attached distinguish them from Greek models. Again according to pictures, Etruscan soldiers preferred what is known as a linen cuirass, an originally Greek defensive accoutrement made of organic material with characteristic shoulder clasps,⁵⁴⁶ which because of their composition have virtually no chance of archaeological preservation. An especially good depiction of this defensive equipment with shoulder clasps and wings over the hip area appears in a fresco of the hero Geryon in the Tomb of the Orcus II in Tarquinia,⁵⁴⁷ although to be sure it comes from the succeeding Hellenistic period.

The warrior's tomb at Lanuvium in Latium is unusually equipped.⁵⁴⁸ In the first half of the fifth century, a man was interred there in a stone sarcophagus with a bronze helmet, a pair of greaves, a *machaira* (machete-like sword), and an anatomic cuirass. Current scholarship takes the anatomic cuirass to be a Greek development. The breastplate and the back piece from Lanuvium, however, did not cover the entire upper body; the shoulders and underarm area remained unprotected and bronze bands connected the breast and back plates. The anatomic cuirass from Lanuvium is thus not only one of the oldest of its kind, but also the predecessor of the South Italic-Samnite armor of the Early Iron Age, which was largely held together with such bronze bands.

Etruscan warriors occasionally wore disk armor, a feature especially widespread in Picenum and the Abruzzo. Good examples are provided by a set of this disk armor from Burial Mound 90 at Aleria on Corsica,⁵⁴⁹ an Etruscan colony on the island, and a picture of a warrior in a fresco from Ceri not far from Caere in southern Etruria.⁵⁵⁰

Etruscan helmet manufacture followed the native tradition of brimmed helmets, which does not mean that Greek-style helmets did not occur alongside them, albeit in reduced numbers. The typical helmet of the Archaic period is called the Negau helmet, after the findspot in Negova (Ger. Negau),

Slovenia:⁵⁵¹ it has a brim all the way around with a surrounding seam, a groove at the base of the cap, and a ridged cap, which lent the helmet special dependability. Above the ridge runs the soaring horse's mane crest. Helmets of this form have been found in considerable number in Etruria, and in other provinces of Italy and in the Alps as well. The helmet deposit of Vetulonia ("Mura dell'Arce") is the largest find, comprising some 125 helmets of this type.⁵⁵² Fifty-five of the helmets carry the Etruscan inscription "belonging to Haspna," but we have no idea who Haspna was. It may be supposed that these helmets were dedicated to the gods on the occasion of a military victory in Vetulonia. Two Negau helmets, along with a Corinthian helmet, were dedicated to Zeus in Olympia bearing inscriptions to the effect that the three helmets were seized in the maritime battle of Cumae near Naples in 474 by the victorious Syracusans under Hieron of Syracuse.⁵⁵³ The fateful maritime victory at Cumae cost the Etruscans primacy over the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Greek helmets, as opposed to Negau helmets, appear in quite limited numbers. In the late Archaic period, Chalcidian helmets came more and more into favor. They derive from a Greek form, but Etruscan craftsmen developed an Etrusco-Chalcidian type, often with figural crest-holders.⁵⁵⁴ The most beautiful examples come from Vulci. The forehead portion of one is decorated with a scene of the battle between Apollo and Hercules around a tripod,⁵⁵⁵ and the cheek pieces of one from a tomb in Todi are adorned with figures.⁵⁵⁶ This type of helmet is also frequent in Etruscan depictions, continuing into the successive Hellenistic period.

Offensive weapons were made of iron almost exclusively. Alongside lance heads, an important role was played by the longsword, corresponding to the Greek *xiphos*. This period also saw the *machaira*, a single-edged slashing sword, which is also preserved in Greek weaponry.⁵⁵⁷ Axes no longer played any significant role among armaments.

5The Classical and Hellenistic periods (450–250 BCE)

In the Hellenistic period, the Greek arms components, such as the hoplite shield, linen armor, and greaves, continued to be used, but alongside them appeared the bronze anatomic cuirass, such as the one found among other things in the "Tomb of the Warrior" in Orvieto-Settecamiini.⁵⁵⁸ This protective gear covered the entire upper body and reproduced the musculature of an athlete as "decoration." Etruscan anatomic cuirasses usually do not depict the nipples, which is distinct from southern Italian examples that likewise principally date from the fourth century. Worthy of mention, though unique, is the lamella cuirass worn by the "Mars" of Todi,⁵⁵⁹ a life-size bronze statue of a warrior. Linen armor with shoulder plates has metal scales sewn on in

horizontal rows. The greaves of the Hellenistic period feature a realistic representation of the musculature of the calves.

In helmets once again the Etruscans went their own way. After 400, the Negau helmet appears only in a grandiose variant along the Ligurian and southern French coast. In Umbria, there are many bronze helmets with forehead grooving,⁵⁶⁰ found in different varieties. But bronze helmets with a knob at the top and a neck guard became standard.⁵⁶¹ This originally Celtic form, which in Celtic lands was made of sheet iron and reached Italy with the Celtic invasion, was taken up by Etruscan craftsmen and reworked in the Etruscans' trusty material, bronze. The early examples from the fourth century still have the typically Celtic cheek pieces with three cockades; they derive from anatomically correct cheek pieces. These helmets were the standard equipment not only for Etruscans, but also for Republican Romans. The spread of the late variants in Sicily, southern France, and Spain is certainly connected with the rise of Roman power in these regions. The late representatives of these helmets no longer have cheek pieces.

Alongside the characteristically Greek longsword and *machaira*, the Celtic La Tène sword with iron sheath was also included in Etruscan weaponry, taken over from the Celtic tribes that had successfully invaded Italy.⁵⁶²

In Late Iron Age Etruria, there still appear offerings of weapons. The best examples come from the weapon deposit from Populonia–San Cerbone,⁵⁶³ which contained a few helmets and a large number of iron weapons, especially spear and lance heads, and the deposit from Talamonaccio near Orbetello,⁵⁶⁴ which comprised a large number of lance and javelin points.

The javelin points from Talamonaccio, which were part of Roman armaments, indicate that during the third century, the Etruscans had lost their independence and bore allegiance to the Romans. This brought an end to the independent development of weaponry. Moreover, after the fourth century, weapons were hardly ever deposited in Etruscan tombs. As an echo of this many-centuries-old burial custom and the associated warrior ideology, weapons were represented in tomb reliefs and wall paintings, for which the famous Tomb of the Reliefs in Caere⁵⁶⁵ and the Tomba Giglioli in Tarquinia (Colour plates 40–41)⁵⁶⁶ provide eloquent testimony. Pictures of greaves, anatomical cuirasses, helmets, and shields replaced offerings of weapons.

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Petra Amann

12Society

Abstract: The basic unit of Etruscan society was the family, established in a lawful marriage, which also formed a residential unit. Presumably there existed in Etruria an institution comparable to the Roman *pater familias*. Women enjoyed a somewhat public existence but were excluded from political office; female cultic activity in public service is difficult to verify. The onomastic system based on *gentilicia* shows that the individual was defined primarily by his membership of a broader community of descendants, membership which was transmitted in the father's line. The importance of the *gens* changed over time; while in the Orientalizing period and again from the fourth century BCE it played a certain role, this appears to have diminished considerably in the sixth and fifth centuries.

A strongly hierarchical society with unequal division of wealth and power was typical for the Orientalizing period, which was dominated by the *principes*. In the course of the sixth century, a number of factors led to the formation of new social strata and the establishment of a broader urban upper class. Beginning in the fourth century, the circle of those who shared in political power once again tightened more strongly. A small oligarchical and very prosperous upper class dominated the Hellenistic city-states of Etruria.

We are considerably less well informed about the middle and lower social strata. An urban middle class must have begun to come into being in the Archaic period. These citizens certainly had to perform military service, but their integration into the political life of the community is unclear. In the later sixth and the fifth centuries there may well have been a free peasantry owning modest amounts of land. As for the lower classes of population, they comprised an urban proletariat and lower rural classes. Beginning in the second half of the fourth century, considerable social tensions arose, especially in the strongly industrialized cities of northern and inner Etruria, but a clear distinction between discriminated Etruscans and real slaves (mostly foreigners), whose numbers strongly increased during the fourth and third centuries, sometimes proves problematic.

The liberalizing tendencies of the Hellenistic period led on the whole to a substantially more varied social spectrum than before (e.g. new forms of marriage, freedmen). With the *lex Iulia* of 90 BCE Etruria definitely became part of the Roman world.

Keywords: Family, *pater familias*, *principes*, upper classes

Introduction

The reconstruction of Etruscan society is an undertaking afflicted with numerous uncertainties; much must remain (for the time being) unclear and in the dark. This is due above all to the problem of sources: the literary output of the Etruscans in the original (setting aside the *Liber Linteus*) is entirely lost.⁵⁶⁷ Through Roman intermediaries there have survived fragments of religious writings (especially from the *disciplina etrusca*), while historical, geographical, philosophical, and political texts are entirely absent. Along with

them went any sort of self-presentation and self-appraisal of Etruscan circumstances. The only available perspective is that of outsiders—that is, some, albeit not much, evidence from Greek and Roman authors who, for differing reasons and with varying quality, have remarked on Etruscan society. The most important role in the reconstruction of Etruscan social history is thus naturally played by the primary sources, namely the epigraphic material and archaeological finds and results. The quite numerous inscriptions (around 13,000, including single letters) provide important information about family structure, though in most cases they are very short and relatively limited in content, since the vast majority of them come from funerary contexts.⁵⁶⁸ Longer inscriptions with more complex content are rather rare and mostly not comprehensible to us in all details. New epigraphic finds, however, continue to enrich our understanding. A central role is played by archaeological finds and results, among which the sepulchral sphere is of great importance in Etruria. In a way, it represents a mirror image of the society of the living, but a distorted and ideologically highly freighted one that hence must be evaluated with care.⁵⁶⁹ Other approaches important for our inquiry, such as excavations of settlements (which can also provide information on the life of the lower classes)⁵⁷⁰ and the investigation of the cultivation of rural areas, remain in their infancy.

Making things more difficult, sweeping statements and false as well as over-interpretations of older research in the area of Etruscan social history have, to some extent, a long shelf life, which is due to the fact that supposedly settled knowledge is generally only reluctantly abandoned. The best example is the myth of Etruscan matriarchy created in 1870 by J. J. Bachofen, which, though utterly untenable, in weakened form strongly influenced subsequent opinion speaking of Etruscan “mother culture”.⁵⁷¹ In fact, for the conservative patrician from Basel in Switzerland, the Etruscans were also a means to an end; he wished to denounce the moral decay of an entirely “material” society.

Despite these unpromising precursors, a reconstruction in outline of the society or, better, the societies of Etruria is achievable. For this purpose, below we separate the description of the rather static, scarcely changing basic structures of the Etruscan family, which functioned as the nucleus of social organization, from the description of the various social classes, since their development and existence interacted much more strongly with the economic and historic-political development of the Etruscan city-states. “The Etruscans” is not an undifferentiated mass of people, but a juxtaposition of politically and administratively independent state entities, which naturally resulted in distinct cultural, economic, and of course social developments. By the sixth century BCE at the latest, however, the Etruscans must have considered themselves a linguistic and cultural unity. The existence of treaties between the individual city-states, permitting commercial and personal contacts (similar to *ius connubii* and *ius commercii* of the Latins), is extremely probable. In modern terms, we are not dealing with a federal state in historical times (with uniform

citizenship), but with an—albeit rather loose—ethnically based confederation.⁵⁷²

1Early times

The Final Bronze period in Italy (twelfth–eleventh centuries BCE) is characterized by the widespread phenomenon of cremation with subsequent urn burial (called Proto-Villanovan). The sometimes extensive urn fields present a relatively uniform picture of interments in the form of individual burials without great social distinctions, which does not necessarily mean that there were no leaders or persons with specific religious-magical authority. Especially in southern Etruria—northern and central Etruria differed—Proto-Villanovan-period single graves and small groups of pozzo graves, which probably represent family plots, are also known. Generally speaking, the south Etruscan Tolfa-Allumiere zone is where material differentiations probably denoting socially prominent groups of persons are first found.⁵⁷³ Large seventy to eighty square meter huts could represent dwelling places of extended families, though smaller units (for the nuclear family?) appear to have existed too (e.g. Sorgenti della Nova).⁵⁷⁴

The living conditions in the Early Iron Age (tenth–ninth centuries) appear not to have differed greatly (e.g. Tarquinia, Calvario), although population was increasingly concentrated in the core settlements (see [chapter 33](#) Pacciarelli). The hut floor plans that differ in form and dimension, though, probably express not only social-familial distinctions, but also functional and chronological differences.⁵⁷⁵ In the course of time, however, a certain tendency must be recognized toward housing that provided room for the nuclear family.⁵⁷⁶ In parallel, the concept of private property—including also and especially land—must have acquired significance in the Early Iron Age, as opposed to common possession by a larger group. The housing unit will also have constituted a production unit flanked by specialists in metalworking and also to some extent pottery manufacture from outside this unit.⁵⁷⁷ Within the cemeteries, the grave goods clearly mark the different responsibilities and roles of the sexes. A few men's graves more lavishly equipped with weapons and hut-urns appear to be associated with leading roles within the community (e.g. in Tarquinia).⁵⁷⁸ Colonizing movements to northern, eastern, and southern Italy presuppose the existence of leaders. The women responsible for the household were, as a rule, characterized by tools for wool and cloth production (spindle whorls, spools, occasionally loom weights). Although social stratification begins to become recognizable in the material record, in this early phase no really great economic differences can yet have existed between the families. Whether initially a uniform funeral ritual that masked social differences was ideologically required is a matter of scholarly

dispute.⁵⁷⁹

While the older necropolises reveal larger groups of graves, which probably represent extended kinship groups and perhaps also dependency relations, in the great proto-urban centers of Etruria the model of the family with the central husband-and-wife couple appears to increase in significance. The small to medium groups of graves show different consistence, but common to them was probably an organization by internally stratified family groups, whether the nuclear family or the extended family.⁵⁸⁰ Fertility and sexual potency guaranteed family continuity, and the legitimacy of the progeny with regard to rules of inheritance gained increasing significance. A special role was assumed by the founding father. The eighth century may have seen a developed ancestor cult.⁵⁸¹

20 On the structure of the Etruscan family

In principle, the *gens* as descent-community from a common ancestor in the sense of a larger, superordinate unit must be distinguished from the small or nuclear family of father, mother, and children. Already before the Early Iron Age, groupings can be recognized in the necropolises that probably reflect extended family bands in a wider sense, yet their organizational structure remains unknown to us. Only with the appearance of epigraphic sources beginning around 700 BCE do we acquire deeper insights into Etruscan naming practices, and thus into the typical family structure as it must have been common at least since the late eighth century. The *nomen gentile* or *gentilicium* appears to be the most important part of the name of an individual—that means one's status was primarily defined by one's membership in a descent-community (Lat. *gens*).⁵⁸² This naming practice is a constant through all of Etruscan history comparable to the Italic-Roman world, whereas in ancient Greece the individual name remained the core. The *gentilicium* combined with a *praenomen* (= binomial nomenclature) designated a free male or female person with citizenship status, its transmission occurred in legal marriage strictly patrilineally. Unilineal lines of descent generally follow the need for clear rules of succession through the generations. From a morphological point of view, various types of *gentilicia* can be distinguished in Etruscan; in pre-Hellenistic times *gentilicia* of patronymic origin (with suffix *-na*, *-ni*, *-nie*, *-ra*) predominate.⁵⁸³

The concrete responsibilities of the *gens* in historical times are unclear. In case there were no close agnatic relatives, it was probably—similarly to the situation in Rome—responsible for family-law concerns such as inheritance, care duties, guardianships, etc., and functioned originally as a protective community as well. As the inscriptions show, marriage in Etruria was always strictly exogamous, thus outside one's own *gens*.⁵⁸⁴ The feeling of solidarity

between the individual branches of a *gens* appears to have changed repeatedly in the course of Etruscan history; the significance of the gentilicial system in the structure of the state alters parallel to this. It must have been high especially in the Orientalizing period,⁵⁸⁵ and then again from the fourth century onwards among the ruling families; while forms of organization based on gentilicial bonds in the sixth and fifth centuries were less prominent. The grave structure points in this direction: in the Orientalizing period, the custom of monumental tumuli expanded throughout Etruria, which in their inner chambers had space for several members and/or generations of a family (the stone circle graves in Vetulonia and environs are comparable). In some cases we can speak of an extended family in the sense of a *gens*, e.g. in the large Tumulus II at Caere, which was in use from the early seventh to the second half of the sixth century and probably contains the resting places of several branches of a *gens* (Tomb of the Hut, Tomb of the Dolia and Fire Dogs, Tomb of the Beds and Sarcophagi, Tomb of the Greek Vases).⁵⁸⁶ In the Archaic period, from the mid sixth century on, the phenomenon of chamber tombs with more than one room and multiple burials declined, so that the relatively small, mostly one-room chamber tombs with wall paintings in Tarquinia and the cubic tombs of Caere and Orvieto more clearly concentrate on the nuclear family. Beginning in the fourth century, the element of the *gens* recurred very strongly, at least as concerns the funerary sphere, with the so-called “gentilicial” tombs.⁵⁸⁷

In the Late Etruscan period, the term *laut(u)n* must have had the meaning “extended family, descent-community, *gens*”. It appears in the contract on the Cippus Perusinus and in two funerary inscriptions in Tarquinia and Perugia referring to the foundation of the tomb.⁵⁸⁸ Another term expressing familial connection is known from rock facade tombs in Castel d’Asso and from one of the necropolises at Tuscania: *neś(l)* = “descendants” (of a person) or “family”(?).⁵⁸⁹

This leads us to the free small or nuclear family, the true basic unit of Etruscan society.⁵⁹⁰ In historical times, the married couple was bound together in serial monogamy; a few Late Etruscan inscriptions appear to attest to remarriage after the death of a spouse (e.g. *ET*² Ta 1.164, 1.166–68). Upon marriage, the woman normally left her family of origin (this practice is called patrilocal or virilocal), but retained her complete birth name (*praenomen* and *nomen gentile*). The father transmitted his *nomen gentile* to his sons and daughters (patrilineal) and represented the family to the outside world; this is quite clear from the funerary inscriptions engraved over the tomb entrances in Archaic Orvieto, which usually name only the father of the nuclear family. Patriarchal organization must be assumed, some evidence points to the possibility that in Etruria too an original powerful father figure along the lines of the Roman *pater familias* existed; perhaps the formation of an onomastic system based on the *nomen gentile* should be seen from this point of view.⁵⁹¹ This would mean that only upon the death of the father do his sons become

sui iuris and on their part *patres familias*. An interesting document for the depths of the generations is the late third century Tomb of the Volumni in Perugia, which, along with three brothers of the *gens* Velimna (two of them singled out as builders of the tomb), also contained the urns of the father and grandfather, whose mortal remains were probably transferred to the newly erected family tomb and laid to rest in purpose-made urns (*ET*² Pe 1.306–12).

In the course of time, the binomial nomenclature was supplemented with additions that further explained the position of the individual within the family: the filiation (the father's *praenomen* in the genitive) was very common beginning in the sixth century, the matronym (the mother's *nomen gentile* in the genitive, occasionally in combination with her *praenomen*) mainly appears beginning in the fourth century. It served both to better differentiate the individual within a *gens* and very likely to document family pride in the cognate line. Especially in the Late Etruscan period, the gamonym (the name of the husband)—with or without the addition of *puia* (“wife”)—was usual for married women. The *cognomen*, usually a family *cognomen*, first appears in the third century.⁵⁹² There were in Etruria no fixed rules for the use of these name additions.

Unfortunately, Etruscan inheritance law is entirely unknown to us.⁵⁹³ Parallel to the situation in Rome, inheritance by daughters, which made possible the accumulation of property in female hands, seems highly probable. The kinship terminology deduced from tomb inscriptions is very one-sided: while the vertical line is relatively well documented (*apa* “father,” *ati* “mother,” *clan* “son,” *sex/c* “daughter,” *apa nacna/papa* “grandfather,” *ati nacna/teta* “grandmother,” *papals/tetals* “grandchild”), we know very little concerning the terminology of horizontal relationships⁵⁹⁴ – only *ruva* “brother” and *nefts* “nephew” are attested a few times (especially in the Golini I Tomb in Orvieto).⁵⁹⁵

The responsibilities of women were traditionally defined in Etruria, too—above all, they lay in the area of childbearing and the domestic sphere. Special responsibilities outside the home, such as cultic duties, may be assumed, but—in contrast to Greece or even other peoples of ancient Italy—are difficult to prove.⁵⁹⁶ From the political life and state administration, Etruscan women were entirely excluded. On the other hand, Etruscan women stood out through a certain public presence: as wives they participated in upper-class banquets at home and elsewhere, they were present in the audience for games and contests, and as mothers they certainly occupied a position of respect within their families similar to that of the Roman matron.

30 On the hierarchization of society: the different social classes

In the course of the eighth century BCE—that is, in the second phase of the Early Iron Age—tomb furnishings allow us to recognize stronger and stronger economic distinctions. This can easily be seen e.g. in the tomb arrangements of the Quattro Fontanili Necropolis in Veii.⁵⁹⁷ Richly furnished children's graves document the transition to an aristocracy by birth and a true class society. This did not happen simultaneously throughout Etruria: in the southern part of the core area the development happened sooner (second half of the eighth century) than in the north; the colonial regions were also affected (e.g. Pontecagnano, Verucchio).

A strong hierarchization of society with unequal division of wealth and power is typical of the Orientalizing period (last quarter of the eighth to the beginning of the sixth century). In the seventh century we speak of an “Etruria of the *principes*”, of powerful noble families, who set a monopolistic claim on wealth and power. Their economic base was the possession of land (agriculture and cattle raising),⁵⁹⁸ flanked by the control over metal resources (especially iron), and interregional trade routes. The ostentatious display of wealth and status symbols legitimized the claim on power of this small elite, which left its archaeological mark throughout Etruria in the so-called princely tombs.⁵⁹⁹ High-ranking men represented themselves with their armaments as warriors, although this practice waned in southern Etruria—as opposed to the northern part—during the seventh century.⁶⁰⁰ The rich equipment of the female members of the ruling families was an integral part of princely self-representation. As elements of alliances (through marriage) and guarantors of family continuity, these women were important members of the elite, even though they did not enjoy equal rights.

In contrast to this small ruling class stood larger freeborn parts of the population without noticeable economic possibilities, probably also lacking basic rights of political participation (e.g. farmers, craftsmen), who found themselves to a considerable degree dependent on the *principes*. Unfortunately, our sources are poor in this respect; unfurnished burials around the major tomb areas can be interpreted as representing a dependent lower class.

The quick urbanization process that was already setting in in the seventh century (with division of labor, settlements with higher population density),⁶⁰¹ the increasing demand for specialized crafts, the major role of interregional trade, and probably better organized and more productive agricultural techniques⁶⁰² led, during the sixth century, to the formation of new social strata and ultimately to the establishment of a broader urban upper class, which also included wholesalers and workshop owners. The appearance of necropolises with uniform tombs arranged in neat rows (“cubic tombs”) is to be interpreted in this way. Good examples are provided by the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri and the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis at Orvieto;⁶⁰³ parallel to the sepulchral areas, a stronger spatial organization of the residential quarters is assumed too. In the second half of the sixth century, the

important cities of Etruria show a relatively broad, timocratically organized upper class. Possibilities for upward social mobility must have been limited (especially with regard to the integration of foreigners).⁶⁰⁴ A similar impression is offered by the (in most cases) quite small but extensively painted chamber tombs beginning around 540 BCE in Tarquinia, a town which in contrast to Orvieto possessed a long aristocratic tradition. The members of the local upper class cultivated their horizontal connections, were cautious about external equality, and claimed political leadership of the republican city-states, as they provided the annual rotation of magistrates. The old *gentes* of the Orientalizing period survived to a certain extent (see, for example, the Tomb of the Greek Vases from the second half of the sixth century in Tumulus II of the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri), despite the decline in significance of the gentilicial structures.

Some sort of allegiance (similar to the Roman clientship) must have already from early times constituted the social glue between upper and lower classes. Only a very few sources are available; followers and dependents in the circle of a noble lord, who also provided army services as needed, are nonetheless to be expected.⁶⁰⁵ The building type of the atrium house, whose architecture also served for the representational duties of the master of the house and his social responsibilities, appears to have good Etruscan roots.⁶⁰⁶ It is obvious that the character of these allegiances must conform to the developments of the time.

In Etruria the circle of those who participated in political power was always rather small. After a certain torpor during the fifth century,⁶⁰⁷ it strongly tightened once again during the fourth century. Now a few great *gentes* raised the claim of sole rulership in the state (called *principes*, *domini*, *despôtai*, *dynatôtatoi*, etc.). Their prosperity was based on land ownership (large-scale land-holding) and the labor of the lower classes; internal solidarity was promoted by regional and supra-regional marriage policy.⁶⁰⁸ Regarding late Etruria, the ancient authors frequently speak of *tryphē*, which was expressed in overwhelming opulence.⁶⁰⁹ The fact is, in Hellenistic Etruria a small, very prosperous and oligarchic upper class must have existed that surrounded itself with numerous servants and demonstrated its wealth as the expression of high prestige.

Considerably less well documented are the population groups perched lower on the social ladder. An urban middle class, however, must have begun in the Archaic period: the rock façade tomb area in inner Etruria shows many tombs of an average level around the smaller urban centers, in both the sixth century and the Late Etruscan period. The floor plans of houses in planned cities like Marzabotto also reveal a broader middle class in the second half of the fifth century.⁶¹⁰ A similar situation is attested by the necropolises (including their onomastic material) of the economically flourishing cities in Hellenistic northern and inner Etruria (e.g. Perugia). In line with this is an observation made by Posidonius (apud Diod. Sic. 5.40), namely that in Etruria most of the free men own houses of different, individual kinds. These citizens

were certainly liable for military service; entirely unclear is their integration into the political life of the city-state; so far, we are scarcely informed as to the existence and competences of possible people's assemblies.⁶¹¹ Phenomena of tyranny, as are suggested in the late sixth or fifth century by the Pyrgi gold tablets for south Etruscan Caere in the person of Thefarie Velianas,⁶¹² speak for a certain (anti-aristocratic) possibility of mobilizing the middle and lower classes. Furthermore the economic crisis of the second half of the fifth century is likely to have hit the urban middle classes of the south Etruscan coastal cities quite hard. In the later sixth and the fifth centuries there may have been a probably free peasantry with medium-sized landholdings, as the few archaeologically attested farmsteads suggest.⁶¹³ This appears, though, to have been a short-lived phenomenon; unfortunately our information in regard is very sparse.

As for the lower social classes of the population, they comprised—depending on the development of the individual settlements—an urban proletariat, whose members, similar to Rome, probably were free in their person (e.g. day laborers), but without their own property, and also lower rural classes. Different forms from oppressive to less oppressive dependency are theoretically possible in this (perhaps originally free) peasantry. Rare and scattered indications in ancient literature allow no generalizable conclusions to be drawn.⁶¹⁴ Small rural land ownership appears to be a possibility again in late inner Etruria,⁶¹⁵ while southern Etruria from the third century onwards had to face extensive land confiscations by Rome and suffered to a higher degree from the pauperization of the small local peasantry. Often cited is the complaint of Tiberius Gracchus in 137 BCE about the multitude of foreign slaves on the fields (*latifundia*) of southern Etruria (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8.9).

A development corresponding to the Roman Conflict of the Orders (fifth–third centuries), which brought legal and finally political equal rights to the *plebs* (or better to its upper segment), is not attested for Etruria, although each city-state must be considered on its own and the general absence of sources advises caution. In the age of colonization (Po Valley, Campania), the social pressure of the lower classes could certainly be attenuated by land allotments. Internal colonization may be assumed after the crisis of the fifth century in the case of Tarquinia.⁶¹⁶ It remains open whether the absence of indications of social unrest in this city is to be attributed to the hazards of historical tradition or is in fact the result of this colonization activity or other measures that were taken. It is a fact, though, that, beginning in the second half of the fourth century, great social tensions affected especially the heavily ‘industrialized’ cities of northern and inner Etruria (Arretium, Volsinii veteres). Of course the often-unclear terminology of the ancient authors causes problems in the exact definition of the groups concerned (*plebs*, *servi*, *oikétai*).⁶¹⁷ The proportion of Etruscans who were socially and legally disadvantaged, but free in their person, and slaves (maybe also freedmen) is not always clear to distinguish, especially in the case of the Orvieto Revolt of 265/264 BCE (where perhaps a

mixed situation has to be assumed). A genuine slave rebellion encompassing wide parts of Etruria broke out in 197/196 BCE (Livy 33.36.1–3), and the problem was taken care of by Rome. Enslaved foreigners and probably also enslaved natives had already been found since early times in Etruria but, beginning in the fourth–third centuries, an increasing number of foreign slaves must be reckoned with, who came into use in the factories and mines, in the noble households, and the large agricultural enterprises of southern Etruria in particular. Depending on their assignments, they could have very different lifestyles.⁶¹⁸ The Roman agrarian laws of the late second and early first centuries BCE are probably the chronological framework for the so-called Prophecy of Vegoia—a pseudo prophecy with a political background, which documents the fear of the land-owning classes of Etruria of forced land cessions under the allies of Rome.⁶¹⁹

On the other hand, the general tendencies toward social liberalization of the Hellenistic period were also effective in Etruria: the old and rigid forms of matrimony became replaced by new forms *sine manu*;⁶²⁰ the possibility of divorce and remarriage led to complex interfamilial kinship relations. The appearance of nouveaux riches (such as the *Petru Scevaś* of the Tabula Cortonensis),⁶²¹ the stronger presence of freedmen (Etr. *lautni/θα*),⁶²² and the existence of new citizens of Italic origin in partly remarkable numbers (e.g. at Chiusi, Perugia)⁶²³ led to a considerably more varied spectrum in social life than in earlier times.

When, as a consequence of the Social War, Roman citizenship was assigned to all of Etruria in 90 BCE (*lex Iulia de civitate*), the social elite of the land had long since come to terms with the dominance of Rome. Thenceforth the Etruscan cities also participated in the social developments and internal political conflicts of Rome.

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Erich Kistler

13 Feasts, Wine and Society, eighth–sixth centuries BCE

Abstract: Feasts in antiquity were public events and thus instrumental in shaping the political scene. They were organized via certain culinary and table-specific registers of consumption that were determined in each case by locally dominant social structures and power relations. This led to certain local and period-specific “consumption-scapes” with a sustained impact on the feasting culture of each local group, leaving their traces in the resulting archaeological finds that reflected those cultures. Such finds include, for instance, imagined and actual scenes in pictures, dwellings reflecting hierarchical structures (from imposing solidly constructed buildings to humble huts), dress codes of festive garments showing different statuses, and significant patterns in the storage and disposal of implements, dishes, food, etc.

All these material objectifications of commensal politics can provide information about the underlying society. Feasts and their material remains have therefore also acquired increasing importance in the study of Etruscan culture. The focus is particularly on wine and on the drinking and socializing culture that is associated with it. However, such research has often tended to neglect the interdependent cause-and-effect relationships that exist between wine, feasts and society. This is why we decided to emphasize precisely this point as a common link between all feasts and their underlying policies, as it will help us gain a better understanding of the historical process of transformation from the eighth century BCE *capi guerrieri* to the seventh century *principes* and sixth century *aristocrats*.

Keywords: feasts, wine, pilgrim flasks, *dinoi*, *olla*

Introduction: Societies are shaped by feasts—and feasts by societies

Feasts in antiquity were public events and thus instrumental in shaping the political scene. They were organized via certain culinary and table-specific registers of consumption that were determined in each case by locally dominant social structures and power relations. This led to certain local and period-specific “consumption-scapes” with a sustained impact on the feasting culture of each local group, leaving their traces in the resulting archaeological finds that reflected those cultures. Such finds include, for instance, imagined and actual scenes in pictures, dwellings reflecting hierarchical structures (from imposing solidly constructed buildings to humble huts), dress codes of festive garments showing different statuses, and significant patterns in the storage and disposal of implements, dishes, food, etc.

All these material objectifications of commensal politics can provide

information about the underlying society.⁶²⁴ Feasts and their material remains have therefore also acquired increasing importance in the study of Etruscan culture.⁶²⁵ The focus is particularly on wine and on the drinking and socializing culture that is associated with it. However, such research has often tended to neglect the interdependent cause-and-effect relationships that exist between wine, feasts and society. This is why we decided to emphasize precisely this point as a common link between all feasts and their underlying policies, as it will help us gain a better understanding of the historical process of transformation from the eighth century BCE *capi guerrieri* to the Orientalizing seventh century *principes* and sixth century *aristocrats*.

1Bronze pilgrim flasks and*capi guerrieri* (750–675 BCE)

In the Early Iron Age, characteristic flasks were made from sheet bronze in Veii, Tarquinia and Vulci. They were bronze imitations of Levantine flasks and apparently designed for the storage and transportation of wine enriched with aromatic resins. These pilgrim flasks were particularly in evidence in richly endowed graves of the ninth to early seventh centuries, along with various harnessing items (Volterra, Vetulonia, Chiusi, Bisenzio, Vulci, Vetralla, Tarquinia and Veii), and we can therefore conclude that bronze flasks served as status symbols for those with the highest social standing—the *capi guerrieri*.⁶²⁶

Clay and rarely bronze models of huts were used for the pyre debris and ashes of high-status individuals, thus indicating that the house-society was the basic communal principle in an Iron-Age village.⁶²⁷ It was characterized by communal dwellings in compounds. These were simply constructed dwellings, composed of several circular and rectangular structures.⁶²⁸ Big families were especially conspicuous because of their extended compounds and also their large quantities of supplies and denser concentrations of exotic and prestigious items. This permits us to draw conclusions about the social statuses and political authorities of the heads of such large “houses” within their social structures.⁶²⁹

This consolidation of political powers of a given house during the eighth century was also reflected in the special honors that were given particularly powerful *patres familias* at funeral rites. They were the only ones whose ashes were kept in clay or bronze replicas of the cultic huts of their big families. This exclusive right was highly symbolic as it expressed the person’s former headship over the cultic practice and interests of his “house.” In many cases a hut contained not only urns but also a funereal display of complex armory, numerous banquet dishes, rich decorative jewelry and garment accessories as well as luxurious exotic object. These items in graves acted as symbolic

reminders of the deceased person's great military prowess and his economic potency as a generous giver of gifts and feasts. Both were of central importance in making a good impression not only on the actual villagers but also on outside guests to the funeral, thus ensuring that the family was seen as sufficiently attractive for possible marriages or as an alliance partner.⁶³⁰ After all, the only way to ensure an exchange and transfer of resources and prestigious goods and thus to secure a leading local position was through a wide-ranging network of family relations and hospitality.⁶³¹

Such networks of leading houses during the Early Iron Age in central Italy are reflected, for instance, in the find-spots of Neo-Assyrian omphalos bowls. They were used as hospitality pledges which, under the gift-giving practice of the Phoenicians, spread all the way from the Levant to Gibraltar. This power of geographic distance and the symbolic value of such Neo-Assyrian bowls virtually predestined these items for use in funeral ceremonies, giving proof of a successful hospitality network, and they were therefore placed in the graves of the western Mediterranean elite. It also means that the relevant sites provide significant archaeological evidence of various nodes in a ritual exchange system between hosts and guests—a system that covered a wide range of ethnic groups.⁶³²

The items that reached central Italy through this trans-Mediterranean network included not only the Cypro-Levantine precursors of Etruscan flasks, but also fragrant Oriental resins that were indispensable for the spicy wine mixtures carried in the flasks.⁶³³ Moreover, it shows the beginnings of an Oriental-style “winemanship” whereby flask owners tried to distinguish themselves culturally from the lower orders of their society during the eighth century.⁶³⁴ Such profiling subsequently reached its heyday in the seventh century when an Orientalizing habitus became the distinctive mark of this period.⁶³⁵

2Dinoi and Orientalizing *principes* (650–575 BCE)

From the eighth century, westbound Phoenician and Greek migration meant that former guests and friends from foreign cultures were now living in the immediate vicinity. In central Italy, in particular, this led to continuous coexistence and ongoing interaction between elites with a wide range of ethnic backgrounds—Phoenician, Latin, Etruscan and Greek.⁶³⁶ The result was a multi-ethnic melting pot that created numerous new hybrid cultural achievements. One of them was the (clay) *olla*. This hemispherical wine-mixing vessel regularly featured among the banquet dishes that were placed in the Orientalizing graves of the elite. It is assumed to have been derived from Phoenician models, although its Etruscan name, *thina*, comes from its Greek synonym, *dinos*. In the case of this Orientalizing wine-mixing vessel, cultural

mediation may also have been conducted by Greeks, probably Euboeans from Pithekoussai or Cumae.⁶³⁷

A parallel process of indirect cultural transmission can be seen in an adaptation of alphabetical characters in Etruria in the early seventh century. Derived from *grammata phoinikia*, i.e. Phoenician letters, it originally came from the Levant.⁶³⁸ Nevertheless, it was introduced in Etruria via the Euboeans, as shown in the adoption of the Etruscan script on the Marsiliana d'Albegna tablet, in characters modeled on the Euboean script.⁶³⁹

The same elite grave that contained the Marsiliana tablet also revealed a bronze grater.⁶⁴⁰ Our current knowledge from archaeological finds suggests that graters, too, had been invented by the Euboeans. They seem to have reached central Italian graves as burial items for Orientalizing *principes* through the same channels as alphabetical characters.⁶⁴¹ One well-known piece of evidence is the silver grater from the Tomba Bernardini in Praeneste around 675, where it formed part of an exclusive silver drinking set and had therefore been placed into this burial chamber alongside a *dinos* with a strainer above the spout, from which a ladle was suspended. The *dinos*, with its grater and strainer, accompanied a wine jug and a bowl-shaped drinking vessel.⁶⁴² It was an indispensable accessory item for the Oriental-style “winemanship” of a princely house. This is confirmed by the Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl, which also came to light in the Tomba Bernardini where an enthroned reveler is shown enjoying his wine, using a suitable vessel. He is depicted in relief in the top row that adorns the vessel.⁶⁴³

It seems that the *principes* in Praeneste had cultivated a Phoenician-style wine-drinking culture where wine was prepared by adding aromatic substances, forming a gourmet mixture.⁶⁴⁴ Unlike in Phoenician culture, spices were not pounded in a massive clay mortar (It. *bacino-tripode*),⁶⁴⁵ but were grated with a grater, which the Etruscans had apparently taken over from the Euboeans together with the *dinos*.

When the Etruscan *principes* adopted the custom of reclining on couches at their banquets, they had probably learned this directly from the Phoenicians and not from the Euboeans.⁶⁴⁶ These *klinai* were used by *principes* as cultural indicators of their high social status and therefore continued to be their exclusive right during the seventh century. This right of exclusive reclining is documented, for instance, in the left-hand *dromos cella* of the Tomba della Nave (Tomb of the Ship) in Cerveteri, built in imitation of the banqueting hall of a contemporary mid seventh-century princely residence. The two stone benches that were carved out of the tuff on the two long sides of this burial chamber were designed in imitation of the bench-like elevations of two rows of seats. The head of each of these rows and thus the back of the burial chamber contained a stone version of a couch as the head of the U-shaped seating arrangement of this replica of a “banqueting hall.”⁶⁴⁷ An exclusive royal right to a *kline* was also in evidence at the Assyrian court at the time, as shown in the arbor scene in Ninive. Queen Ashursharrat is depicted enjoying

her wine on a throne-like seat, while her royal master and husband, Ashurbanipal, is reclining on a couch (Fig. 45.3).⁶⁴⁸

In northern Etruria a piece of furniture with a similar position was the princely throne, which also involved an exclusive right. Here, the deceased *princeps* would get himself “eternalized” in his burial chamber as though he were an Oriental ruler. An enthroned reveler before a sumptuous table that was laden with food and drinking vessel. Also, a *princeps* was shown as an elite warrior and military leader with decoratively engraved shields along the walls of his burial chamber as well as lances and battle axes on the ground. Sometimes the *princeps* was shown in a priestly function of killing sacrificial animals, as indicated by the presence of sacrificial hatchets and daggers.⁶⁴⁹

It shows that the social standing of an Etruscan seventh-century *princeps* was characterized by a princely table culture, by a sacred privilege to sacrifice animals and by authority in war. The architectural complex OC 1–3 in Murlo gives us a clearer idea of the mutual interaction between these pillars of princely power in Orientalizing Etruria.

The proto-palatial complex on the hillside plateau of Piano del Tesoro, 25 km south of Siena, was built in the second quarter of the seventh century and comprises three different buildings (Figs. 71.4.–71.5).⁶⁵⁰ The monumental longhouse (OC 1), which has been interpreted as the residence of the *princeps*, is 8.5×36.2 m and has mud brick walls on stone bases as well as a tiled roof with acroteria. Approximately 60 m south of OC 1 was the long workshop OC2 (6.6×51 m). Although this hall also had a brick roof, it was not supported by walls, but simply by three rows of wooden posts. The broadroom building OC 3, with its solid masonry bases (9.2×23.25 m) was located seven meters south of the residence OC 1 and divided into three rooms. This building, too, had vertical walls and a tiled roof with acroteria, so that it looked highly impressive. Because of its *cella tripartita* ground plan, OC 3 was probably an early type of building designed for cultic activities and feasts.⁶⁵¹

An interpretation of OC 1 as a princely residence is borne out by the large number of pottery fragments, bearing witness to a rich inventory of banqueting dishes. A small proportion came from Ionia, Corinth and Sparta. The lion’s share, however, consisted of *bucchero* and *impasto* ceramics locally made. The existence and use of bronze dishes is only indicated by the fragments of two vessels. Significantly, however, there were also ten *impasto olle* which were probably used for the preparation of spicy wine mixtures.⁶⁵²

In their appearance, the banqueting dishes that were found in OC 1 are directly reminiscent of the forms and functions of the commensal politics that characterized rigorously ranked societies. One dominant feature of such a society was its “merit and gift feasts,” which were given in order to establish and stabilize the existing hierarchical order and its ranks. This was achieved through the host’s rigorously graded preferential treatment of individual guests, with the precise calculation of time and resources spent on serving

each person. It included, in particular, different qualities of food and drinks and different qualities of the dishes that were used at table. To serve the highest-ranking guests, it was important to serve the most exquisite food and the finest mixtures of alcoholic drinks, obviously served on the most costly dishes made from precious metal. The next person lower down was often given somewhat cheaper dishes made of clay, but still valuable and still imported. Such dishes were given as gifts or were simply used to serve the food. Those on the next level in the hierarchy were given less costly imitations of those delicate ceramic import items, dishes that had been made in regional or local pottery workshops.⁶⁵³ When we place Corinthian, Ionic and Laconic drinking vessels on the honorific scale of a “merit feast” at the Murlo proto-palatial complex, it would come second in prestige value. The first place was taken by even more valuable banqueting dishes, made of bronze. Most of these metallic items, however, have not survived to the present day.⁶⁵⁴

In view of these requirements at “merit and gift feasts,” it was all the more important for the *princeps* of Murlo to be highly successful in his hospitality. As his residence was inland, he could only secure access to the “global” goods and merchandise traffic through hospitality ties with influential partners along the Tyrrhenian coast. This systematic hospitality and networking policy of the *princeps* in Murlo is also borne out by the *tesserae hospitales* made of ivory, of which fragments bearing different names came to light in the OC1 longhouse.⁶⁵⁵ It clearly seems that in Orientalizing Etruria, the formation of the elite involved a causal relationship between the region’s hospitality policy, “global” networking and control over prestigious goods. This was the only way one could ensure not only those much-coveted import goods but also the necessary non-local raw materials and input materials which—as in the case of the workshop hall OC 3 in Murlo—were then processed locally into costly cultic objects and valuable gifts under the supervision of the *princeps*.⁶⁵⁶

At the “merit and gift feasts” that were given at the Murlo residence complex a central role was often played by the *matrona* who handled, for instance, the allocation and preparation of the food and drinks. This included the fermentation of cereal and grapes into alcoholic drinks and, above all, the distribution of meat, which was still seen as a highly exclusive culinary delight in Orientalizing Etruria. This high-ranking function of the *princeps*’ wife is reflected in the frequent presence of knives in richly decorated women’s tombs in central Italy from the late eighth century onwards. These were knives used both for sacrificial purposes and for the carving of animals.⁶⁵⁷ This role of the high-ranking woman in a princely household is illustrated on the relief figures depicted in the middle row on a Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl in New York. It shows a ceremony in which men are bringing small and large horned livestock to a female ruler seated on a throne. The next image sequence shows the sacrificing of those animals. Two men have pinned a goat (?) to an altar while one of them is cutting the animal’s

throat with a sacrificial knife in his right hand. As the innermost row on the bowl shows, this sacrifice ceremony formed part of the preparations for a palatial feast in a “sacred grove.”⁶⁵⁸

As well as focusing on the central role of the *matrona* in organizing opulent feasts, the sacrifice scene on the silver bowl in New York also shows that the animals, which were received for meat consumption, actually had to be killed and that this clearly required a place of sacrifice or an altar. Commensal politics therefore always involved religious practice. As individual *capi guerrieri* rose to positions of *principes* and thus became redistributors and generous hosts, this development was accompanied by drastic changes in the field of religion. In seventh-century Etruria (Tarquinia, Caere and Veii) and Latium (Satricum) a number of prestigious *sacelli* were built on the grounds of ritually destroyed cultic huts.⁶⁵⁹ Each of these “sacred houses” had a foyer, hipped roof and an earthen cover and served as a new place of devotion for honoring the ancestors of leading families as heroes or even worshipping the same as gods. The *capo guerriero* had now become the local or even regional master of cultic and ritual practice, which formed the religious basis for his new position as *princeps* outside the family.⁶⁶⁰ If it is true that the three-room broadroom house OC 3 in Murlo is a *cella tripartita*, then this building should be such a “sacred house” which functioned as a regional center for ancestral and cultic worship as early as 650. Access to this building would have been controlled by the *princeps* who had his residence in OC 1.⁶⁶¹

3 Feasts, *klinai* and aristocrats

The religious condensing process, whereby specially revered ancestors were given near-divine or even divine status, started with the ascent of individual *capi guerrieri* to the positions of *principes*. During the sixth century, this practice led to widespread monumentalization. The “sacred houses” had imposing peristyle temples built around them and no longer served as feasting venues.⁶⁶² Instead, festivities were held in purpose-built halls and banqueting houses. Like their precursors, the palatial residences, these newly established sanctuaries with altars and banqueting rooms served as ceremonial service centres (e.g. in Veji-Portonaccio, Montetosto, Pyrgi and Graviscae in Etruria and Satricum in Latium).⁶⁶³ In the late sixth century, this move of regional distribution centers from the residences of the *principes* into urban or rural sanctuaries for the surrounding regional settlements was again accompanied by lasting changes in the fields of religion and feasting.⁶⁶⁴

To get a clearer idea, it is worth looking at the black figures in the sacrificial scene on the Ricci hydria in Rome around 520. On its shoulder frieze we can see a bearded man with a long luxurious gown, a red cloak and a kantharos in his right hand—apparently a priest supervising acts of sacrifice

and the preparation of the meat from the sacrificed animals, ready for the feast. We cannot tell from the frieze whether this figure is a king or an oligarch with priestly sacrificial duties.⁶⁶⁵ However, there is no high-ranking woman. The relocation of communal feasts from the house of the *princeps* to the central sanctuary of regionally associated aristocrats obviously meant that the master's high-ranking wife lost her role as feast preparation supervisor and was therefore no longer in charge of the organization of these opulent occasions. This gave her time and leisure to sit or even recline at the table, dine with her guests and entertain them with her successful flair for conversation. From the second third of the sixth century, this new commensal role of the Etruscan high-status women was suitably celebrated in depictions of banquets which adorned the terracotta panels of palaces and the walls of aristocratic tombs, following the iconographic examples of Greek symposium pictures.⁶⁶⁶

Not only did this emulation of Ionic and even Attic culture impact the general Etruscan presentation of banquets in contemporary images, but even its objects—that is, its furnishings and dishes—became increasingly Greek from the 560s onwards. Drinking vessels were now dominated by Greek-style bowls, and the *dinos* or *olla* was replaced by the *krater*.⁶⁶⁷ The former splendor and Oriental-style exoticism had been ousted by the ideal of distinguished “winemanship”, as practiced by the elites of the late Archaic period between Lydia and northern Etruria. This symposial *haute culture* was reflected in the microcosm of the banquet with its proper etiquette and correct taste,⁶⁶⁸ which then influenced the behavior of the elite in the microcosm of the increasingly urbanized centers of Etruria, so that the banquet became an instrument that assigned individuals to specific cultural places in a stratified and refined society.⁶⁶⁹

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14 Banqueting and food

Abstract: Archaeological evidence and imagery give a clear picture of the development of banqueting as a social arena and, from the Orientalizing period, a status symbol for the elite. However, everyday diet of the Etruscan population, in particular middle and lower social classes, was most likely much more basic. Faunal and plant remains, dental wear and chemical analysis of bones offer the first tantalizing evidence of regular Etruscan dietary habits.

Keywords: funerary banquet, wine, komos, diet

1 Iron Age

The earliest evidence for banqueting dates back at least to the Villanovan period, specifically to its later phases, when sets of grave goods became progressively less basic and began to include vessels for food, remains of which sometimes survive. Vessels and food residues have been found both next to cinerary urns as the personal share of the deceased, and removed from burial locations, in which case they are likely evidence of funerary banquets. In addition, food offerings were burnt alongside the deceased, as shown by the animal and plant remains found in the debris of the pyre.⁶⁷⁰ Funerary banquets may also be represented on some Villanovan urns decorated with schematic seated figures.⁶⁷¹

In northern Etruria and the Po Valley, components of the Villanovan burial customs survive in the Orientalizing period. Here food is set on tables in front of the cinerary urn, which represents the physical presence of the deceased after the destruction of his or her body.⁶⁷² In the exceptionally well preserved case of Tomb 85 of Verucchio there are three wooden tables—one for drink, one for meat and fish, and one for fruit.⁶⁷³ In the territory of Chiusi urns have strongly humanized features and are placed with symbols of rank on thrones in front of which tables are set, as if the dead is enjoying a banquet.⁶⁷⁴

2 Orientalizing period

Between the Villanovan and the Orientalizing period the banquet developed, and its function as status marker was strongly emphasized, a character that it

probably did not originally have.⁶⁷⁵ In fact, the transition to the Orientalizing period corresponds to a dramatic increase of privileged status symbols, especially in southern Etruria, Latium Vetus and Etruscan Campania, where elite burials are characterized by the ostentatious display of valuable and frequently exotic banquet instruments.⁶⁷⁶ A new type of banquet spread across central Tyrrhenian Italy, which centered on the consumption of wine and meat. Individuals of “princely” status—a status that emerged from the formation process of aristocratic clans—display a lifestyle based on *truphē* (luxury) and *habrosunē* (refinement and splendor) and modeled after the Near Eastern courts and the Eastern Greek aristocracies. The banquet ceremony is one of the principal expressions of that lifestyle. The question of the origin of this social custom and its modes of transmission is still open. The Greek component has been favored for a long time, but scholars have recently turned their attention to the Near Eastern model and the *marzeah*, a ceremony of the Syro-Palestinian area in which high-ranking individuals drank wine together, celebrating their ancestors and marking their own privileged status.⁶⁷⁷ Direct acquisition of Near Eastern customs is confirmed by the presence in Etruscan tombs of tripod bowls used as mortars to grind spices and mix them with wine, following a custom typical of northern Syria and the Phoenician colonies of the central Mediterranean.⁶⁷⁸ The presence of an attendant with a fan in one of the earliest representations of banqueting in Etruria, the urn of Montescudaio (mid seventh century BCE), is also a typical Near Eastern element (Fig. 45.9). From Greece, on the other hand, were imported wine vessels,⁶⁷⁹ for which the Etruscans used names borrowed from Greek,⁶⁸⁰ and the custom of adding grated cheese to wine.⁶⁸¹ It must be remembered, however, that the banqueting with wine developed in the Greek world after those same Near Eastern models, and attempting to distinguish clearly what is Greek from what is Near Eastern is neither easy nor appropriate, especially in central Italy, where the two components coexisted and blended. Between the eighth and the early seventh centuries BCE, banquet culture became one of the most important components of a sort of cultural koine that the Etruscan aristocracy shared with their Greek, Latin and Cypriot counterparts. The model of the “Homeric feast” is not only suggested by the comparison between the elite burials of southern Etruria, Latium and Campania with the burial customs described in the Homeric poems, but is also confirmed by documents like the “Nestor’s cup” of Pithekoussai, which shows that the Homeric world was a constant ideal and cultural reference in banquet venues. In turn, strong Near Eastern models have been recognized in the Homeric banquet customs, and the settlement of Pithekoussai, even though established by Greeks, had pronounced Eastern components along with Etruscan and Italic ones.

From the Near East also came the custom of banqueting and drinking wine while reclining on a couch, which developed in the eighth and seventh centuries in the Syro-Palestinian region, and spread to Greece and

Mesopotamia.⁶⁸² The reclining banquet replaced—even though not immediately and not at the same time in all areas of Etruria—the seated banquet that is still found in the earliest representations, such as the urn of Montescudaio, bucchero vessels, and perhaps the terracotta figures of the Tombs of the Five Chairs of Caere.⁶⁸³ The new fashion was introduced roughly at the same time in Etruria and in Greece, as attested by the lid of the urn of Tolle (ca. 630–620 BCE).⁶⁸⁴

In the Orientalizing period a complex ritual of food and wine consumption developed, which expressed the status of the participants by equating them to regal and heroic figures, from the Eastern kings to the heroes of Homer, through the use of precious objects and the presence of assistants and musicians, creating a splendid, luxurious and almost divine setting. The banquet was one of the most important forms of aristocratic self-representation, and in South Etruria even replaced the traditional warrior role in burial customs. A large part of the sumptuary goods acquired by the Orientalizing elites is made up of banquet instruments of Eastern and Greek manufacture and/or typology. Near Eastern objects included cups of silver, bronze, glass and ostrich egg; jugs of silver or mixed materials; metal flasks; red-slip dishes and jugs, and bronze cauldrons on stands. The latter could be used to boil meat, a practice which may allude to divine status, since this method of cooking is mentioned in Greek myths dealing with regeneration and rebirth and is thought to refer to the time before the gods separated their table from that of the mortals. Their main function, though, was to hold wine, as confirmed by some of the earliest banquet representations.⁶⁸⁵ From the Greek world came cups, kraters and other vessels, which were soon imitated in workshops established by immigrant potters.⁶⁸⁶ Orientalizing elite tombs also contain andirons, spits, and knives, all used for roasting meat. The association of banquet with meat consumption and sacrifice show the protagonists of banquets as mediators between men and the divine, fortifying their status and authority.⁶⁸⁷

An especially relevant question is the origin of the wine used in Etruria. For a long time, wine has been considered an exotic import brought by the Greeks and/or the Phoenicians along with the dedicated set of vessels and the related consumption rituals. However, recent studies have demonstrated that in central Tyrrhenian Italy, a type of wine was already known before the importation of Greek and Oriental wines.⁶⁸⁸ The specific set of vessels for the consumption of local wine—a cup with a tall vertical handle, and a type of amphora—has been recognized as well. Despite the introduction of new types of wine and associated grapes, agricultural techniques and vessels from the eastern Mediterranean, the local shapes and varieties of wine did not fall into disuse. The study of Latin literary texts allows a level of investigation that is not possible for Etruria and gives an important point of comparison. In Rome, the local wine, called *temetum*, had a ritual function, and its consumption was limited and strictly regulated. Its sphere was very different from that of the

Greek and Near Eastern wines, which were spiced, sweetened, and mixed with water, and were destined for communal consumption and designated by a Latin word borrowed from Greek, *vinum*, which was also used by the Etruscans. For this reason the set of Greek vessels for wine did not replace the local ones in Etruscan burials until the end of the Archaic period. Unlike wine for ritual purposes, the wine for banquets was of Greek and Near Eastern type, either imported or imitated. The shape of the Etruscan wine amphorae of the Archaic period, modeled on Phoenician jars, is evidence for the importance of the Near Eastern component in the development of Etruscan wine production (Fig. 14.1).

The type of banquet which was adopted in central Tyrrhenian Italy in the Orientalizing period had strong hierarchical overtones, but integration and relative equality among the participants developed more strongly than strict exclusivity and elitism. Very soon, social groups of good (but not “regal”) standing shared this practice, as is shown by the quick diffusion of the sets of banquet vessels in Etruria and Latium. As a result, the banquet became one of the most important venues for the representation and reproduction of the power of Orientalizing and Archaic aristocracies and the complex dynamics of social relationship of these periods, both vertically, between the highest ranks of the clan and their dependants, and horizontally, between different clans of the same or other communities.⁶⁸⁹ In fact, the banquet was the common space for the relationships between homogenous social levels of ancient Italy—Etruscan, Latin, Italic, and Greek. It has been rightly stressed that Greek, Etruscan and Latin banquets cannot be considered identical and there are important differences which cannot be overlooked.⁶⁹⁰ Nonetheless, these were not insuperable barriers. The relationship of hospitality, which crossed ethnic and cultural boundaries, was established primarily through participation in a common banquet, and the many cases of aristocratic mobility imply the capacity of a foreign aristocrat to adapt to the banquet ceremonial of his new home, since it was primarily there that he was required to interact with the other members of his class.⁶⁹¹



Fig. 14.1: Etruscan wine amphora from Miletus (photo A. Naso)

The model of Greek conviviality soon prevailed and the Etruscan banquet, like the Greek, became the main venue for cultural communication and production through the instrument of myth. Many of the earliest representations of Greek myth in Etruria appear on wine vessels, and the Etruscan elite were avid purchasers of Greek vases with mythical scenes depicting the core values of aristocratic culture. It was not by chance that many of the most spectacular figured Corinthian and Attic vases were exported to Etruria, and that at least 40 percent of all exported Corinthian craters were found at Caere, including the crater of Eurytios, with a mythical scene that illustrates the role of symposium in relation to hospitality.⁶⁹²

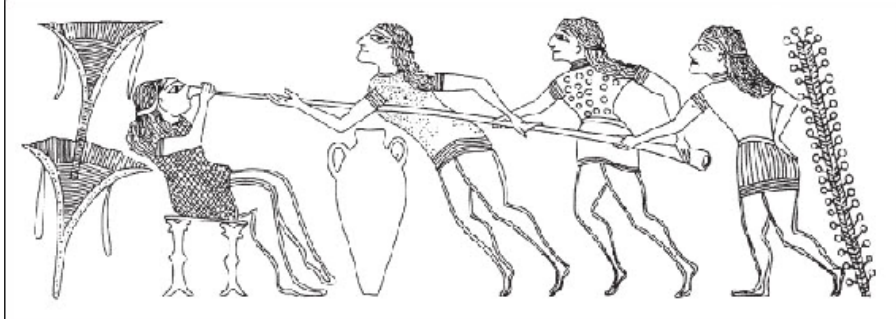


Fig. 14.2: White-on-Red pithos with Ulysses blinding Polyphemos (from Menichetti 2002, 91 fig. 16)

The adherence of the Etruscans to the most typical aspects of Greek wine culture is also shown by the popularity of subjects dealing with the correct use of wine, symposium ethics, and hospitality, in particular the episode of Ulysses and the Cyclops (Fig. 14.2). Moreover, inscriptions on wine vessels celebrating individuals recall a custom of the Greek symposium.⁶⁹³ The Etruscan banquet, however, cannot be considered in quite the same light as a Greek symposium, an institution with very specific characteristics which developed over time and had significant variants in Greece itself.

3The archaic period

In the sixth century, banquet representations become more similar to Greek symposium scenes.⁶⁹⁴ The frieze of Murlo (580–70 BCE) (Fig. 14.3) represents pairs of reclining banqueters on couches, a cauldron on a stand, and servers with wine jugs. The couples comprise a man and a woman and an older bearded man and a younger one who plays a string instrument. The banqueting couples drink from different cups, hemispheric for the mature men and two-handled for the woman and the younger man. Tables with food are set before the couches. The scene looks very similar to contemporary Greek vase paintings. In the later series of friezes known as Rome-Veii-Velletri (ca. 550–525 BCE), the couple on the couch is a man and a woman, with a server, a player of *auloi* and two young men. In the frieze from Acquarossa (ca. 550–525 BCE) there are three men on each couch, a server who pours from a cauldron, and musicians (Fig. 14.4). As in the Rome-Veii-Velletri series, tables with trays and cups are set before the couches. One of the three banqueters holds a long knife, an unusual practice typical of figures—especially Hercules—who do not belong to the symposium. It may be a way of equating one of the banqueters to the hero, probably relating to the other scenes of the series, where the labours of Hercules are represented as the model for the deeds of a triumphant chieftain. A scene of *komos* appears on

the frieze as well, which makes this series of images especially close to Greek models.

Reclining banquets with specific features appear in the tomb paintings from Tarquinia (ca. 530 BCE). In some, a husband and wife affectionately lie on the same couch, and in the others, the wife sits on a throne beside the couch. These representations find close comparisons in terracotta friezes of Eastern Greece (Larisa on the Hermos), and probably represent the banquet in the afterlife. Banqueting couples are also represented in late archaic terracotta urns of Caere (Fig. 14.5) and stone reliefs of Chiusi, while in the reliefs of Fiesole only the man reclines while the woman, when present, may sit on a throne beside him.

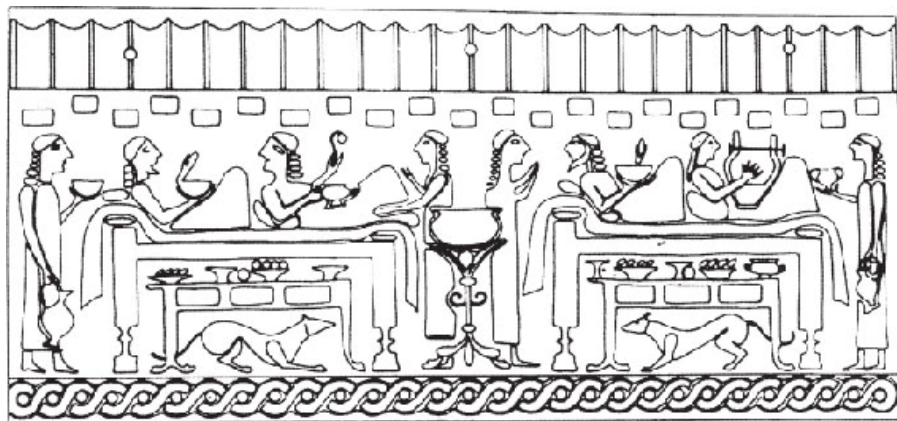


Fig. 14.3: Terracotta frieze of Murlo, banquet scene (from Menichetti 2002, 85 fig. 9)

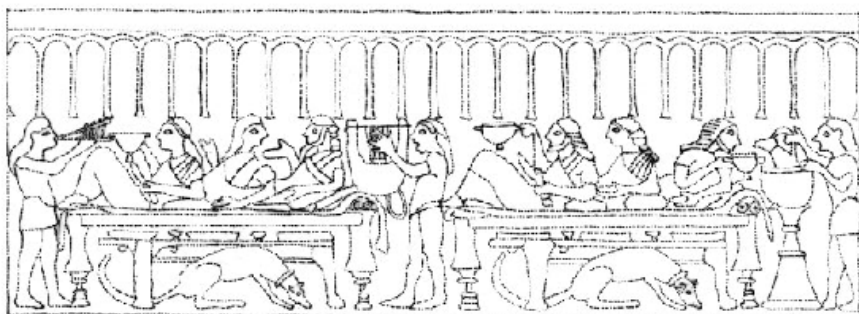


Fig. 14.4: Terracotta frieze of Acquarossa, banquet scene (from Menichetti 2002, 88 fig. 11)

Etruscan women of free status were allowed to take part in banquets and drink wine, a custom that shocked Greek authors of the Late Classical period (Arist. fr. 607 Rose in Ath. 1.23d; Theopomp. in Ath. 12.517d). Inscriptions on vases confirm the role of women as custodians and dispensers of wine.⁶⁹⁵ This custom originates from the strongly aristocratic fabric of Etruscan

society, which gave elite women not only status but also significant freedom of action.⁶⁹⁶ This is a feature not unique to Etruscan society, but it appeared so to the Greeks of the fourth century BCE, when the culture of the archaic aristocracies of eastern Greece—from many points of view similar to those of Etruscan aristocracies—had disappeared and only in a very few specific Greek cities did remnants of that lifestyle still survive.⁶⁹⁷ In these wall paintings, wine consumption is emphasized and the set of wine vessels are depicted in detail, especially the krater, which may summarize the whole wine-drinking ritual or allude to the funerary urn. *Komos* is frequently represented as a link between the human world and the afterlife where the blessed enjoy their banquet. The Tomb of the Inscriptions at Tarquinia shows a line of *komasts*, all men bearing different family names, who move towards a painted door that alludes to the entrance of the afterlife.⁶⁹⁸ In this case, the banqueting couple is replaced by a Greek-style all-male *hetaireia* (Fig. 6.1). A further step towards stricter resemblance to the Greek representations of symposium is found in tombs where the banqueters are men only.



Fig. 14.5: Sarcophagus of the Spouses, from Caere, detail. Museum of Villa Giulia, Rome (foto SAR-Laz)



Fig. 14.6: Orvieto, Archaeological Museum, fresco of tomb Golini I, detail (from Torelli 2000b, 254)**216** Fabio Colivicchi

4The classical and late classical periods

Fifth-century tomb paintings are even closer to Greek and especially Attic models, even though women are still frequently represented reclining on the couches. The increased similarity to the model of Greek symposia should be put in the context of the development of the Etruscan city and the formation of an urban society that was comparable to the Greek, at least partly, in structures and dynamics. The symposium institution of the Greek world was a powerful model for the Etruscan aristocracy of the Archaic period, and later for the fifth century selected elite, who were still very committed to this originally aristocratic practice, and used scenes of banquet/symposium as standard model of self-representations until the early fourth century. The continuing presence of women is further confirmation of the still very aristocratic nature of Etruscan society after the establishment of republican state institutions in the fifth century.

In the fourth century, the paintings of some elite tombs of Tarquinia and Orvieto/Volsinii again show food on the tables, while wine vessels seem to lose their prominence. Particularly in Tomb Golini I of Volsinii, a number of cooks and butchers are represented processing and serving food to the masters on their couches (Fig. 14.6). The emphatic representation of the ancient model of banqueting with ample consumption of food may be put in the context of the dialectic between the higher aristocracy and the new classes that obtained social and political recognition in the second half of the fourth century. It is probably not by chance that these scenes—powerful images of hierarchy, abundance, and effective administration of economic and human resources—appear in the countryside of Volsinii, where local aristocrats retired from the city before the political and social crisis that caused the Roman intervention, and in Tarquinia, the watchdog of aristocratic order in Etruria. The general crisis of the symposium institution in the Greek world itself should be also considered, which developed alongside the crisis of the classical polis.

5The Hellenistic period

In the Hellenistic period, the banqueter reclining on a couch is the standard image of the deceased, both male and female, represented on the lids of sarcophagi and urns. These figures frequently hold *phialai* or *kantharoi*, the cups of heroes and gods, rather than symposium cups, and Dionysiac symbols are not uncommon. The tomb chamber appears as a representation of the banquet in the afterlife, where the dead enjoy their new status as heroized ancestors, some upright and some lying down and falling asleep, ready for their rebirth.

6Archaeological evidence for Etruscan diet

In spite of its exceptional cultural and symbolic importance, the banquet and its display of abundance is neither representative of the elite Etruscan diet nor of that of less privileged groups. Ancient literature and figurative art did not pay much attention to everyday meals, and modern research on this matter is still in the initial stages.⁶⁹⁹ However, the analysis of vegetal and animal remains found in archaeological context is supplying long-awaited evidence. Data from sanctuaries are useful but cannot be considered representative, since they depend on the specific regime of offerings of the various cults, which were often far from regular dietary habits.⁷⁰⁰ Food remains in burials are also important, but those were probably special meals, both in quality and quantity. Settlement contexts are a more reliable source of evidence for a more balanced reconstruction of the Etruscan diet.⁷⁰¹

The general picture which can be outlined after the analysis of faunal and plant remains from different sites and contexts is relatively consistent.⁷⁰² Hunting, chiefly of deer and wild boar, along with small game such as hare and birds, made a minor contribution to diet, especially in cities, where it is almost absent. Meat was supplied by cattle, sheep and goats, and pigs. Cattle were usually slaughtered in old age, after they had long been used for work, milk and manure. Pig farming grew more popular starting from the Early Iron Age, and became especially important in the third century. A shift towards pig husbandry is a general trend observed in all Etruria. Pigs, which were very prolific and had low production costs, were a convenient source of meat for a rapidly increasing population, especially in the cities. Since the majority of sheep and goats were slaughtered when they were at least three years old, they must have been raised for wool and meat, while the production of milk was less important because a large amount of it had to be used to feed a large number of lambs. Poultry is attested from the Early Iron Age and is common in the Archaic and Classical periods. Fish is a less common find, or rather a find that has attracted little scholarly attention, but remains of fish have been found in settlements, sanctuaries and tombs. In the tombs of Verucchio, there were both freshwater and saltwater fish, sea urchins and seashells.⁷⁰³

Pollen and seeds found in tombs and settlements confirm the importance of cereals (wheat, barley, spelt, rye, panic, and millet), as is also stressed by ancient literary sources on the abundant grain production of Etruria. Legumes (broad beans, lentils, chickling vetch, and peas) are fairly common as well. These crops are especially suited for rotation with cereals.⁷⁰⁴ A whole squash with seeds was found in a tomb of Verucchio. Fruit complemented the diet and is well attested in archaeological contexts. Hazelnuts are a common find especially in Villanovan tombs, along with grapes and apples.⁷⁰⁵ There is also evidence for figs, pomegranates, elderberrys, and other fruits and berries. A honeycomb was offered in a tomb of Casalmarittimo.⁷⁰⁶ Olive oil was probably produced very early⁷⁰⁷ and was an important part of the diet, as in most of the Mediterranean region.

Archaeological evidence is important for the identification of the

components of Etruscan diet, but it is difficult to get a clear idea of quantity and frequency of consumption. Great help comes from the chemical analysis of bones and the study of dental wear, which clearly show that the diet of the Etruscans was largely based on agricultural produce. Meat consumption was uncommon, probably occurring only on the occasion of religious festivals and public and private ceremonies.⁷⁰⁸ The study of a sample of the population of Hellenistic Tarquinia, middle-class individuals who could afford small chamber tombs, shows that their diet was chiefly vegetarian, with large use of starchy food, and meat a rare commodity.⁷⁰⁹ However, we can assume that the diet of the elites was richer in animal proteins. A partial confirmation is given by the animal remains of the House of the Impluvium at Roselle, the home of a well-to-do sixth century family.⁷¹⁰ Here, contrary to the general trend, the majority of cattle bones are from young animals. The owners of the house were able to afford high-quality meat, which was most likely consumed at the banquet, that powerful indicator of status. The literary stereotypes of the “fat Etruscan” and of the decadent banquets of the Etruscans found in Greek and Latin sources⁷¹¹ were clearly developed on the basis of the banquets of the elite. In the context of the Roman debate on private luxury, they could be used as an example of a once powerful people allegedly destroyed by hedonism and moral corruption.

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15Sports

Abstract: One aspect of Etruscan civilization for which we have a considerable number of sources—textual, epigraphic, and especially iconographic—is sports. Images of games appear in Etruria since at least the seventh century BCE. Contrary to what is often stated concerning a supposed closely-followed Hellenic model, the Etruscans exhibited in this area in particular considerable originality with respect to Greece, the most striking example being the social status of Etruscan athletes, who were “dependents,” “*servi*,” and not full “citizens.” The Etruscans’ favorite events were pugilism and horseracing, including the *triga* races that were unknown to the Greeks: the techniques of the Etruscan drivers were later adopted by the Roman charioteers. While funeral games are the best known, thanks to the frescoes from Tarquinia and the Archaic reliefs from Chiusi, the Etruscans also organized public and sacred games and games inside their cities (such as at Cerveteri), and we must not forget the *ludi* that took place in their sanctuary of the *Fanum Voltumnae*.

Keywords: horseracing, boxing, athletes, pentathlon, games

Introduction

One aspect of Etruscan civilization for which we have a considerable number of sources—textual, epigraphic, and especially iconographic—is sports. Images of games appear in Etruria since at least the seventh century BCE, confirming a telling passage in Livy (1.35) on the reign of Tarquinius the Elder. Contrary to what is often stated concerning a supposed closely-followed Hellenic model, the Etruscans exhibited in this area in particular considerable originality with respect to Greece, the most striking example being the social status of Etruscan athletes, who were “dependents,” “*servi*,” and not full “citizens.” The Etruscans’ favorite events were pugilism and horseracing, including the *triga* races that were unknown to the Greeks: the techniques of the Etruscan drivers were later adopted by the Roman charioteers (the *agitatores*). While funeral games are the best known, thanks to the frescoes from Tarquinia and the Archaic reliefs from Chiusi, the Etruscans also organized public and sacred games and games inside their cities (such as at Cerveteri), and we must not forget the “Pan-Etruscan” *ludi* that took place in their sanctuary of the *Fanum Voltumnae*.

1The sources: A favored theme

Jacques Heurgon's wonderful book on daily life among the Etruscans was published in 1961. And while many fortunate discoveries have been made since that time that have, to some extent, modified our view of the civilization, and many articles have clarified aspects of our understanding, the lines dedicated by the French scholar to Etruscan sports and games remain valid today:

Whatever we are best acquainted with in the manners and customs of the Etruscans comes from their games, because, in the special form of funeral games, they loved to depict these on the walls of their tombs or sculpt them on their *cippi* and sarcophagi.⁷¹²

In fact, we must stress at the outset the variety of sources available to us for addressing this question, and that they are not severely limited, as might be the case for other aspects of Etruscan life.

But first of all, remaining with iconography, in addition to the frescoes from Tarquinia or the Archaic reliefs from Chiusi, we must not forget what can be gleaned from scenes on pottery, beginning with bucchero that is incised or decorated with more sophistication (in both relief and engraving), which takes us far back in time, to the seventh century: the publication of the *olpē* from Caere (Cerveteri) that shows, along with Medea (Metaia) and Daedalus (Taitale), a pair of boxers in action illustrates the Etruscan interest in pugilism already in the 630s.⁷¹³ But black- and red-figure pottery is not excluded: among these items, there stands out a necked amphora by the Micali Painter, from Vulci in the British Museum, from the end of the sixth century, which offers a collection of athletic scenes taking place alongside a *pompa*, the religious interpretation of which is not yet clear.⁷¹⁴ The importance must also be stressed of series like the stelae from Felsina (Bologna) that have been carefully studied with respect to funeral games:⁷¹⁵ this glance toward Po Valley Etruria also carries us closer to the art of the *situlae*, on which the *ludi* constitute a dominant theme clearly marked by Etruscan influences. And if we then turn to the other Etruscan "province," in Campanian Etruria, we cannot ignore the contributions of the Capuan bronze *lebetes* ("cauldrons") (Fig. 74.8), especially the Barone *lebes*, and no less the paintings from Paestum, for there again, the scenes of games have a pronounced Etruscan stamp. Lastly, we must not forget the interest of some athletic scenes incised on mirrors or cists.

The quotation given above might suggest that the literary and epigraphic sources take second place. In fact, they make it possible for us to hone our views on chronological and social questions. It is almost a shock that authors as eminent as Herodotus (1.167) and Livy (1.35.7–10) mention Etruscan games, even if their remarks are of course presented from the Greek or Roman point of view; there are even several authors, including Aristotle, who look into a subject so apparently trivial as the Etruscan practice of fighting to music: but in that case, the frequent interest in the customs of a foreign people is sometimes coupled with the well-known urge to denigrate its softness and

its luxurious lifestyle (its *truphē*).⁷¹⁶ As for inscriptions, while they are limited to a few names painted (or engraved) alongside athletes shown on the frescoes from Tarquinia, they nonetheless reveal the status of such persons, and they guide us to a view of Etruscan athletics that is not the one that is traditionally proposed.

2The earliest athletic scenes

The passage by Herodotus (1.167) mentioned above has often been used to locate the oldest Etruscan games a little after the middle of the sixth century BCE.⁷¹⁷ The historian tells us that the Caerites stoned some of their Phocaeen prisoners after winning the naval engagement that has come to be called the battle of the Sardinian Sea (the battle of Alalia) around 540 BCE. A series of omens ensued, and the Etruscans of Caere “sent to Delphi wishing to set right their offense and did what the Pythia ordered, as they still do today: they sacrifice to the Phocaeans who were stoned to death as to heroes, and held *athletic and equestrian competitions* in their honor.”⁷¹⁸ The presence of many athletic themes in the frescoes from Tarquinia from the last third of the sixth century seems to confirm the Greek historian’s information. This conclusion would be all the more acceptable in that, according to some, the Greek model was imposed throughout Etruria, and still more so in the domain of *agōn*, of athletic contests. In the history of sport, everything supposedly goes back to Greece, and no one could possibly have done anything but imitate the Olympic or Pythian Games.

This, however, is not so: the Etruscans did not have to wait to go to Delphi to discover sports. Livy, in his discussion of the reign of Tarquinius the Elder (1.35.8), notes that to celebrate his victory over the Latins, he organized—in a newly developed Circus Maximus—games more lavish than those of his predecessors. The spectacle (*ludicrum*) included exhibitions of horses (*equi*) and boxers (*pugiles*) “which had mostly been brought from Etruria” (*ex Etruria maxime acciti*). Thus in some Etruscan cities at least, sporting events were known from the end of the seventh century: we might consider the city closest to Rome, Veii, its perpetual rival since the foundation of the *Urbs*. An incised bucchero vase, found in Veii in the nineteenth century, dating from the last third of the seventh century, provides a straightforward illustration of this proposal: on the belly of this olla can in fact be seen a fine depiction of boxing, with two fighters in action, fists raised, wearing singlets.⁷¹⁹

But Veii is not the only relevant Etruscan city: at Caere, as already mentioned, a painted urn has been found, also from the seventh century, showing a boxing match,⁷²⁰ and today we know, from the same period and the same city in the tomb of San Paolo, the aforementioned bucchero *olpē* decorated with mythological scenes of Medea, Daedalus, and perhaps Jason,

flanked by a pair of athletes in a boxing match.⁷²¹ Lastly, and still from the seventh century, a painted olla attributed to the Civitavecchia Painter, who may have worked in the same region of Caere, places us at a boxing match that is for the first time accompanied by an *aulos*-player – henceforth a constant in this civilization.⁷²² The excavations at Murlo (Poggio Civitate), near Siena, in northern Etruria, have yielded for the beginning of the sixth century terra cotta plaques showing a horserace with young jockeys riding bareback (a sort of Palio di Siena race *avant la lettre*!): in this way, Livy’s pairing *equi/pugiles* is confirmed by Etruscan iconography from this early period. Which must not cause us to leave out the bronze statuettes from Murlo showing two wrestlers and the referee, dated to the late seventh century.⁷²³

3The social status of athletes

As shown by the various literary and epigraphic sources available to us, as well as other images that run the gamut of sportsmen, executioners, and clowns, it was not the Greek agonistic model of the Classical period that was applied in Etruria at the same time: this must be emphasized because, as has been recalled in the preceding section, Etruscan sport has often been presented as a carbon copy of the Hellenic *agōn*. In fact, while in the Archaic and Classical periods binomial personal names, with praenomen and gentilic, were the rule for free men, for Etruscan “citizens,” this is not the case for the athletes represented in particular on sixth-century frescoes. So for instance in the Tomba degli Auguri (Tomb of the Augurs) in Tarquinia, which includes training scenes, the fighter on the left is simply designated with the single name Teitu, while his older adversary is called Latithe in another painted inscription (Colour plate 18): the name is universally recognized as an ethnicon calling this athlete a “Latin,” whether or not he really came from Latium, or whether it might be a pseudonym, a *nom de guerre*. In any case, it is clear that these individuals stand outside the class of gentlefolk, that they belong to a lower stratum of the population, as Massimo Pallottino has observed.⁷²⁴ But the very fact that they were given any name at all on these paintings is not irrelevant: these were real sports stars, and the deceased (or his family) wanted these individuals—perhaps he was a fan of theirs—to accompany him in image to the beyond. For his tomb, Trimalchio had the same expectation of his favorite gladiator, Petraitēs, whose name was to be displayed on many artifacts (lamps, glasses, etc.; Petron. *Sat.* 71.6).

Other inscriptions painted alongside muscle-bound athletes, such as on frescoes in the Tomba delle Iscrizioni (Tomb of Inscriptions), again at Tarquinia, confirm this impression, since there too they receive single names, so that they are outsiders to the gentle class. As for the incised graffiti discovered by Massimo Morandi beside the fighters in the Cardarelli Tomb at

Tarquiniā, they refer to gentlefolk (*velchasnas, petui*), but they are in fact the names of the *domini* of these athletes, of the owners (including at least one woman) of these “stars” of the Tuscan ring.⁷²⁵ The fact of the desire to individualize the competitors is the proof that these were real athletes who really fought, perhaps during the funeral games, or more likely previously, in real competitions: metaphorical or symbolic analyses do not take into account this fact.⁷²⁶

The literary sources tell the same story of the inferior social status of these athletes. At the beginning of Livy’s book 5, where he describes the Etruscans as the most religious of men, he mentions a king of Veii who was hated by all for his impiety: indeed, in his disappointment at not being elected high priest of the Twelve Peoples of Etruria, he withdrew the performers, “most of whom were his own slaves,” from the games, committing a grave impiety. The Latin word *artifices* refers to both “circus” and theatrical performers, and it is easy to see the status of these Etruscan athletes at the end of the fifth century: “slaves” or in any case dependents. The status of the Etruscan charioteers was surely no different, since even in Greece they were also just technicians and might be of low birth, the real participant being the owner of the chariot and horses: it was no doubt from the stables, among the stable boys, that these charioteers were chosen, in the cities of Etruria just as in those of Greece and Magna Graecia. The Etruscan charioteer Ratumenna, who, according to a legend attached to the terra cotta *quadriga* from the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, was of noble birth and gave his name to a gate of Rome, is not at all representative of the status of Tuscan charioteers. No more than in Greece, where there were lists of winners—Olympians—did this prevent the names of Etruscan champions from being inscribed on tablets and preserved, as can be seen on two Archaic reliefs from Chiusi.⁷²⁷

4Athletic contests; Combat sports

Boxing was always the favorite sport of the Etruscans—alongside chariot racing—as well as of the Romans. The preeminence of boxing is confirmed by the number of representations in the sixth and fifth centuries, especially on the frescoes from Tarquiniā, where boxers are sometimes the only athletes shown, and where they often occupy a choice spot, for example framing the entrance gate like two guards poised to threaten any unwanted visitors (Cardarelli Tomb).⁷²⁸ A popularity that can also be seen on the funerary stelae from Felsina: boxing is at first the only sport represented—sometimes alongside the *biga* (two-horse chariot) race—and we recall the sports program detailed by Livy in connection with Tarquinius the Elder. But this sport also occupies a privileged position in the decoration, with several individuals (the two fighters, the trainer with the sponge, the musician, and the referee), as can

be seen on the stela P. Ducati no. 169 and also on the black-figure amphora of the Micali Painter in the British Museum (B 64).⁷²⁹ The *tibicen*, the *subulo* (Etr. *suplu*, “*aulos*-player”), is almost always found alongside Etruscan boxers.⁷³⁰ Several ancient authors note this custom, some of them choosing to see it as a sign of the Etruscan “*truphē*”: a baseless charge, since, as is easily seen in Thai kickboxing, which has nothing soft about it, the musicians are there to provide a rhythm for the blows of the two combatants and even to stir up their zeal for the fight.

It is revealing for the Etruscan taste for the “sweet science” that it has been possible to identify, on an Archaic relief from Chiusi, a ballet of boxing, with three athletes boxing and dancing rhythmically, under the direction of an *aulos*-player.⁷³¹ It reminds us of Jean Cocteau’s observation that boxers are “dancers who kill.” Before the discovery of a recently published Classical boxing scene on a relief from Chiusi, a major infatuation with wrestling had been observed in this city especially:⁷³² on the reliefs as well as the frescoes from Chiusi, we witness a very spectacular hold in which one of the wrestlers veritably takes to the air over the other: this athletic move, which would mark the end of a round of the match—if the Etruscans followed the Greek rule of three falls—in any case appears to be a hallmark of the Chiusi craftsmen. But other Etruscan cities were not unfamiliar with this event, as the Tomb of the Augurs in Tarquinia and the black-figure *dinos* in Arezzo—which in fact came from Saturnia—bear witness.⁷³³

5 Other athletic contests

Did the Etruscans have a pentathlon? On the two main walls of the painted Tomba delle Olimpiadi (Tomb of the Olympiads) at Tarquinia, dating to the 530s, in one area there appear a *biga* race and a boxing match, and in another a collection of three contests, with a foot race, a long jumper, and a discus thrower. The Tomb of the Augurs (Colour plate 19) also shows the typically Etruscan game of Phersu: a hooded man armed with a mace is attacked by a vicious dog goaded by a masked executioner. The latter bears the name Phersu, or “Mask” (a word corresponding to Latin *persona*). This has mistakenly been taken to represent a foreshadowing of Roman gladiatorial combat, which, in fact, seems to have its actual origin not in Etruria but in Campania, as is clearly shown in funerary paintings from Paestum.⁷³⁴ The combination of three athletic contests mentioned above might lead one to suppose that the Etruscans also knew the Greek pentathlon, which included wrestling and javelin: an impression confirmed by the aforementioned amphora B 64 of the Micali Painter, where a javelin thrower and a discus thrower are shown side by side, and especially by an Archaic relief from Chiusi, now in Palermo, on which one athlete, depicted receiving his reward,

holds both a discus and a javelin. But the absence of literary texts and inscriptions leaves many questions open. The runners from the Tomb of the Olympiads are sprinting: but is it a *stadion* (ca. 200 meter) race? Did the Etruscans have events similar to the *dolichos* (a little less than 5,000 meters) or the *diaulos* (a double *stadion*)? The depictions show that the Etruscan long jumper ordinarily used dumbbells to improve his performance, and that the javelin thrower propelled his equipment with a strap called an *amentum* in Latin (a very fine depiction of which can be seen in the frescoes from the Tomba della Scimmia, i.e. Tomb of the Monkey at Chiusi). In view of the clumsiness with which Etruscan artists portray the stance of the discus thrower, this event was perhaps not very popular in Etruria. Certainly, beginning in the 450s, and especially in Po Valley Etruria, many are the bronzes—ex-voto or decorations on candelabra, for example—representing a pentathlete. At Bologna there is even an athlete who cannot be anything but a shot-putter: did this competition exist in Etruria?

As for Etruscan originality, the question of nudity is also an essential criterion, since the Greeks themselves claimed athletic nudism as a trait that distinguished them from the barbarians. While fully naked Etruscan athletes are sometimes encountered, such as the wrestlers of the Tomb of the Augurs in Tarquinia, the realism of Etruscan art, in any case in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, grants us a better understanding of some practices that the idealization of contemporary Attic art has almost entirely concealed. Thus some Etruscan athletes are provided with an athletic belt, more specifically a leash: the penis is cinched up with a short cord attached to a belt.⁷³⁵ The frescoes of the Tomb of the Monkey at Chiusi offer very clear examples of this practice. Truth to tell, in real life it was not much different for the Greeks: a few—very few—vase paintings, including a beautiful crater of Euphronios, provide confirmation. The vast majority of Greek athletes had to wear an athletic supporter. This is not to deny that, from the point of view of decency, they were naked. In this respect, the Etruscans were not really barbarians; but the Etruscan artists were not satisfied with copying Greek images: they really did represent local reality.⁷³⁶

6Equestrian events

It is in this area that Etruria exhibits the most striking originality in sports: from the beginning (seventh–sixth centuries) the success of horseracing can be observed, foreshadowing the situation and popularity of the *ludi circenses* of Rome. Once more it is the funerary frescoes from Tarquinia and Chiusi that provide the most striking attestations. The name “Tomb of the Olympiads” coupled with the 1960 Rome Olympics contributed inopportunely to this impression of widespread Hellenization of Etruria. On the left-hand wall of

this little hypogeum, alongside the boxers, four *bigae* hurtle toward the finish mark, a simple red post: the lead charioteer looks back to check on the position of his competitors, and the fourth one falls victim to a wreck, a spectacular upset. The apparel of these charioteers is significant: they all wear a short tunic to the mid-thigh, and some have a leather helmet. This dress has nothing in common with that of the Greek charioteers, such as the Charioteer of Delphi, who have a long tunic that falls to their feet and are normally bareheaded. Moreover, their techniques prompt the same observation: the Etruscan charioteers tie the reins around their waist in order not to drop them, while the Greek charioteers simply hold the reins in their hands. When we add that the Etruscan charioteers wield a whip while their Greek counterparts use a long horse-goad, the *kentron*, it is clear that there was a great gulf between the horse cultures of the two peoples.⁷³⁷ On the other hand, when it comes to the equipment and technology of chariotry, the Romans learned almost everything from the Etruscans, and very little from the Greeks: thousands of documents big and small, mosaics, bas-reliefs, terra cottas, glass items, intaglios, confirm this assertion.⁷³⁸

The types of chariot used in these contests are further evidence. The Etruscans never raced the *quadriga* that is the royal chariot in Greece, where the *quadriga* triumph was reserved to the social and political elite. In contrast, the Etruscans preferred the *biga* and even the *triga*, the chariot harnessed to three horses, with two yoke-horses and an outrunner trace-horse: thus on the Archaic reliefs from Chiusi, almost half the harness races are *triga* races.⁷³⁹ The Greeks never held *triga* races, contrary to the Romans, as we learn from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and from several inscriptions recording the achievements of celebrity charioteers. In Rome, on the Campus Martius, along the Tiber, there was a training ground called the *Trigarium* because of the *trigae* that appeared there: the site with that name goes back to the “Etruscan” period of Rome, under the Tarquins.⁷⁴⁰ The most recent argument in this dispute concerns Etruscan and Roman interest in horse-acrobats (Lat. *desultores*), who leapt down from their mount at some point in the race, or who jumped from one horse to another, whereas neither Etruscans nor Romans ever knew plain races with traditional jockeys (after the example of Murlo, no such depiction is found in Etruria).⁷⁴¹ This is another point of contact between Etruscan and Roman sports, and another difference from Hellenic practice.

7 Religious aspects

Some favor symbolic interpretations, but it is clear that the paintings in the hypogea are a remembrance of organized games in connection with the funeral of the occupant of the tomb: the Etruscans used a ritual like that

already described by Homer around the funeral of Patroclus in book 23 of the *Iliad*. It is a stage in the rite of passage that also includes the preparation and conveying of the body, not to mention the banquet and the dances that are associated with sports in several documents: but the order of these rites is difficult to establish.⁷⁴² These ceremonies do not concern only the deceased: the clan and sometimes the neighbors or the residents of the entire city are tasked with this mourning that must be extravagant (Tarquinia, Tomb of the *Bigae*). Athletic competitions, dances, and banquets allow the living to overcome this ordeal and recover their strength for the future of the social group.⁷⁴³ The paintings, which perpetuate the ritual efficacy of the games, bring consolation to the dead man, who lives a life of idleness in the beyond. Observing the violent character and bloodshed of Etruscan sport—for example in the boxing scenes (Tarquinia, Tomb of the Olympiads, Tomba del Letto Funebre, i.e. Tomb of the Funerary Couch)—some believe that it provided extra life to the deceased.⁷⁴⁴ Although a chariot wreck might prove fatal for the charioteer, such episodes are quite realistic details from the world of sport.

While the presence of sports stars in the funerary frescoes from Tarquinia favors a realistic rather than a metaphorical reading, it also illuminates the splendor of these ceremonies, the expense involved, and so the social status of the families in question. It is a matter of pointing up the rank of the deceased and his *gens* as the frescoes did: in the necropolis of Monterozzi, only two to three percent of the tombs are painted. Such an investment was not available to every family, and this is all the more true of the games that are such a frequent theme on the painted walls. Archaeology and iconography deliver revealing elements. Beginning in the seventh century, several Orientalizing tombs at Tarquinia (the tumuli of Doganaccia, Poggio del Forno, Poggio Gallinaro, and Infernaccio) exhibit a “theatrical” structure: a very wide *dromos* [entranceway], resembling a small public square, often ringed on several sides with benches to accommodate spectators, primarily from the clan, who in this way would be able to watch dance performances as well as boxing or wrestling matches, within the context of funerary games. Other religious ceremonies, such as sacrifices, could of course be performed there as well. In the sixth century, a tomb like the Cuccumella in Vulci, or a rock-cut complex like the Grotta Porcina, near Blera, with an altar or cippus base, still had structures of the same type.⁷⁴⁵ Here the viewing public was doubtless limited to the *gens*, but this is no longer so in the following case.

The Tomb of the *Bigae* in Tarquinia (ca. 500 BCE) exhibits a rare theme on its painted walls: wooden galleries sheltered by *vela* and filled with a large, varied audience, men and women, and even, lying beneath the galleries, young slaves engaged in erotic play. This image seems to illustrate the description of the Circus Maximus in the time of the *Etruscan* king Tarquinius the Elder, such as is given by Livy and even Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The number of spectators who are present at the horseraces and athletic contests

reveals that we are not in the presence of just one family: we are well beyond the single sphere of the private, and it is not utterly out of the question to suppose that the deceased nobleman was a magistrate of Tarquinia, and that his descendants organized funerary games to which were invited at least some of his “constituents.” In any case, it was very much the social position of the dead man and his family that was celebrated one last time.⁷⁴⁶ Moreover, the presence of women, who appear sometimes to occupy the place of honor in a gallery, reveals their status in Etruscan society: such position, unknown in Greece, recalls instead the Circus Maximus in Rome, which, according to Ovid (*Am.* 3.2; *Ars am.* 1.135–62), similarly offered fine opportunities for the roués of the *Urbs*.

Besides the funeral games, private or semi-private, organized within the circles of the great families of the Etruscan aristocracy, there were also public and sacred games offered to various gods: the organization of games to appease them, as in the event of an epidemic—the conception of *ludi* as a ritual of proxy—itself seems to be an Italic tradition, originally Etruscan and then widely diffused to Rome. Thus it was in fact the city of Caere that organized equestrian and athletic games after the battle of Alalia. And most of the major Etruscan cities must likewise have held games, for instance to honor their patron god, on the model of the Roman *Ludi Magni* celebrated in September in honor of Capitoline Jupiter. But the exact identification of the gods or goddesses to whom the Etruscan *ludi* would have been dedicated remains rather uncertain and often reflects the Greco-centrism that is so prevalent in this area.

The best attested games are in fact those that took place not at the city level but on the federal scale: the only way the Etruscan dodecapolis expressed its unity each year was in these religious displays and spectacles that must also have accompanied lively fairs, central markets. These pan-Etruscan athletic and theatrical entertainments were dedicated to Tin(ia), the principal god (*princeps*) of the Tuscan pantheon, celebrated here under the surname Voltumna, which must have referred specifically to his role as protector of the League of the Twelve Peoples. The *Fanum Voltumnae*, mentioned five times by Livy, was doubtless located at the foot of Volsinii (Orvieto), in the area known as Campo della Fiera, where promising excavations are under way: perhaps they will be lucky enough to uncover lists of victorious athletes or charioteers, since two reliefs from Chiusi dating to the fifth century show scribes recording on tablets the names of the winners of sporting events held in Etruria.

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Armando Cherici

16Dance

Abstract: Dance is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of communication, a universal, unspoken language. It is a language of artistic expression that is simpler, but also more powerful and more involving; in it man neither shapes nor uses materials, but himself becomes the message, the energy, the measure, the material, and the form. It is easy to understand how, in its expressive immediacy, dance becomes part of the heritage of values that characterizes a human society, and so it becomes a means of expression in individual, collective, private, public, and religious contexts.

In order to interpret a dance, especially in the ancient world, we cannot ignore the sociocultural context in which it was performed, because dance is not fashion, but message. For Etruria, however, we do not have such a plethora of sources as we do for the Greco-Roman world. To reconstruct Etruria, we have almost nothing but iconographic sources and archaeological discoveries. Our understanding of Etruscan dance is thus inevitably spotty, and based solely on images. From what we can see, we do not know the names or types of movement, the rhythms, the music, or the song. We do not know whether spectators were present, because already in antiquity there was private dance, done for individual enjoyment—or in desperation, like a public ritual dance, performed as a response to or to make visible the needs of class, caste, or community.

Keywords: round dance, serpentine dance, orgiastic dance

Introduction

It might be trivial to point this out, but our modern conception of dance—with respect to its forms, features, and situations—is a long way from what dance has meant for millennia in human society, and what it continues to mean in pre-industrial cultures. Three examples to better portray what has been lost follow. At Lepanto in 1571, on the verge of the battle that would decide the fate of Europe, the son of Charles V, John of Austria, commanding one of the greatest fleets of all time, danced a galliard on the upper deck of his flagship, a few meters from the Ottoman ship that was poised for the encounter.⁷⁴⁷ In the heart of the Middle Ages, in the greatest cathedrals of France—Auxerre, Sens, Amiens, Chartres—the bishop led the clergy in a solemn dance, which wound over a labyrinthine choreography inlaid in the pavement of the nave.⁷⁴⁸ At the threshold of history, dances accompanied the entry of the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem, led by King David, in a garment that was far from a royal robe.⁷⁴⁹

Dance is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of communication, a universal, unspoken language. It is a language of artistic expression that is

simpler, but also more powerful and more involving; in it man neither shapes nor uses materials, but himself becomes the message, the energy, the measure, the material, and the form. It is easy to understand how, in its expressive immediacy, dance becomes part of the heritage of values that characterizes a human society, and so it becomes a means of expression in individual, collective, private, public, and religious contexts.

It is clear, therefore, that in order to interpret a dance, especially in the ancient world, we cannot ignore the sociocultural context in which it was performed, because dance is not fashion, but message. For Etruria, however, we do not have such a plethora of sources as we do for the Greco-Roman world. To reconstruct Etruria, we have almost nothing but iconographic sources and archaeological discoveries. Our understanding of Etruscan dance is thus inevitably spotty, and based solely on images. From what we can see, we do not know the names or types of movement, the rhythms, the music, or the song. We do not know whether spectators were present, because already in antiquity there was private dance, done for individual enjoyment—or in desperation, like a public ritual dance, performed as a response to or to make visible the needs of class, caste, or community.

1Iron Age

We are not able to positively identify dance in the images of people that appear on objects from the Early Iron Age. This is the case of the hut-urn from Tomb Selciatello 45 in Tarquinia.⁷⁵⁰ The figures on its sides may represent actual images that were painted on the exterior walls of an actual Villanovan hut. In a world like that of the ancients, where drawing a picture meant to evoke something, we can eliminate the possibility that such paintings were purely decorative. We do not know the message that was to be transmitted, but we do know that there was one: may ancestors or gods protect the inhabitants from whoever might come from outside? Are the paired figures holding hands? Are they still, or do they move around the hut? These questions are fated to remain unanswered.

2Orientalizing period

In the second half of the eighth century, Bisenzio provides the first sure depictions of dance. The Olmo Bello 22 tomb has yielded a bronze situla on whose shoulder and lid are two processions of warriors, all the way around, bearing a small shield and a mace or a spear⁷⁵¹ (Fig. 16.1). In line, unambiguously facing right, they appear to move in martial lockstep. The legs spread to express stability, the arms stretched wide to increase the majesty of

the figure following a technique well known from ethnology, and still found in war dances (such as the Maori *haka*). The unison gait, the pose, and the display of arms mark the potency of the group, which is underlined by the fact that the figures are ithyphallic. The exhibition of the male organ is frequent in small figurines, but here, this detail is emphasized in a display of virility and of scorn for the enemy that is very appropriate in an armed dance, widely paralleled in other primitive warrior cultures, from the Highlanders to the Zulu. A round dance is portrayed on the lid; the men are equidistant and orbit an animal trophy (or totem) in the form of a bear, bound with a chain (which, in this case, secures the lid to the situla). It may represent a propitiatory rite for a hunt or for battle (given that in this period war is an extension of the hunt), or a dance to celebrate a successful outcome, perhaps the capture of the bear itself, the warrior animal par excellence, a wild counterpart of man, which like him fights on foot and bares his breast to the enemy. In fact this is the scene that confirms the presence in this phase of Etruscan civilization of the sort of totem animal that is well attested for other populations of ancient Italy, the most famous example being the She-Wolf of Rome. The round dance provides still more information about the society that gave expression to it; it is a dance of equals, there is no first or last in line, and no first or second rank. And these “equals” are equal among themselves, but are distinct from those that surround them; again it is the circle that declares this distinction, and it is the display of arms, the coordinated synergy, the knowledge of the steps and movements, the very acceptance of the individual in the group of other dancers / hunters / warriors that sanctions it. “I know how to dance to Ares’ tune in the grim killing zone” is what Homer has Hector say, a few decades earlier.⁷⁵² Dance introduced these progresses of chorality and distinctiveness that we will find confirmed later on.



Fig. 16.1: Bisenzio, necropolis of Olmo Bello, Tomb 22. Bronze situla (detail). Rome, Villa Giulia (photo SAR-Laz)

More complicated is the interpretation of the scene on the shoulder of the situla. The dancers and their solemn advance are those of the lid, as are the

direction and the stance; they could be forming a larger circle. But they also could be taking part in a different dance, a procession, because here there is an interruption—a man who seems to be leading an ox, and another person raised above the others, who, armed with a spear and facing left, seems about to fell the ox itself. What sort of dance or ritual is taking place? It is difficult to interpret the depiction otherwise; the ox, as much as the bear, is a symbol of power. The sacrifice of one could well be part of a military dance. One last question: is it the dance of a people, of youths qualified by age for military service, or the dance of a caste, of however many are qualified for military service by belonging to a social class? We do not have what would be needed for a response. In that period in Etruria, however, society was becoming complex and vertical. There appear rich funerary accoutrements, and the conduct of war and of the collective social duty, become the prerogative of the ruling class. It is probably more of a status symbol, since this situla inspired by arms was deposited not in a man's rich tomb, but a woman's. It is significant to observe how, at Bisenzio, the three groups of grave goods that in this period include objects decorated with "narrative" scenes are all for women, as if the woman was the custodian of symbols and memories. This is the case for our situla, for the wheeled bronze incense-burner of Tomb Olmo Bello 2 (Fig. 10.1),⁷⁵³ and for the olla from Tomb 2 of Bucacce.⁷⁵⁴ The latter, dated to the end of the eighth century, bears forty-eight female figures holding hands, divided into sixteen groups of three, in red or black. A similar round dance is suggested a little later on the amphora from the necropolis of Pianetto di Ischia di Castro, with five female figures (Ischia di Castro, Bocci Coll.). We cannot say very much about these groups, other than comment on the number engaged in the round dance, or at least in dances in which they move as one. There seems to be a collegial solidarity of those who dance, and an "exclusion" of the outer world.

So far we have encountered unisex choral dances, that happen in an unambiguous direction. In the first quarter of the seventh century, a more complex dance is found on the *oinochoe* of the Pittore dei cavalli allungati (Painter of the Stretched Horses), in the British Museum (Fig. 16.2).⁷⁵⁵ Three men, identifiable by their brief garments, alternate with two richly dressed women. All have their arms open and raised, and appear to be moving forward and in line, but while the women are immobile, or in orderly movement, the men are performing the steps of a leaping dance, with the two at the sides holding a pole (probably a spear) pointed at the ground on the outer side of the line, as if to provide symmetry and borders. One of the female figures displays a crown or a tambourine. We might see in it the *geranos*—the serpentine dance—like that with which Theseus and Ariadne celebrated the liberation of the Athenian youths from the Minotaur. It is impossible to be certain, just as it is impossible to say whether the scene recalls a myth, represents an actual dance, or a ritual that recalls a myth. What is certain is that this scene was present in the imaginations of the amphora's

painter and owner, and whereas the first dances we looked at were unisex and choral—done to reinforce the bonds of a group—here we have both sexes, distinguishable by their garb, movements, poses, and props. The woman is portrayed with measured presence; the man with an exuberance emphasized by nimble legs, and marked by the spear. Two contrasted worlds meet in what the dance is meant to express: the harmony of their union, of their coming together. It is a message that continues to live in contemporary dance, three millennia later.

Another work from the first half of the seventh century—the eponymous Amphora of the Painter of the Heptachord (Fig. 16.3)⁷⁵⁶ celebrates the strength and agility of men. A chitharist accompanies five male figures performing backward somersaults while brandishing swords or pointing spears at the ground. As in the example from Bisenzio, this is a war dance—the Pyrrhics⁷⁵⁷—but while in the earlier one the choral sense prevails, here, as in the London *oinochoe*, the display is more refined and individual. The dance expresses nothing but the unambiguous movement on which the struggle of the line is founded, but also proclaims the agility of the individuals, who accomplish various feats even while armed, emphasizing their ability to confront the most demanding circumstances.



Fig. 16.2: *Oinochoe* of the Painter of the Stretched Horses (detail). London, British Museum

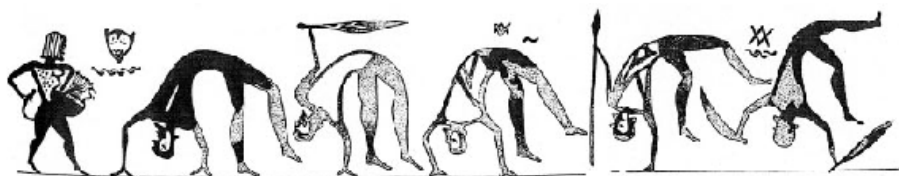


Fig. 16.3: Amphora of the Painter of the Heptachord (detail). Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum

Physical prowess is needed in order to leap with the legs together, done by heavily armed men in the war dance on the silver situla of Plikašna, from Chiuse, of the mid seventh century.⁷⁵⁸ At this time, war and military maneuvers had become a caste prerogative, a specialized role that was no longer an extension of an activity that was primarily collective and productive, such as the hunt. The armor of the infantrymen on the situla was prohibitively expensive, and the sword—the main feature of the scene on the

amphora—can only be an instrument of war, and as such has become the symbol of a caste, down to the rapier of the eighteenth-century cavalry and the “sword dances” that survive in certain peripheral areas of the old Europe. Dance, society’s mirror, expresses the rise of a specialized ruling caste. On the one hand, it stresses the homogeneity, the synergy, the skill, the “enthusiasm” of those who perform it, while on the other, it ratifies their distinctiveness from the rest of society, like the galliard of John of Austria.

The *oinochoe* of the Tragliatella⁷⁵⁹ can be dated to the last decades of the seventh century. Again the scenes on this vessel (Fig. 16.4) may be compared with the myth of Theseus and Ariadne. The labyrinth motif incised here, identified by the inscription *truia*, has been related to an equestrian military exercise attested from the time of Virgil (*Aen.* 5.545–603), the *lusus troiae*. In fact, two cavalrymen seem to “come out” of the *truia*, as a line of infantrymen might come out who would process in step, a step that the unarmed individual at the side, who seems to be a mace-bearer, does not participate in. It is not possible to summarize the hypotheses that have been offered, but I would like to dwell on the drawing of the labyrinth. Well attested in the ancient world—including marginal areas like Sardinia (Luzzanas, Tomb of the Labyrinth) or Val Camonica (Naquane, Roccia 1)—the labyrinth reappears in identical form in medieval cathedrals, drawn on pillars (Lucca) or on the floor of the nave, where we have seen it used as the pathway for a dance led by the bishop, an authority whom we still today call *presule* “prelate” like the priest who led the dance of the Salii in ancient Rome.⁷⁶⁰



Fig. 16.4: Tragliatella, *oinochoe* from the necropolis (detail). Rome, Musei Capitolini

3Theseus and Ariadne

And now the time is ripe to explain why we have twice adverted to Theseus and Ariadne. We open this digression, in part not Etruscan, because it allows us to clarify how much of the ancient world we must read through the distorting lens of the primal myth, of our modern difficulty in imagining the

past of *then*. The Homeric description of Achilles' shield is unclear in one point (Hom. *Il.* 18.590–605), where Hephaestus depicts a dance “made” by Daedalus for Ariadne. What image appears on the shield—a dance scene? But how could he render its characteristic motion, described by the poet? Perhaps Hephaestus reproduced a “choreography,” the pattern of movements of a dance—but *choros* is in fact also a dancing-*place*. Hesychius helps by underlining the origin of the word: χορός = κύκλος, στέφανος; and in fact Homer recalls here the motion of the potter's wheel. In this dance, which comprises convolutions, *imitatus intortum et flexuosum iter labyrinthi* (Aphthonius 6.60.1–6 Keil; Marius Victorinus 1.16.14) similar to certain modern Greek or western Alpine dances, the formation maintains its alignment either by holding hands, by a kerchief held by the next dancer, or by a cord (“Ariadne's thread”). The presence of such a cord is known from inscriptions on Delos, where the *geranos* dance was preserved, celebrated by the youths liberated from the Minotaur, the half-bull, half-human “monster” slain by Theseus.⁷⁶¹ The Minotaur—perhaps one of many totemic priests who led dances for initiates dressed as animals, such as the cow-priestess of the shrine of Hera at Argo, the bear-priestess of Artemis at Brauron, or the Hirpi Sorani in Lazio—would find his successor in someone who would slay him in a ritual duel, as for the Rex Nemorensis.

But let us turn to the choreography that is likely to be identified in the labyrinth of the Tragliatella piece. Aphthonius and Marius Victorinus were writing in the fourth century CE. They note that lyric compositions are subdivided into strophe, antistrophe, and epode, and they explain this with the fact that “the ancients” would sing hymns while circling around the altars. The first turn, toward the right, was the *strophe*—that is, progress—given also by the cycle of the seasons; the second was accomplished in the opposite direction; the third part of the hymn was sung standing still. Always “according to the ancients,” at the origin of this practice was either the dance of Theseus, or else the movement of the universe, in which the starry heaven “turns” counterclockwise and the heaven of the planets turns clockwise, while Earth stands still. At the origin of the dance of Theseus and Ariadne, then, stands the motion of the planets. The musicologist G. Chiarini has recognized strophe, antistrophe, and epode in our labyrinth drawing, obtaining exact rhythmic scansion (Fig. 16.5),⁷⁶² that “circulata melodia” imagined in Pythagoras's movement of the spheres by Dante (*Par.* 1.78; 23.109), exalted in the labyrinth dances in the cathedrals. Why has modern man lost consciousness of a “choreography” that Pliny the Elder recalls being traced in the Campus Martius in Rome (Plin. *HN* 36.85) and that survived until the Middle Ages? Because dance has received other forms of notation, and we have lost the perception of the night sky, which the ancients would see as the goal of life and into whose constellations they would project their mythology.

4Archaic and Classical periods

Between the seventh and sixth centuries, the repertory of *bucchero a cilindretto* turned to motifs of line dancing participants holding hands or linking their outstretched arms, sometimes with alternating male and female figures.⁷⁶³ The positioning of the arms and hands here is clarified in a relief from Chiusi from the mid sixth century.⁷⁶⁴ Women move hand in hand in an unambiguous direction, or with open hands and their arms crossed with those beside them.

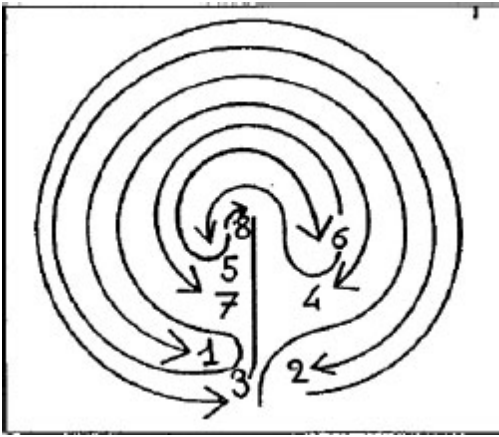


Fig. 16.5: Choreography with the movements of the strophe (signed +), the antistrophe (signed –), and the epode (A and B), according to Chiarini:

1 = –	A	5 = –	A
2 = +	B	6 = +	B
3 = –	B	7 = –	B
4 = +	A	8 = +	A

In the *cilindretti*, the shallowness of the relief prevents us from clearly reading any of the scenes in which solemn dances (with figures whose hands are joined), or livelier ones (in which the figures move separately), are accompanied by a gift to a seated individual—a ruler or a god.⁷⁶⁵ In still others, such dances are connected with scenes of boxing and armigers,⁷⁶⁶ an activity associated with public and political worth in ancient society (see [chapter 15](#). Thuillier). During the sixth century, dance frequently accompanies such public moments. At Tarquinia, in the tomba del Letto Funebre (Tomb of the Funeral Bed), a dancing girl is painted alongside a Pyrrhic dancer and scenes of athletics, and a dancing cymbal girl appears in scenes of *dokimasia*

in reliefs from Chiusi.⁷⁶⁷

The Chiusan reliefs suggest dances at moments in between the public and the private, such as the *comploratio*, along with horseraces, soldiers, banquet scenes (presumably funereal), and *prothesis*;⁷⁶⁸ sometimes satyrs appear in the dance, to underscore their otherworldly character.⁷⁶⁹

What was the social status of the dancers we have discussed? The warriors of the great choral dances of the Iron Age belonged to what was becoming the ruling class. On the Shield of Achilles, high-ranking youths dance—young men with golden swords, and young women with “fine linen dresses, ... lightly rubbed with oil,”⁷⁷⁰ as in nineteenth-century Sardinia.⁷⁷¹ King David dances. The Salii dance in Rome makes clear that dance is a social ritual, a shared moment; those who do it are not professionals or hired performers, but persons participating in that which is appropriate to their rank, office, and state. The *histriones* recorded in the Roman sources for the first *ludi scenici* or for the annual ceremonies of the Etruscan League appear employed by nobles and king; the actors in such *performances*, however, are persons of rank.⁷⁷²

The scenes met until now pertain to public moments, or private events—death—in their public dimension. In the second half of the sixth century, the architectural slabs of the Tuscania-Acquarossa series⁷⁷³ and the bucchero pesante⁷⁷⁴ display a moment that is private and involves castes together: the *komos*, the orgiastic dance that concludes the banquets of the men of the ruling classes. The dance is again presented with doubled value, difficult for us to grasp fully. The *komos* explodes in a secret location, but it is the climax of an event that identifies an elite, the banquet; it therefore appears in decorations intended to be seen by a wide public, like the slabs that decorate *regiae* and nobles’ compounds.

With the end of the sixth century, dances appear that are performed and celebrated for an exclusively private sphere. The Chiusan reliefs present dances of men and women, associated with the banquet,⁷⁷⁵ as in the enormous murals of the Tarquinian tombs. We see these dances involving the servants but also the gentlefolk themselves. Posidonius—four centuries later—tells us that Etruscan servants were richly dressed,⁷⁷⁶ and that the silk veils⁷⁷⁷ and careful coiffure of the dancing girls can increase the charm of alluring slave girls. But they all also have rich necklaces, and if a young lady holds the *olpe* from which the wine is served (Tomb of the Triclinium), another delivers the cup from which to drink (Tomb of the Lioness) (*Colour plates 27–31*). Nothing allows us to exclude that at least some of these figures share the condition of privilege of those who, on the same walls, come to the banquet. Whether the “masters” were present or actually took part, the dances of the pictures at Tarquinia are danced in the private sphere; they declare the identity and the cohesion of the ruling classes and accentuate the distinction from those who cannot live such happy moments. These dances show us that Etruscan society is connected to a cultural stage that we can liken to a sort of humanism: the choral dances—unisex or mixed, but always within a group—

now are replaced by dances of individuals or couples. While earlier, the movements were solemn or athletic, they are now involved, ecstatic, and impassioned: the angled arms, the head bent forward or thrown back, the twist of the torso express emphasis and a deeply felt dynamic; the garments lewdly stress the beauty of the bodies. The graphic surrender of the dancers, steps, and gestures are especially accurate. The Tarquinian picture repeats the knowledge mediated by Attic pottery, but at this point the artist feels the need to stress the virtuosity of certain steps⁷⁷⁸ and the studied position of the hands,⁷⁷⁹ such as bending the fingers backward as we can see in a certain small figurine⁷⁸⁰ and that is still today a symbol of feminine grace.

We might ask if we are seeing servants or “professionals” in the dance. Perhaps we are in a few cases, but the flourishing youth—well-dressed and self-aware in the painted circles of the tombs—refer to the elegant amusements of a ruling class enriched by commerce, open to the world and to *joie de vivre*, moments that now they wish to immortalize for the afterlife. We cannot exclude the possibility that the chorality of the dances that we saw in the first part of our discussion did survive. The society, however, has changed, because it no longer feels the need to represent these scenes, and continues to allow us to read ever more delicate and intimate details, such as the couple with the woman with her arm on the shoulders of her companion, a drawing found on mirrors⁷⁸¹ and in small bronze figurines.⁷⁸²

5Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

In the first four centuries of its history, Etruria reveals to us a paradigm that proceeds from the totemic choral dance, from the ritual and collective sphere, to the unrestrained, orgiastic dance belonging to a hedonistic class and to courtship in particular. These are different aspects and features of a cultural phenomenon that, again in fourth-century Greece, is confirmed as a fundamental part of society, which Plato provided for in his plan for the ideal state (Pl. *Leg.* 7.796c, 803e, 813b). In Etruria, the iconographic sources on which we have based our fragmentary and partial journey taper off at this time. The ruling classes develop other needs and other ways of representing themselves and their power, and we lose the mirror of the elite, while we continue not to know—nor will we ever know—the dance of the lower classes.

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Enrico Benelli

17 Alphabets and language

Abstract: The peoples of central Italy came into contact with alphabetic writing as soon as Greeks and Phoenicians—who had already been using it for some time—began visiting their coasts. Of the two models, the Greek was preferred; it offered a complete alphabetic system of vowels that were derived from the repurposing of certain Semitic letters that originally denoted consonants. During the eighth century bce, the script appears to have already been in use both in Etruria and in Latium, as is attested by a few *sigla* (isolated letters) and brief inscriptions whose reading and interpretation are not unambiguous, which appear to belong to a period that was still experimental. In such an ancient period, an epigraphic culture did not yet exist. Written expression remained a very sporadic phenomenon; the great variability in letterforms derives from the fact that not even in the Greek world had the future epichoric alphabets yet become stabilized, and different graphic realizations were possible in the same locality, including certain crucial choices related to the so-called “bound couples.” (It. *coppie legate*).

The Etruscan alphabet as we know it came into being more or less in conjunction with the birth of an epigraphic culture at the beginning of the Orientalizing period. The first real inscription known to date dates to around 700, but there are a few earlier *sigla* (isolated letter(s)) that, at least in part, must be written in this type of script, and not to the preceding experimental phase. The oldest of these is probably the *siglum* recently found on a wooden vase from Tarquinia (ca. 730). In the Etruscan world, epigraphy arose to meet a need that derived from models of behavior of the aristocratic classes, to which is owed—to a large degree—the birth and development of that entire cultural phenomenon we call “Orientalizing.”

The history of the Etruscan language and its epigraphy is divided into a series of very well differentiated chronological periods. In general, “Archaic” refers to the period from the origins through the fifth century, and “Recent,” to the fourth through first centuries bce. The Archaic period in turn is divided into three parts endowed with very specific characteristics: an initial phase (corresponding to the Early and Middle Orientalizing periods, ca. 730–630), a High Archaic (from 630 to the end of the sixth century), and the Late Archaic. The language certainly had different local and perhaps also social dialects, but their identification has begun only in very recent times.

Keywords: alphabetic writing, inscriptions, *sigla*, Etruscan language

Introduction

The peoples of central Italy came into contact with alphabetic writing as soon as Greeks and Phoenicians—who had already been using it for some time—began visiting their coasts. Of the two models, the Greek was preferred; it offered a complete alphabetic system of vowels that were derived from the repurposing of certain Semitic letters that originally denoted consonants.

During the eighth century bce, the script appears to have already been in use both in Etruria and in Latium, as is attested by a few *sigla* (isolated letters) and brief inscriptions whose reading and interpretation are not unambiguous, which appear to belong to a period that was still experimental.⁷⁸³ In such an ancient period, an epigraphic culture did not yet exist. Written expression remained a very sporadic phenomenon; the great variability in letterforms derives from the fact that not even in the Greek world had the future epichoric alphabets yet become stabilized, and different graphic realizations were possible in the same locality, including certain crucial choices related to the so-called “bound couples.” (It. *coppie legate*).⁷⁸⁴

The Etruscan alphabet as we know it came into being more or less in conjunction with the birth of an epigraphic culture at the beginning of the Orientalizing period. The first real inscription known to date, the “*kotyle Jucker*” (CIE 10159), dates to around 700, but there are a few earlier *sigla* (isolated letter(s)) that, at least in part, must be written in this type of script, and not to the preceding experimental phase.⁷⁸⁵ The oldest of these is probably the *siglum* recently found on a wooden vase from the Tomb of the Warrior in Tarquinia (ca. 730).⁷⁸⁶ In the Etruscan world, epigraphy arose to meet a need that derived from models of behavior of the aristocratic classes, to which is owed—to a large degree—the birth and development of that entire cultural phenomenon we call “Orientalizing” (Fig. 17.1).⁷⁸⁷

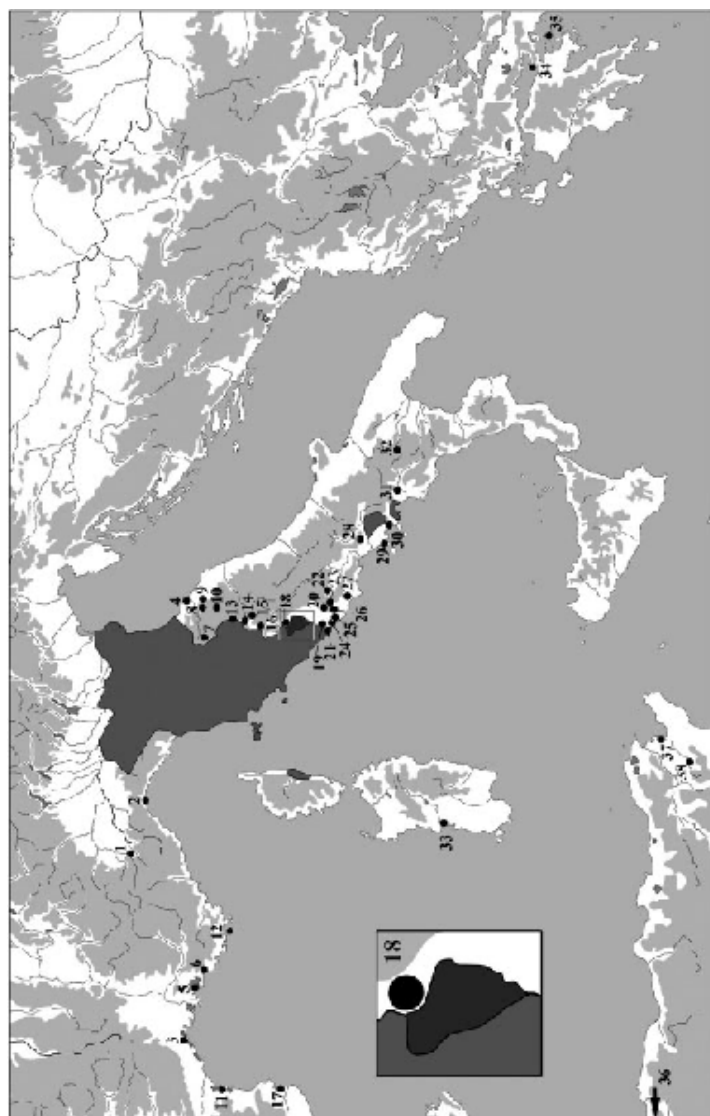
What distinguishes an epigraph from other writing is the fact that an epigraph contains a message that has been transmitted across a variety of media, which goes beyond the mere content of the text. Other factors, such as the object inscribed, its meaning, its importance, are indispensable for decoding an epigraph.⁷⁸⁸ For this reason, the birth of an epigraphic culture is a complex phenomenon, which presupposes the invention, spread, and sharing of specific codes that allow the addressee to grasp the sense of the epigraphic message. It also follows that in every culture epigraphs tend to repeat a limited number of formulaic schemata. Etruscan culture—despite the broad diffusion not only of the inscriptions but also of short texts that can almost be considered extemporaneous (names and *sigla* written on objects of daily use)—limited the use of epigraphy to a very few areas, mostly connected to forms of display by the emerging classes of society, which were concretized especially in the sacred and funerary realm. Thus, despite a very respectable epigraphic heritage (some 13,000 texts, including the *sigla*), the number of attested words is quite limited, and, above all, these words are nearly all concentrated in limited homogeneous lexical fields (kinship terminology, names of vessels, names of parts of funerary structures, and sacred vocabulary) (Fig. 17.2).

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Fig. 17.1: Distribution map of the Etruscan inscriptions in the 7th cent. BCE



- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Rusca | 14 Bertona | 27 Satriano |
| 2 Genova | 15 Bevagna | 28 Cales |
| 3 Lattara | 16 Todi | 29 Cuma |
| 4 Pesaro | 17 Ampurias (*) | 30 Pompei |
| 5 Saint-Blaise | 18 Poggio Sommavilla | 31 Eboli |
| 6 Marseille | 19 Rome | 32 Serra di Vaglio |
| 7 Sestino | 20 Palestrina | 33 Oristano |
| 8 Suasa | 21 Ostia | 34 Perachora |
| 9 Ostia | 22 Anagni | 35 Egina |
| 10 Fabriano | 23 Artena | 36 Goraya |
| 11 Pech-Maho | 24 Lavinium | 37 Carthage |
| 12 Wrack Grand Ribaud F | 25 Ardea | 38 Uadi Milian |
| 13 Gubbio | 26 Velletri | |

Fig. 17.2: General distribution map of the Etruscan inscriptions

1The script

The Etruscan alphabet originated as an adaptation of the alphabet used by the Euboean Greeks, who were among the chief participants in the earliest visits to the Tyrrhenian coasts. The respect that the Etruscans felt for this model was such that until the end of the seventh century their abecedaries always repeat a sequence that includes Greek letters that were completely useless for the Etruscan language, reproducing the original Greek one, and not Etruscan real use. These included ⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨o⟩, and two different letters for ξ, one of which derived from the Phoenician *samekh* (transliterated ⟨ξ⟩ and never used in Etruscan), and the other of which was cross-shaped, placed at the end of the sequence as it was introduced in the Greek world as a supplement to the original Phoenician order, and transliterated ⟨ś⟩, because it is sometimes used for the phonemes /s/ and /σ/ (Fig. 17.3).

The order of the alphabet, as it appears in the abecedaries of the seventh century (the “first phase” of the history of the Etruscan abecedaries),⁷⁸⁹ is in effect the outcome of a combination of graphic models that were alternatives in the Greek world. In the eighth century, however, the Greek cities had not yet developed those alphabets that would constitute one of the principal hallmarks of cultural identity during the Archaic and Protoclassical periods. Different graphic variants and options could circulate within the same setting, and from the Euboeans themselves the Etruscans became familiar with forms later excluded from the various epichoric alphabets (Chalcidian, Eretrian, and the various colonial forms).⁷⁹⁰ The availability of alternative models is what really made it possible for Etruscan to introduce two different Greek letters into its own alphabetical order to indicate voiceless sibilants that never coexisted in Greek alphabets (except for a single rather peculiar Attic abecedar). The duplication was the necessary result of the fact that Etruscan—unlike Greek—had two voiceless sibilants whose precise phonetic nature remains under discussion. One was presumably /s/, while the other is rather uncertain, to the extent that for its “phonetic” transcription its own conventional sign has been invented, /σ/. In Etruscan writing, because of this requirement, two letters have come to coexist: *sigma* (in Etruscan transliterated ⟨s⟩) and *san* (transliterated ⟨ś⟩; the actual Greek name of this letter is unknown).

In northern (Roselle, Vetulonia, Chiusi, Populonia, Perugia, Arezzo, Volterra, Pisa, Fiesole) and Po-area Etruria the letter ⟨s⟩ was used for the phoneme /σ/, while ⟨ś⟩ indicates /s/; in southern Etruria and in Campania, conversely, ⟨ś⟩ stands for /σ/ while ⟨s⟩ stands for /s/. Veii and Caere were exceptions, where the need to distinguish the two sibilants seems at first not to have existed, such that two variants of the same *sigma*—one with three strokes (⟨s⟩) and one with four (transliterated ⟨ś⟩)—were used to indicate either one indifferently; ⟨ś⟩ appears only occasionally, with an uncertain reading. Yet a third letter, ⟨ś⟩, could be used for both functions. Only much later, in the late

sixth century, did the convention of indicating /s/ with ⟨s⟩ and /σ/ with ⟨ś⟩ stabilize.⁷⁹¹

ABECEDARIES

VII century		Archaic period				Recent period			
		Southern Etruria		Northern Etruria		Southern Etruria		Northern Etruria	
						(until the mid-II century)		(from the mid-II century onwards)	
A	a	A	a	A	a	A	a	A	a
B	b	C	c	E	e	C	c	E	e
C	c	E	e	F	v	E	e	F	v
D	d	F	v	G	z	F	v	G	z
E	e	G	z	H	h	G	z	H	h
F	v	H	h	I	0	H	h	I	0
G	z	I	0	J	i	I	0	J	i
H	h	J	i	K	k	J	i	K	k
I	0	K	k	L	l	L	l	L	l
J	i	L	l	M	m	M	m	M	m
K	k	M	m	N	n	N	n	N	n
L	l	N	n	P	p	P	p	P	p
M	m	P	p	Q	q	Q	q	Q	q
N	n	Q	q	R	r	R	r	R	r
O	0	R	r	S	s	S	s	S	s
P	p	S	s	T	t	T	t	T	t
Q	q	T	t	U	u	U	u	U	u
R	r	U	u	Φ	φ	Φ	φ	Φ	φ
S	s	Φ	φ	Χ	χ	Χ	χ	Χ	χ
T	t	Χ	χ	8	f	8	f	8	f
U	u	8	f						
X	ś								
Φ	φ								
Χ	χ								

Common forms	Other forms	
A A	a	The G.s. form is used at Caere, in Campanian and Northern Etruria (but not at Chiusi); the second one elsewhere
U	b	Only in the word <i>stat</i> , "abecedary"
≡	c	Southern Etruria only; the second form belongs to the "Syracusan-style" reform
1	e	
I	v	
z	z	
B	h	
⊗ ⊙ ○	θ	The cross-shaped form appears sometimes at Vulci, Veianii, Chiusi and in Aemilia
I	i	
κ	k	
∨	l	
~m	m	
~n	n	
1	p	The second form belongs to the "Euboian-style" reform
M	s	The second form is used in late-Archaic inscriptions from Campanian and (more sporadically) the Po plain
q	q	Southern Etruria only
q q	r	
ς ζ	s	
ξ β	ś	Caere and Veii only; as alternative forms of <ss> in the orientalizzante and high archaic period; later, as an
T	t	
γ υ	u	
	ś	Used especially in inscriptions influenced by the "Veii reform"
φ	ψ	
Υ	χ	
8 8	f	

Fig. 17.3: Etruscan abecedaries

There is an entire series of exceptions to this general rule. The most striking concerns personal names with a sibilant stem (*praenomina* and family names), which come out with the letter <s> in both the south and the north. According to some linguists, the sibilant would have always been /s/, and northern Etruscan would have had specific orthographic standards for this /s/; in some cases, it would have been written with <s> and not <ś>. According to others, orthographic standards would have always been the same, and therefore personal names with sibilants would be pronounced /σ/ in the north and /s/ in the south, simply according to dialectal differences. The question has not been resolved.⁷⁹²

Another feature that distinguishes northern and southern writing is the choice of letters to indicate the voiceless velar /k/. The north adopted the simplest solution, the Greek letter <k>. In the south, however, a rather complex system developed: <k> is used only before <a>, <q> before <u>, and in all other cases <c>—that is, the sign for *gamma* (in its lunate form, which is one of the possible graphic realizations of the letter in Euboian writing)—which in Greek renders the phoneme /g/, which did not exist in Etruscan. This graphic rule (known as the "*kacriqu* rule" from a word found in the inscription *CIE*

10159 that contains all three letters) gave rise to quite a lot of confusion, but was gradually simplified, until the eventual disappearance first of ⟨q⟩, then of ⟨k⟩. Beginning at the end of the sixth century, in southern and Campanian Etruria, the sound /k/ was written only with ⟨c⟩.

The sole addition made by the Etruscans to the Greek alphabetic model consists of the sign 8 ⟨f⟩. Probably taken over from the Sabine alphabet, it appears in inscriptions toward the end of the seventh century, and in the abecedaries only in the next century, in connection with the suppression of the “dead” letters ⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨o⟩, and in the north also ⟨c⟩, ⟨q⟩, and ⟨s⟩). Its position, of course, is last in the sequence. The phoneme /f/, absent from Greek, had originally been written with a digraph, ⟨vh⟩ (once in a while ⟨hv⟩); in far southern Etruria (Caere especially, but also Veii), where there was considerable resistance to the introduction of the new letter, this usage persisted until the end of the sixth century.

Word dividers appear sporadically already in the seventh century, while in the older inscriptions words are normally not separated (*scriptio continua*). Only in the Late Archaic period (late sixth century) does word division become much more frequent, eventually becoming generalized. Cases of *scriptio continua* in the later period are very rare.

A special Etruscan invention, probably originating in Veii, is syllabic punctuation, the marking with dots of every letter (consonants and vowels) that occurs in other than open syllables, but also of vowels apparently conceived as being outside syllables. Most of the inscriptions with syllabic punctuation come from the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii, but a small number have been found in other centers in the region's south. It was used almost exclusively in the sixth century, basically ceasing at the beginning of the fifth, with the sole exception being in the area of Capua, where it persisted a little longer.⁷⁹³

After an early period when texts were written either rightward or leftward (as had also been the case in the Greek world), the Etruscans opted definitively for a sinistrograde (right-to-left) ductus, which remained the rule for the entire duration of Etruscan epigraphy. There are, nevertheless, a few exceptions. For example, in the same southern area (probably centered on Veii) that introduced the letter ⟨s⟩ and syllabic punctuation, a brief reemergence has been observed of a preference, or at least concurrence, of a dextrograde ductus. Captions could sometimes be written dextrograde (for aesthetic reasons), and some very late Etruscan inscriptions are also dextrograde, clearly under the influence of Latin (while the only known example of a Latin inscription in the Etruscan alphabet is sinistrograde: CIE 2647). Boustrophedon writing, especially appreciated in some geographic and thematic contexts of archaic Greek epigraphy, is completely unknown in the Etruscan world. There are, on the contrary, a few pseudo-boustrophedonic texts in which the ductus is always sinistrograde, but every other line is upside down, giving the false impression of boustrophedon.

The use of line breaks appears relatively late in Etruscan epigraphy; nearly all inscriptions earlier than the end of the sixth century maintain an uninterrupted continuity in the flow of the text, following a circular, serpentine, or labyrinthine course. Only beginning in the late sixth century, following a major change in the conceptualization of writing that probably matured in the context of the sanctuary, did line breaks regularly come into use, even in the middle of words. On the other hand, the simultaneous generalization of word dividers made it possible to avoid incomprehension in reading texts.

2The language

The available evidence limits our understanding of the Etruscan language. Nearly every inscription repeats a limited number of formulas, in which a good part of the text usually consists of personal names (or divine names, in the case of sacred inscriptions). On the other hand, the inscriptions that do not fit these formulas remain to a great extent not understandable, because it is not possible to grasp—other than in a very generic way—the meaning of a word attested only once or twice (or even several times but only in a single text). Studies over the last three decades, however, have brought substantially complete understanding of the structure of the language—albeit limited to the types of text available to us—to the extent that, even when we are faced with an untranslatable inscription, it is nevertheless possible to grasp the general purport and the grammatical roles of the individual words (nouns, verbs, pronouns, etc.).⁷⁹⁴

2.1Phonology

Etruscan phonology has been reconstructed on the basis of Etruscan words transliterated into Latin and, secondarily, of Greek words transliterated into Etruscan letters. There is a series of quite individualized phenomena; here we will refer only to those of general interest that are essential for understanding the principal facts of the language. The most important point is the presence of a strong accent on the beginning of the word (or at least on one of the first syllables). This led to the gradual loss of the following vowels, beginning with the one immediately following the accent (posttonic), with the sole exception of those with semantic value. This is the phenomenon known as “syncope,” or more specifically “Etruscan syncope.” Archaic Etruscan looks to us like a highly vocalic language, with words composed primarily of open syllables; with the passage of time, the appearance of fluctuations of vowel color (especially of posttonic vowels) leads us to understand that syncope had

begun to operate. Nonetheless, the archaic orthographic norms continued to be almost fully respected until the end of the sixth century; at this point, with the onset of the Late Archaic period, the old rules entered into crisis. The fifth century is characterized by the coexistence—even within a single inscription—of vocalized and syncopated forms. With the beginning of the Recent period, a new, completely syncopated orthography became generally accepted; Recent Etruscan is distinguished by the presence of long sequences of consonants. Some of these sequences are virtually unpronounceable, and it must be supposed that in reality vowel sounds came into play to facilitate pronunciation; a trace of this comes to light in the sporadic practice of “Etruscan anaptyxis,” the occasional insertion of vowels into the longer consonant sequences, which often reproduce the color of the tonic vowel.

Other phonological phenomena (monophthongization, fluctuation in vowel color, etc.) are mentioned below only where necessary. There are also traces of dialect phonology (such as the change *e* > *i* often found in Archaic northern Campania, or the systematic *θ* > *z* in the Etruscan of Rome) that require further study for proper interpretation.

2.2 Nouns and names

Etruscan nouns and names appear to us to be declined by means of certain suffixes that were attached to nominal stems. These suffixes have one function each, and they can pile up; this type of structure characterizes the languages called “agglutinative.” It is very likely that Etruscan should be considered an agglutinative language, as shown by—among other things—the rather generous use of enclitic pronouns that could be added to sequences of suffixes.⁷⁹⁵

Etruscan seems to have had two grammatical genders, which in the broadest terms can be called animate and inanimate. The two genders are distinguished by the plural suffix, which in the animate is *-r* (preceded by a vowel in consonant stems), in the inanimate *-χva*, *-cva*, *-va*. Nouns of inanimate gender do not have a plural suffix when they are preceded by a numeral. Plural divine names can have either the animate or the inanimate suffix. Only in personal names (individual or family) is there a distinction between masculine and feminine gender.

Etruscan nouns appear to us to be divided into two classes, whose cases use different suffixes. The first class includes all vocalic stems (except female personal names in *-i*) and stems ending in *-l*, *-m*, *-n*, *-r*, *-χ*, as well as animate plurals. The second class includes all the other consonantal stems, female personal names in *i*, and inanimate plurals.

We know of only four grammatical cases with an acceptable degree of certainty, conventionally called *zero case* (no suffix), *genitive*, *pertinentive*, and *ablative*. The genitive of the first class is formed with the suffix *-s*

(preceded by a vowel as necessary on consonant stems); the second class takes a suffix that in the Archaic period was written *-a* or *-ala*, while in the Recent period it is *al* (but also *a* in the genitives of female names in late inscriptions of northern Etruria); stems in *-θ* can insert an *-i-* between stem and suffix.⁷⁹⁶ The *-i* of female personal names, on the contrary, often disappears before the suffix. The pertinive is formed in both classes by adding a second suffix *-i* to the genitive; in nouns of the second class since the older period it exclusively has the monophthongal form *-ale* (< **-ala-i*). The ablative uses a suffix *-is* for nouns of the first class, with *alas* for the second class (it becomes *-als* in the Recent period). In consonant-stem nouns of the first class, the suffix is always preceded by a vowel (as far as we know, always the same vowel that connects the genitive suffix), while on stems in *-a*, the result is monophthongized (**-a-is* > *-es*).

There are a few other cases besides these that use the same suffixes without distinction between the two noun classes; the best known is the *locative* (with the suffixes *-i*, *-θi*, *-ti*, and *-iθi*: the first and last may be involved in monophthongization after *-a*, e.g. *rasna-i* > *rasne*). Other cases (such as that using the suffix *-pi*) are too little known to be able to determine their meaning. Some nouns can have two different stems, for the zero case and for the others; the ones known to us with certainty are *clan* (“son”) and *Turan* (divine name), which form all the oblique cases on the stems *clen* and *Turn*.

The zero case normally indicates the subject or object of an action, thus performing the functions that in other languages are carried out by the nominative and the accusative. Additionally, it is used for the complement of the continuous tense.

The genitive case takes its name from the fact that it is most frequently used to mark possession or filiation, just like the genitive of many other languages; however, the Etruscan genitive can also mark the recipient of a gift and a person’s age.

The pertinive case occurs only in three specific, very well-defined syntactic contexts. In gift inscriptions with a passive verb it marks the donor; in other gift inscriptions, it marks the indirect donor (a subject gives something to someone—often a god—on behalf of someone else); lastly, the name of the magistrate in date formulas is always in the pertinive (while the name of the office takes the locative suffix).

The ablative case is always used in agent complements—it identifies the agent of an action expressed with a passive verb.

In addition to these cases there are several other suffixes, some of unknown meaning. The better-known ones are *-θur* (which seems to us almost always to occur on family names, serving to indicate the community of members of the family) and *-tra* (usually translated as “by,” although recently some doubts have been expressed on this score). Both of these suffixes are in turn regularly declined according to the first class. There is also a postposition—*ceχa*—which is known to us almost exclusively in the phrase *clen ceχa*, equivalent to

pro filio “in favor of / on behalf of the son.”

There are some exceptions to these standards, the reasons for which escape us entirely.

2.3 Verbs

Etruscan verbs exhibit two main series of suffixes: those in final position (obligatory, and therefore fairly clear as to their meaning), and those that occur between that set and the stem, rather controversial as to their meaning because of the exiguity of the documentation. Here we will concentrate only on the final suffixes of verbs, those that are more common and well-interpreted.

There are no suffixes for the person of the verb. In practice, the Etruscan verb form is always the same regardless of the number and person of the subject. Every Etruscan sentence, therefore, includes an indication of the subject of every verb.

The bare stem, without suffixes, has *imperative* meaning; the suffix *-a* (conventionally called “subjunctive”) is always used in jussive clauses, often negative ones; the suffix *-ce* indicates completed action (it is a sort of perfect), and *-χe* is its equivalent in passive forms; the suffix *-e* (sometimes called “present”) indicates continuous action. There is also a suffix *-ne*, certainly passive, whose difference from *-χe* is not well understood.

There are at least two forms of participle. The first, marked by *-as(a)/-θas(a)*, indicates continuous action; the second, with the suffix *u*, indicates completed action.

2.4 Pronouns

The Etruscan language has a large number of pronouns, many of which also (or only) occur as enclitics. The declension of pronouns partly differs from that of nouns; the main difference consists of using a specific suffix, *-n*, to mark the accusative. Moreover, despite all the pronouns (except the personal pronouns) that end in *-a*, the normal form of the genitive takes the suffix of the second class *-ala* (and consequently the pertinentive suffix is *-ale*, although the actual meaning of the pertinentive of the demonstrative pronouns is still under discussion, because it does not seem to be consistent with that of the pertinentive of nouns). The ablative, on the contrary, is formed with the suffix *-is* of the first class. There are two forms of locative, one with the suffix *-i* and one with *-θi*, the latter added to the base of the genitive. The suffixes *-i* and *-is* change the *-a* of the stem to *-e*, but do not always bring about monophthongization. The plural takes the suffix *-va*.

The most widely used pronouns are the enclitic definite article *-śa* and the demonstratives (sometimes enclitic) *ica* and *ita*, which in the Recent period become *eca/ca* and *eta/ta* when not enclitic, and *-ca* and *-ta* when enclitic. The complete declension follows, confined to known forms:

-śa: genitive *-śla*, pertinentive *-śle*, locative *-śe*; plural: 797 genitive *-śvla*, pertinentive *-śvle*, locative *-śve*.

ica: accusative *ican*; *ita/ita*, acc. *itan*, *itun*; gen. *-itala*, *-itula*, pert. *-itale*, *-itule*.

eca/ca: acc. *ecn/cn*, gen. *-cla*, pert. *-cle*, locative *cei*, *eclθi*, *clθi*.

eta/ta/-ta: acc. *etan/tn/-tn*, gen. *-tla*, ablative *teis/-tis*, loc. *tei*.

The enclitic determinative *-śa* when it follows *-s* produces regressive assimilation (**-s-śa* > *-śa*), while after *-l* it requires the insertion of *-i-*.

The difference in meaning between *ica/eca/ca* and *ita/eta/ta* is not clear; both can indicate the object on which the inscription appears, so that they could mean “this.” In addition to these there are other demonstrative pronouns, including some compound forms.

Among the personal pronouns, the only one known with a degree of certainty is the first person singular, *mi* (“I”), with accusatives *mini*, *mine*, *mene*. Among the relative pronouns, *an* (“who”) occurs with considerable frequency; it is likely that the form *in* (for which an accusative *inni* is also known) corresponds to *an* for inanimate subjects. The meaning of many other pronouns is still controversial.

2.5 Other parts of speech

Etruscan adjectives are particularly elusive; they agree in gender but not number.

The negation is *e/ei/ein/en*. The most common conjunctions are the enclitics *-c/-χ* (perhaps *-ca* in the Archaic period) and *-(u)m*.

2.6 Numbers

The Etruscan numbers from one to six are: *θu*, *zal*, *ci*, *śa*, *maχ*, *huθ*; in compounds *θu* becomes *θun*, and *zal* becomes *esl*. Ten is *sar*, twenty is *zaθrum*, while *enza* must be eleven or twelve. From the numbers for three, four, and five are derived *cealχ*, *śealχ*, and *muvalχ*—thirty, forty, and fifty. The numbers *semqalχ* and *cezpalχ* indicate some tens greater than sixty; given that they occur in notations of age, practical considerations suggest they mean seventy and eighty rather than ninety. Repetition is marked with the suffix *-z(i)*; the form *nurqzi* is probably based on the otherwise unknown number for nine. As for the compounds, the numbers through six agree in forming them

with an additive system, with the units before the tens (*max̣ zaθrum*, twenty-five), from seven on with a subtractive system, by means of the infix em- between the unit to be subtracted and the following ten (*eslemzaθrum*, eighteen). For the word *cepen*, certainly a quantifier, the translation “all” has been suggested, which seems to fit in at least most cases.

2.7 Onomastics of persons

The basic structure of the Etruscan personal name consists of an individual name and a family name inherited through the patrilineal line. This onomastic system is common to most ancient Italic peoples, regardless of their individual languages, ethnic identities, or historical and political structures; its codification in Roman law guaranteed its survival until this day. The origin of the gentilic system, at least in the Etruscan world, probably predates the beginning of epigraphic writing; some of the earliest Etruscan inscriptions show it already in operation.⁷⁹⁸

2.7.1 Praenomina

The *praenomen* is the name that identifies a particular individual; by definition the *praenomen* must be followed by a family name. If someone has only one name and no gentilic (as in the case of foreigners or slaves), it is called the “individual name.” In the Archaic period there was an enormous number of *praenomina*, so when an inscription contains no gentilic (which happens fairly often), it is nearly impossible to determine whether it deals with a *praenomen* or an individual name. Also, many Archaic *praenomina* are formed with the same suffixes as the gentilics, so an isolated name can sometimes be interpreted either as a *praenomen*, an individual name, or a gentilic.

The great majority of female *praenomina* appear to be secondary and are derived from a male form with the addition of the suffix *-ai/-i* or, less often, *-ia/-a*, which is common in many Italic languages, including Latin. Independent female *praenomina*, however, do exist.

Already in the Late Archaic period, the number of *praenomina* began to diminish, until they were reduced to a handful in the Recent period. This phenomenon nearly simultaneously affected every peninsular Italian people that used the gentilic system. Beginning in the fourth century, almost every Etruscan was called Arnθ, Aule/Avle, Vel, Velθur, Velχe, Larθ, or Laris; in the north of the region the *praenomina* Lauχmes (or Lauχme) and Leθe are also found, while in the south, Latin/Italic-style *praenomina* like Cae, Marce, and Tite were used. The female *praenomina* are Arnθi, Velia, θana, θanχvil, Larθi/Larθia, Ravnθu/Ranθu, Ramθa, and Fasti/Hasti or Fastia/Hastia. There are very few exceptions, and often they are exclusive to certain families. One

of the consequences of this big reduction in *praenomina* is the practice of abbreviating them in inscriptions, which became ever more widespread especially after the late fourth century.

As is easy to guess, in the Recent period it becomes possible to distinguish the *praenomina* from the individual names. It is highly probably that any name that appears alone in an inscription and that is not included in the small set of accepted *praenomina*, is an individual name. This is especially important considering that the epigraphic record of the Recent period is much fuller than that of the Archaic, and reaches a larger portion of society. Even subordinate social groups—whose economic success was facilitated by the general conditions of Middle and Late Hellenistic Italy—were able to achieve their own epigraphic expression, a fact that in the exclusionary Archaic epigraphic practice had been all but impossible.

Also confined almost entirely to the Recent period is the appearance in inscriptions of altered forms of *praenomina*, which are usually considered diminutives/hypocoristics. Among the most common constructions are those with the suffixes *-za* (male: Arnza, Larza), *-cu* (female: Θanicu). Given that these forms never appear in filiations,⁷⁹⁹ it is highly likely that they are not official *praenomina*, but formations used exclusively within the family.⁸⁰⁰

There is a series of epigraphic occurrences typical of the Recent period that involve the *praenomen*. The most widespread is the reversal of *praenomen* and gentilic, which occurs in the southern region, especially Tarquinia, reaching its peak of attestation during the third century.⁸⁰¹ Another is the omission of the female *praenomen*, which is found especially in the area of Chiusi throughout the second century only to disappear almost completely toward the end of the century; in this case, it is likely that there was a desire to reproduce the onomastic formula used by Roman women (for whom, uniquely in Italy, the *praenomen* was not part of the official name).

2.7.2 Gentilics and cognomina

The gentilic is the family name transmitted through the patrilinear line; the *cognomen* is a second family name, also transmitted through the patrilinear line, which serves to distinguish the various branches of a family. The use of the *cognomen* is limited to a few geographic and cultural environments, and nearly exclusively in the Recent period, and will be dealt with further on.

The gentilic is essentially a patronymic adjective—that is, it identifies a group of individuals who can trace their own family tree back to a common ancestor (real or imaginary). Many gentilics are formed using a limited number of suffixes. The most common is *-na*, followed by *-ie*, which is nothing but an Etruscan importation of the Latin/Italic suffix *-ios*, which has exactly the same function. These two suffixes can also be found together (*-naie*; much rarer is the opposite case *-ie-na*, in which a simple gentilic in *na* can often be recognized, with the *-ie* already present in the individual name /

praenomen added to the base of the gentile itself: for example, Velθiena is Velθie-na). The double suffix *-naie* in the Recent period evolves into *-ne* or *-ni* (the latter preferred in Perugia, found in Cortona, rare in Chiusi, and manifested in parallel with a possible evolution *-ie* > *-i* that can be found in the same areas, especially—but not only—when *-ie* follows a stem ending with *-n*: for example Latinie > Latini).

Other suffixes that are fairly common in the formation of gentiles are *-u*, *-ane*, and *-ate*, the last two of which primarily refer to a geographic origin (for the first of them, comparison with Latin/Italic *-anos*, of identical function, is inevitable: for example Campane, Laucane = *Campanus*, *Lucanus*, etc.). A special class of gentiles is constructed with the suffix *-alu*, probably of Celtic origin (the suffix *-alo* was used in the ancient Celtic language of northern Italy, the so-called “Lepontic,” to form patronymic adjectives). These gentiles appear to be concentrated especially in the Etruscan Po region, and also with higher frequency in northern Etruria proper (especially Chiusi). In view of the primarily late chronology of these last attestations, it must be asked whether they might not concern refugees from Po Etruria after the great Celtic invasion of the fourth century.⁸⁰²

There are also gentiles with apparently anomalous suffixes, the most striking case of which is the gentiles in *-e*, which sometimes appear identical to certain *praenomina*. In many cases it is possible to reconstruct the phonetic history of these names, which attests that *-e* would be the outcome of an Archaic *-aie*, which evolved by the loss of the intervocalic *i* and contraction of *ae* > *e*. The best-documented cases are Leθaie > Leθae > Leθe and Velχaie > Velχae > Velχe, but there are many others (such as Pupaie > *Pupae > Pupe). They are thus ordinary gentiles in *-ie*; the identity with the *praenomina* derives from the fact that these too had been formed with the suffix *ie* (a frequent occurrence in the Archaic period). In the area where *-naie* could yield the Recent outcome in *-ni*, and *-ie* in *-i*, these onomastic formations risingly often have an outcome *-i* that distinguishes it from the corresponding *praenomina* (for example, the gentile Velχe is Velχei at Perugia).

Entirely different is the case of the “individual name gentiles,” or gentiles that are identical to individual names and have no gentile suffix at all. It is very likely that these gentiles preserve a trace of the admission to citizenship of persons or families who originally had no gentile, foreigners or slaves, in view of the notable similarity with the process of acquisition of a gentile by freed slaves (see below). Foreign origin in some cases is obvious in the very form of the gentile. It is likely that many of these acquisitions of citizenship took place in a rather early period, so as to have permitted sometimes quite amazing careers to these families. One thinks of the members of the Tarquinian Velχa family, whose gentile is identical with the individual name on which the *praenomen* and the gentile Velχaie are built, as has been indicated, and which, when it appears in the epigraphic record, are securely installed at the head of local society.⁸⁰³

All the gentilics, regardless of their various origins, have a feminine normally formed by adding the suffix *-i*; less common is the suffix *-ia/-a*, which was preferred, especially with masculines in *-i* (except for those in *-ni*, where the feminine is normally the same as the masculine). As for gentilics with a masculine in *-a*, the feminine ending *-a-i* can evolve into *-ei* and sometimes further into *-e*; if the masculine ends with *-(i)e*, the feminine normally evolves into *-i*.

A separate case consists of unsuffixed gentilics, which are especially widespread in the area of Volsinii and Chiusi, where the unsuffixed forms are more often *cognomina*. These are entirely anomalous forms, in some cases formally identical with divine names (Hercle, Caθa, Tins) or nouns, which are distinguished from all other family names (including the “individual name gentilics”) by their analogical feminine form that is constructed by adding *-nei* (sometimes *-nia* in *cognomina*) to the masculine base form, which clearly was perceived as lacking any suffix.

Cognomina, although they are already found (though extremely rarely) in the Archaic period, spread especially in the Recent period; they are attested especially at Perugia and Chiusi, less commonly elsewhere. Typical for Perugia are *cognomina* formed with the suffix *-na* (which is fairly rare among Perugine gentilics in contrast to the rest of Etruria); in all other cities—especially Chiusi—the *cognomen* forms are highly varied, and commonly unsuffixed. In the cities where *cognomina* are more frequent (Chiusi and Perugia), the inscriptions can omit the gentilic. Peculiar to Chiusi is the attachment of the enclitic definite article to some *cognomina* (never to the feminine).

In conclusion, it is necessary to mention the phenomenon of the so-called “functionless genitive,” which is found throughout Etruria beginning in the last decades of the seventh century. From the beginning of the sixth century onward, every gentilic (except for those with the double suffix *-na-ie* and the rare unsuffixed ones ending with a consonant) appears with the added desinence *-s*—formally identical to the genitive—which does not involve declension (in practice, the zero case and the genitive fall together). In connection with this phenomenon, the masculine form of the gentilic extended in this way can also be used in female onomastic formulas (as happened especially at Caere, but also elsewhere). The regularity is such that the “functionless genitive” must have derived from some standard that was widely shared by all the Etruscan cities—certainly not a linguistic standard, but an onomastic one. This form continued to be used everywhere until the end of the fourth century, and disappeared gradually during the third, with the sole exception of Perugia, where the gentilics still continued to appear with the “functionless genitive” in great profusion throughout the second century, if not beyond. *Cognomina*, too, can have the “functionless genitive,” in a few cases even separately from a gentilic, which happens especially during the period of gradual disappearance of this form, between the second half of the

2.7.3 Filiation

Filiations, which almost exclusively appear in Recent period inscriptions, are formed from the *praenomen* of the father in the genitive, unmarked or with the enclitic definite article, or else followed by *clan* (“son”) or *seχ* (“daughter”). If the *praenomen* is abbreviated, the qualification does not appear. The only exception is found at Caere, where beginning in the first half of the third century, the abbreviated paternal *praenomen* can be followed by the *siglum c* or *s* (for *clan* or *seχ* respectively). This practice at Caere in all probability conforms to Roman epigraphic traditions as a result of the admission of its residents to Roman citizenship, albeit *sine suffragio*, at some point between 390 and 270. Very rare is the citation of ancestors other than the father; indication of a grandfather can be followed by *papals* (“grandchild”).

2.7.4 Matronymic and gamonymic

The official onomastic formula of the Etruscan citizen, as is the case in all the civilizations of the Italian peninsula, consisted of *praenomen*, gentilic, and filiation. Every other element was an addition that could aid in more closely identifying the person, but it was not part of his name as it was officially registered. The matronymic (name of the mother) and the gamonymic (name of the husband) are the most widespread of these unofficial elements, and they owe their frequency to the special concentration of Etruscan inscriptions in family funerary complexes. After occasional Archaic appearances, matronymics and gamonymics find their apotheosis in the long inscriptions displayed in the tombs of the great southern Etruscan (especially Tarquinian) families of the fourth century whose purpose was to record the matrimonial ties that cemented alliances between the families of the city’s highest aristocracy. But the greatest spread of the use of these onomastic elements began in the early second century in the area of Chiusi and Perugia, with the purpose of correctly identifying the great number of decedents that crowded the funerary chambers—since the use of cremation in northern Etruria made it possible to include in any tomb a number of depositions far greater than was the practice in the southern region. If we recall that in this period very few *praenomina* were used (many families tended to have no more than three or four), we understand how within a genealogy, matronymy could take on an identificatory function far greater than that of the filiation. It is true, though, that in more recent Clusine and Perusine funerary epigraphy, even the filiation itself can be omitted.

The matronymic usually consists of the mother’s gentilic (sometimes the *cognomen*, occasionally both) in the genitive, possibly followed by the

enclitic definite article; in a few rare cases the *praenomen* can also appear, or even the *praenomen* alone, again sometimes with the enclitic definite article. In a few cases the qualifier *clan* or *seχ* appears, and matronymic and filiation can be can be linked together by a conjunction

The gamonymic consists of the gentilic (and/or the *cognomen*) of the husband in the genitive, sometimes accompanied by the *praenomen*; in a few cases the qualifier *puia* (“wife”) appears. The use of the enclitic definite article seems to relate to local epigraphic traditions: at Chiusi nearly always, at Perugia never.

2.7.5Slaves and freedmen

The names of slaves consist of an individual name followed by the owner’s gentilic in the genitive, according to the most widespread formula in all Classical civilizations. In the Archaic period, the owner’s gentilic in the genitive is followed by an enclitic pronoun *-sa* (not to be confused with the definite article *-śa*), which disambiguates the slave formula. In fact, if we recall that many different *praenomina* were in use in this period, and the gentilics normally appear in the “functionless genitive,” the use of a simple genitive might have made it possible to confuse the name of a slave with that of a free man. In the Recent period, when this risk no longer existed, the pronoun *-sa* disappears. The nonoccurrence of the first onomastic element in the restricted group of *praenomina* made it easy enough to identify the slave.

The freed slave becomes a citizen (we do not know what rights he had), and his new status is evidenced by the adoption of a gentilic. This gentilic is formed from the slave name, which is now preceded by a *praenomen* and becomes hereditary; the name of the former owner in the genitive followed by the qualifier *lautni* (“freedman”), feminine *lautniθa* (“freedwoman”), sometimes abbreviated, specifies the status of the individual. The sons of a freedman thus have the onomastic formula of a citizen with full rights, even though their gentilic transmits their origin forever, especially when, starting at the beginning of the second century, the slaves, who in large part came from the markets in the eastern Mediterranean, often had Graecanic names.

There is also a series of inscriptions of freedmen concentrated in Chiusi and Perugia in which the gentilic of the former slave reuses that of the former owner, according to Roman practice. These are obviously slaves who were freed after 90 BCE, when, as a result of the *lex Iulia* that granted Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of Italy south of the Po, the Etruscan cities adopted Roman law.

2.8Linguistic relationships

In the present state of our knowledge, Etruscan appears to be related only to

two ancient languages: Raetic, spoken in the upper and middle valley of the Adige,⁸⁰⁵ and Lemnian, the language of the original inhabitants of the island of Lemnos, in the northern Aegean. Lemnian is completely unrelated to the languages spoken in the Aegean and Asia Minor and appears today to be an entirely isolated language; it is impossible to establish whether it had any connection with the indigenous dialect of the nearby island of Samothrace, which is still entirely incomprehensible (Lemnian and native Samothrace writing, in any case, are virtually identical).⁸⁰⁶ It must not be forgotten, in any case, that we do not know what languages were spoken in many regions of the ancient world, and it remains possible that there were other languages related to this group about which we have no information.

3Epigraphy

3.1First period (from the origins to ca. 630)

The first period of Etruscan epigraphy offers a rather uniform appearance. Epigraphic culture began in Etruria in the exclusive service of the uppermost classes of society, and to express a function strictly connected with behavior typical of the aristocracy—the gift circuit. The exchange of gifts between persons serves to mark the mutual acknowledgment of belonging to a highly exclusive circle. The objects exchanged acquire an enormously symbolic significance, which has nothing to do with the actual market value of the object itself. Its meaning resides entirely in the social status of the donor of the gift, who implicitly acknowledges the recipient as his equal. These objects are effectively symbols that could be passed on an infinite number of times.⁸⁰⁷ All the Etruscan inscriptions of the first period are on items that served as gifts and serve to record its first owner (and hence its first donor). The earliest syntactic form is that of an ownership inscription, in which the object speaks in the first person (“I am...’s”). Subsequently, beginning in the middle of the Orientalizing period (second quarter of the seventh century), gift inscriptions appear in which the act of giving is explicitly recorded. These always include the donor, but the donee appears only sporadically, given that “regifting” was always possible. This period also yields some more complex epigraphic texts, for which a metric structure is conjectured (similar to many contemporaneous Greek inscriptions). They are largely uninterpretable, but they always contain short phrases that name the property and/or the gift so that their general meaning can be determined.⁸⁰⁸

In this period, writing probably circulated in a highly limited social sphere; in this context needs to be placed an attempt (that quickly failed) at graphic reform, with the adoption of hooked ⟨c⟩ (and obviously, as a result, of three-stroke ⟨p⟩), following the forms preferred in the seventh century in the

Euboean metropolitan and colonial areas. The texts that follow this reform (including an abecedary, *CIE* 11445) are found in the very heart of Etruria, and they reflect the circulation of objects and ideas among the aristocratic classes transcending political borders.

3.2 High Archaic period (630–510/490)

With the Late Orientalizing period, the use of epigraphy expanded to many other areas of civic life, reflecting the major changes that affected Etruscan society. The proprietary inscriptions and those related to donation continued to play an important role, although their circulation seems to have changed. The notices of possession in many cases no longer imply a destination of the object in the gift circuit (to be sure this usage continued sporadically until the Recent period), while notices of donation are increasingly used to express consecration to a god. Every Etruscan city in this period certainly had an active local scribal school, which developed one or more types of urban writing; they are distinguished by particular idiosyncrasies in the shapes of the letters.⁸⁰⁹

Beginning in the sixth century, the sanctuaries began to take on a central role in the production and circulation of written materials. It is not by chance that a major reform of Etruscan writing, which introduced syllabic punctuation, the character (ś), and at least in some cases the dextrograde ductus, should probably be ascribed to the suburban sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii. This reform, although it was destined to fail, was to have a great impact on the history of southern Etruscan writing.⁸¹⁰

Already in the same period, and increasingly through the Archaic period, the tomb began to take shape as a privileged sphere for epigraphic expression of private commissions. The first group of funerary inscriptions appears, using many kinds of surfaces and not yet standardized; a favorite formula was the “talking inscription,” where the object itself declares that it belongs to a specific individual.⁸¹¹ Only at Volsinii (Orvieto) did a uniform epigraphic culture develop in the funerary realm, in response to a strictly local need—the attribution of the chamber tombs built in groups in the necropolises of the Crocifisso del Tufo and Cannicella.⁸¹²

3.3 The Late Archaic period (Fifth century)

Between the late sixth and early fifth centuries, many of the epigraphic expressions of the High Archaic period tend to disappear; private epigraphy was confined almost exclusively to inscriptions on portable objects. At the same time, the use of inscriptions tended to focus on the sanctuary; elaborate

expressive forms would come into existence specifically for consecrations and dedications to gods. All the inscriptions made with special care inevitably had a sacred purpose. They are often on metal (gold, bronze, lead), and sometimes of considerable length and complexity. Among the most famous, of course, are the “Pyrgi tablets” (three texts—two in Etruscan and one in Phoenician—that record the dedication of a temple in the sanctuary by the lord of Caere, Thefarie Velianas) (Fig. 35.2) and the *tabula Capuana*, a ritual calendar incised on a slab of terra-cotta (Fig. 35.5). The group (small in number) of funerary stelas from Felsina is the only display of private monumental epigraphy in this period.

The extraordinary productivity that had characterized the Archaic period in the field of the elaboration of graphic fashions was almost completely exhausted, and writing then underwent a thorough standardization. It is in this period that the three basic graphic types that characterize the Recent period were elaborated: the northern, the Tarquinian-Vulcian, and the southern-Tiberine (typical of Caere, Veii, Volsinii). As has been mentioned above, it was during this period that orthographic practice gradually changed, and line breaks were introduced.

3.4 The Recent period (fourth–first centuries bce)

Most Etruscan inscriptions belong to the Recent period. The extraordinary increase in quantity in this period is due to the widespread use of funerary inscriptions. Just about every city elaborated its own specific funerary culture in which inscriptions have a well-determined place. In most Etruscan cities, the use of inscriptions remained confined to a fairly restricted segment of society; only at Chiusi and Perugia (and their territories) did funerary epigraphy generalize to involve every member of society who was in a position to achieve formal burial (Fig. 17.4).⁸¹³

Alongside funerary inscriptions, sacred inscriptions also took on monumental forms and complex standardized formulas. The gift in the sanctuary, in fact, alongside the burial, is one of the privileged loci of ostentation, and inscription was its efficacious tool.⁸¹⁴

RECENT AGE SCRIPTS

1 Clusine series

Aa	a	
ɔ	c	substitutes <co> during the II nd century
ə	e	
ē	ē	Caere and Chiusi region only
ʋ	v	
z	z	
h	h	The second form is later (III century)
θ	θ	
i	i	
k	k	
l	l	
m	m	
n	n	
p	p	
s	s	
r	r	
z	z	
t	t	
u	u	
o	o	
z	z	
f	f	

Used: Northern Etruria and Po region from the late archaic period to the III century BCE (later use is extremely rare)

2 Tarquinia-Vulci series

a	a	The first form is used at Caere only
ɔ	ɔ	
e	e	
ē	ē	Caere and Chiusi region only
v	v	
z	z	The first form is used in northern Etruria only
h	h	The first forms are used in northern Etruria only
θ	θ	
i	i	
k	k	Northern Etruria only
l	l	
m	m	
n	n	
p	p	
s	s	
r	r	The second form is later (from the late III century onward)
s	s	
t	t	The first form is used in northern Etruria only
u	u	
o	o	
z	z	
f	f	

Used: Tarquinia and Vulci from the late archaic period; expands to northern Etruria and Po area between the IV and III centuries BCE. Gradually abandoned everywhere in the course of the II century BCE. Rarely attested at Caere.

introduction of ⟨m⟩ as an inverted V, which derives from a cursive form of this type of script; the spread of this form remained strictly local, reaching as far east as Cortona.⁸¹⁵

Beginning in the second century, some new classes of epigraphy that clearly follow Roman models appear. These include stamps on ceramics and tiles, and the first public inscriptions, on stone and bronze. Until this time, there had been no inscriptions of a purely public nature in the Etruscan world, with the sole exception of those within sanctuaries, which is a fact that distances Etruscan epigraphy from all the other epigraphic cultures of the Italian peninsula.⁸¹⁶ Equally due to interference from Latin epigraphy is the replacement, in many inscriptions of the northern area, of ⟨ś⟩ by ⟨s⟩, which led to a few rare cases of the reverse by hypercorrection.

The use of Latin in private epigraphy appears at different times in the different Etruscan cities. In the south, it seems to have followed immediately on the receipt of Roman citizenship and law in 90 bce, while in the north (especially in inland cities like Chiusi and Perugia) it does not seem to have occurred before the mid first century bce, and Etruscan survived occasionally into the reign of Augustus.⁸¹⁷

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II. Issues

Religion

Daniele F. Maras

18Religion

Abstract: This chapter investigates Etruscan religion by means of the evidence for cult practices, sacred architecture, and divine names and iconography, as displayed in the archaeological record.

Remarks in Latin literature about the devoutness of the Etruscans, their expertise in religious matters, and the existence of books whose contents had been revealed to them by the gods are also considered, within the context of the historical evolution of votive practices, illustrated with concrete evidence from the proto-historic age to the Roman period.

Major issues are the cult of the ancestors and heroization in private as well as public contexts; the development of anthropomorphism; transformations of the pantheon through the centuries, with the insertion of divine figures from Greek and Italic religion; the history of votive offerings and dedications as evidenced by the epigraphic sources; and cult practices, and their relationship with sacred architecture and the apparatus of cult.

Finally, there is a discussion of the integration of Etruscan religion into the Roman world, as a consequence of the insertion of local aristocracies into the Senatorial class. Particular significance is attached to divination and haruspicy, the latter of which would have been regarded as an Etruscan specialism through to late antiquity.

Keywords: Etruscan religion, Gods and pantheon, Cult practices, Worship of ancestors, Votive offerings

Introduction

The Etruscans were “a people more devoted to religion than any other, insofar as they were expert in practicing it” (Livy 5.1.6). Almost every modern account of Etruscan religion refers to this statement of Livy as a starting point, to highlight how people in Etruria took special care in dealing with religious matters and were particularly devout and respectful of the gods’ will.⁸¹⁸

Other Latin literary sources seem to confirm such an image of religious Etruscans, treating this feature of their character as the basis of a particularly Etruscan skill in divination and prophecy. We will go back to these other sources when speaking of the debt of Roman religion to Etruria. Here it is important instead to look more carefully at the cultural context of Livy’s statement, which in the past was often neglected.⁸¹⁹

The sentence is used by the historian to explain the decision of the Council of Etruria at the *Fanum Voltumnae* to refuse any help to Veii against Rome for as long as the town was under the government of a king (end of the fifth century BCE). Such a decision came after the withdrawal of artists and performers from the sacred games at the *Fanum* as a consequence of the failed

election of the king of Veii as *sacerdos Etruriae*, which was the highest position within the Etruscan federation. In such a context, Livy's statement is intended to make it clear to his readers how closely intertwined politics and religion were in Etruria.

Even more interesting, however, is the specific expression used by the historian, *gens ... ante omnes alias ... dedita religionibus*, which is evidently a partial quotation from Caesar (*B Gall.* 6.16.1): *natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus*, "The whole nation of the Gauls is particularly devoted to religion."⁸²⁰ The comparison throws light on Livy's method. He was starting a sort of soft polemic with Caesar on the primacy of the Etruscans in religious matters, even compared with the famous Celtic Druids, with whom they shared the ritual practice of human sacrifice.⁸²¹

From this point of view, the special devoutness of the Etruscans is even more emblematic, since it involves a general debate about the characters of peoples. However, Livy's statement appears to be linked to a specific historical event, thus highlighting a connection between religion and politics, not so different from Rome.

When talking about ancient cultures, we must avoid the common fault of applying modern categories or today's common sense to the subject. As regards our topic, it is easy to demonstrate how misleading and artificial it would be to separate religious matters from other components of everyday life in ancient times, in the Classical world as elsewhere.

In Greece as well as in Rome, political decisions, military actions, calendar dates and even events of the agricultural cycle depended upon religious prescriptions and were often introduced by divinatory or expiatory rituals. As for the Etruscans, Seneca states that "they attribute everything to god" (or better "to the gods' will," Sen. *Q nat.* 2.32.2). Thus, we can infer that in Etruria religion and everyday life were even more intertwined than in the Roman world.

It is of course inevitably misleading to treat ritual behavior in isolation from the many different aspects of the public and private life of ancient peoples in order to define the specifically religious.⁸²² In Etruria, ritual or ceremonial components can be detected in legal formulae, in the exercise of power by magistrates, in burial rites, and even in public games or shows.⁸²³

Since it is impossible here to take into consideration every facet of the archaeology of ritual and religion in Etruria, in this chapter we will focus on certain aspects of the subject, specifically relating to cult and votive practices, considering religion as a complex system of beliefs and practices governing the relationship between the human and the divine.⁸²⁴

Some parts of such a system have been dealt with in other chapters of this Handbook, such as divination and prophecy (see chapters 20 Rollinger and 21 Haack) or funerary beliefs and practices (see [chapter 19](#) Naso). Here we will deal more systematically with topics related to cult practices, sacred architecture and structures, the gods within their pantheon, viewing these

through the filter of the archaeological evidence and with the aid of the literary sources.

The *Etrusca Disciplina*

Let us begin with the so-called *Etrusca Disciplina*. As a matter of fact, within the limited number of Etruscan legends handed down to us, a special place is occupied by the spirit (*genius*) Tages and the nymph Vegoia, who both revealed the correct behavior for people in religious matters, especially regarding boundaries and the foundation of towns.⁸²⁵

In Latin literary sources, there is considerable evidence for the existence of collections of Etruscan books and texts about public and private rites, the interpretation of the will of the gods and how to avoid their wrath (see the already mentioned chapters). According to Festus (358 L.), the *Libri Rituales* prescribed what rite (Lat. *ritus*) was to be used to found towns, or to consecrate altars and temples, what inviolability (*sanctitas*) attached to walls, what law (*ius*) to gates, and how to create a division into tribes, *curiae*, *centuriae*, how to form and marshal armies, and everything else relating to war or peace.⁸²⁶ Cicero adds that there were also the *Libri Haruspicini* and *Fulgurales* (Cic. *Div.* 1.72.7), specifically related to divination, and these three collections formed the corpus of the *Disciplina*.

These and other sources could suggest that Etruscan religion was based on revelation handed down in writing,⁸²⁷ not unlike Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless, the comparison does not look appropriate, since Etruscan *Libri* were not so all embracing as the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, nor were they at the same time a collection of laws or a collective historical memory. Moreover, in the same passage, Cicero states that the Romans had *Libri Augurales*, and we know something about the *Libri Sibyllini* and other collections of sacred rules or revealed words in the Classical world.⁸²⁸ Thus, it is better to consider Etruscan sacred literature just as part of an articulated religious and cult practice, but a more important part than similar writings in Greek and Roman religion.

Some time ago, Mario Torelli⁸²⁹ argued that the revealed nature of Etruscan ritual gave the aristocratic elites control over the special knowledge of the *Disciplina*, which had been taught by Tages to people coming from all Etruria (Cic. *Div.* 2.50), that is to say from the twelve towns of Etruria (Fest. 359.14),⁸³⁰ so becoming an instrument of power in respect of the lower classes.

Anyway, whatever the precise pattern of cause and effect may have been, the transmission of abilities and know-how from priest to priest within a few aristocratic families down to the Roman era actually helped the preservation of an aristocratic, conservative society in Etruria throughout the centuries.

What has been preserved of the *Etrusca Disciplina*, in different kinds of sources (e.g. Classical literature, archaeological finds, and iconographic and epigraphic documents), often has been considered by scholars as the genuine core of Etruscan religion.⁸³¹ In recent works, the origin of the myth of Tages has been related to finds from the early eighth century BCE⁸³² (see section 3 below). In addition, the science of haruspicy and the interpretation of bolts of lightning (Lat. *fulguriatura*) have been considered authentically Etruscan, as opposed to the Latin-Italic tradition of divination through birds (*auspicium*).⁸³³

In fact, there is evidence of Eastern elements in Etruscan haruspicy. As Adriano Maggiani has noted, the famous bronze liver from Piacenza (see below) shows a pair of signs, which are derived from the Near-Eastern (Chaldean) tradition, whose roots are Babylonian⁸³⁴ (see [chapter 20](#) Rollinger). It is difficult to determine the early phases of the development of the myth of Tages, for even in this we perhaps find traces of Greek influence,⁸³⁵ as, for example, in his name (see Gk. τάσσειν, “to arrange by order”). As for *auspicium*, there is actually some evidence of an Etruscan tradition of such a divinatory practice.⁸³⁶

Clearly it is not easy to discover the original, uninfluenced elements of Etruscan religion. One of the aims of current research is to discern and recognize external influences, highlighting what is Greek, Italic, Near Eastern or, later, Roman within archaeological and iconographic evidence, and to attempt to reconstruct the original Etruscan tradition.

From this point of view, it is evident that the influence of Greek culture in Etruria is extremely pervasive in all periods, appearing to overwhelm original or local elements,⁸³⁷ and it is often very easy and tempting to consider Etruria no more than a province of the Greek world. One should never forget, however, that such a situation depends mostly on our perception of Etruscan culture through iconographic, architectural and literary evidence, which is obviously imbued with Greek traditions.

Moreover, when interpreting the remains of ritual contexts in Etruria, it is often impossible to avoid the use of Latin sources, referring to the age of the kings or generically to early times. Such a procedure is always possible and often advisable, but one should always remember that the sources can be biased, and may offer only a very partial understanding.

In the following pages, we will go rapidly through the main phases of Etruscan religion, from time to time pointing out the available documents and the archaeological data, highlighting external elements and contributions, and analyzing some characteristic phenomena from different periods.

The origins: some remarks on the protohistoric evidence

Information about religion in the early Iron Age, until the end of the eighth century BCE, is unfortunately limited and virtually confined to funerary contexts, thus restricting our perception of beliefs and cult practices in Etruria.⁸³⁸

Such a situation depends not only on our scarce knowledge of village and proto-urban contexts, but also on the poor visibility of cult places in comparison with funerary and domestic areas. It seems unwise to infer that in early times cult occurred only within a domestic context⁸³⁹ from the lack of data on specific cult structures, since finds from the Villanovan and early Orientalizing periods, in some of the main archaic sanctuaries of Etruria, do provide some evidence of cult practices at that time, and, in some rare instances, grotto- or water-cults dating from the protohistoric period.⁸⁴⁰

Some evidence may come from hoards of bronzes too, which were common from the early Bronze Age onwards in the mid-Tyrrhenian region. Unfortunately, however, it is not easy to understand the original nature of any one deposit, which either could have been just an accumulation of wealth, or raw material recycled for blacksmiths, or, conceivably, an actual votive deposit.⁸⁴¹

An interesting example of what probably was a votive deposit in a proto-urban context has been found in Populonia at Falda della Guardiola, where under the lower layers of a Hellenistic tower attached to the city walls, archaeologists in 1926 discovered a pit containing bronze tools dating from the second half of the eighth century BCE. The finds included some axes, a sword, and a small Nuragic ship with a bull's head.⁸⁴² In this case, the coincidence of the find-spot with what in later times would have been a boundary line, has been interpreted as a piece of evidence for the sacred nature of the deposit.

Another instance of a sacred deposit, undoubtedly charged with symbolic value in the context of the exercise of power by a centralized ruling system, has been found at Tarquinia. It was discovered in a sacred and institutional complex at Civita in the urban area. Here a pit in the ground held the ritual deposition of a bronze *lituus*-trumpet, an axe and a shield, dating from the end of the eighth century BCE.⁸⁴³ These are clearly symbols of royal rank, exercised through the control of military-political power (axe and shield) and intermediation between people and gods (priesthood, symbolized by the *lituus*).

Iconographic data about the gods and religion have also been seen by scholars in some unusual representations in funerary contexts, such as the small sculptures occurring, e.g., on the lids of cinerary urns.

A pair of plastic figures on a lid from Pontecagnano, dating from the eighth century BCE (Fig. 18.1), has been interpreted as a sort of *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage) between the deceased and the goddess of the underworld, because of the freakish aspect of the figures and the slightly larger scale of the female figure.⁸⁴⁴ If such an interpretation is correct, we have a hint of how

gods were represented as monsters or half-animals and of the expectations of salvation after death by the Etruscan elites.

Much more elaborate is the representation on a bronze cinerary urn from Bisenzio, dating from the second half of the eighth century BCE: on the cover top, a bear-like monster is seated, while a group of seven ithyphallic warriors or hunters dances in a circle around it. On the shoulder of the vase, other groups and scenes encircle the mouth. We can recognize a line of nine warriors, some of them with shields, a plowman with an ox, and a man holding a mace. The last two scenes presumably allude respectively to the foundation rite of a town—which required the tracing of a boundary by means of a bronze plough⁸⁴⁵—and to the rank of a king or chief. As for the dance of the armed warriors, the monster at its center has been interpreted again as an animal representation of the god of the underworld.⁸⁴⁶

Finally, a bronze cult-wagon for burning incense from the necropolis of Bisenzio, dating from the same period, shows a complex scene, situated within a wild landscape, inhabited by animals (Fig. 10.1). Here again we find a plowman, a pair of hunters, a fight between two warriors, and a family group (father-mother-son). An armed man by the side of a taller woman bearing two vases completes the sequence. The representation seems to be a catalog of symbols of rank for a member of the aristocratic elite, alluding to foundation rites (or agriculture), hunting, war and family. In this context the woman of the final couple has been considered as a goddess, thus interpreting the scene again as either a *hieros gamos* or an initiation.⁸⁴⁷



Fig. 18.1: Cover of an ash-urn from Pontecagnano with a pair of molded human figures with freakish features, probably representing a hierogamy. Eighth century BCE. Pontecagnano, National Museum (from *Gli Etruschi fuori d'Etruria*, edited by G. Camporeale, Verona 2001)

Further occurrences of nude female figures, with emphasized sexual features, have been recognized in small statues found tombs or as *appliqués* on vases from the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.⁸⁴⁸ Most probably they were representations of a goddess of fertility, invoked in funerary contexts in order to gain salvation and blessing for the deceased. What is striking is that, almost in all of these cases, the earliest religiosity of the Etruscans was particularly addressed to female figures.

As we can see, though complex and suggestive, the information coming from these few finds is sporadic and isolated, and its interpretation is bound to remain very hypothetical, for it is based on comparison with better-known Greek and Roman sources and with anthropological observations.

A better opportunity to understand the evolution of the religion of the

Etruscans is offered by the evidence from the Orientalizing period. From this period, however, the influence of Greek culture becomes more and more pervasive, thus compelling us to identify it, and hence to differentiate the original from external elements of local cults and beliefs.

Cult of ancestors and heroization

In a culture, such as the Etruscan, known mainly through necropolises and funerary contexts, it is tempting to refer to patterns from anthropology that assign a special role to the cult of the ancestors in primitive societies. As we have seen, however, Etruscan culture can only superficially be considered “primitive.” Even if the features of its pantheon and polytheistic structure are difficult to recognize in the earlier evidence, we can infer from some data that a complex system was already in existence at least by the eighth century BCE.⁸⁴⁹

It remains the case, however, that the cult of ancestors was indeed practiced in Etruria, especially as a guarantee of the continuation of the family or aristocratic clan.⁸⁵⁰

Sculpted figures of men of rank, probably fathers or generic ancestors, appeared early on cinerary urns, especially on hut-shaped specimens. As well the antechambers and outer parts of aristocratic tombs in the seventh century BCE at times accommodated statues or reliefs representing the figures of forefathers, often with symbols of high rank⁸⁵¹ (see [chapter 19](#) Naso).

Such figures, whose presence in tombs seems understandable, were actually common in a domestic context also, where, as attested by Vergil for the palace of Latinus, they welcomed visitors into the *atrium*.⁸⁵² They symbolized the everlasting presence of the deified ancestors, who looked after their progeny during their life, especially in official or institutional contexts.

At the beginning of the sixth century BCE, the second phase of the “palace” of Murlo (prov. Siena) is characterized by a complex roof decoration, with terracotta sculptures on the top, arranged in a cycle including a series of life-size human figures, sitting or standing, with symbols of rank such as a conical hat and a *lituus* ([Fig. 71.6](#)).⁸⁵³ They were turned towards the inner court of the residential building, as though looking benignly after the living, and were accompanied by monsters, smaller in size, perhaps alluding to their seat in the underworld.

Slightly later, from the first half of the sixth century BCE, from Piazza d’Armi at Veii, is what is probably a group consisting of a statue of a man accompanied by a crouching dog, standing on the top of the roof of an aristocratic residence.⁸⁵⁴ This probable case of attention to the cult of the ancestors at Piazza d’Armi offers some confirmation for an interpretation of two huts, built above two tombs from the middle of the ninth century BCE, as

heroa of forefathers. The huts were then replaced, during the seventh century, by a small rectangular sacred building made of wood, and definitively abandoned in the middle of the sixth century.⁸⁵⁵

These monumental reflections of ancestor cult are isolated, but they imply a more widespread existence of this kind of cult, presumably carried on in family tombs, with distinctive features such as the side chamber of the “Tomba delle Cinque Sedie” (Tomb of the Five Chairs) at Caere, where statues of male and female ancestors sat before tables, in order to receive offerings by their descendants⁸⁵⁶. Less eye-catching elements, such as *cippi* and altars on top of *tumuli* and tombs, have been interpreted by archaeologists as destined to receive funerary offerings.⁸⁵⁷

These and similar objects were indispensable to the continuation of a cult practice, granting the souls of the deceased the status of gods (the so-called *di animales*, as recorded by Cornelius Labeo, quoted by Serv. *Aen.* 3.168), by means of special rituals and sacrifices.⁸⁵⁸

A possible representation of such a ritual is perhaps provided by a painting in the Tomba delle Iscrizioni at Tarquinia, on the right-hand side of the doorway, where an image of an old man, naked and with a scepter (perhaps a statue or an *eidolon*, a sort of spirit), seems to receive the offering of a fish from a young man bowing towards a small altar lying between them (Fig. 6.1). The beginning of the inscription painted on the wall above the figure reads: *ci vesana matvesi cale sece*, “Cale offered (or sim.) three *vesana* (a kind of sacrifice?) to Matve.”⁸⁵⁹

Besides the cult of the progenitors of the family, to be practiced in domestic or funerary space, we can see development during the archaic period of public forms of cult addressed to the forefathers of the community, or even its founders, of human or divine origin.

A comparison with Greece and Latium shows that cults of heroized or divine founders were common and closely connected with local tradition, but that the founders were often also open to identification with figures of classical myth.⁸⁶⁰

It is well known that in Latin Lavinium a tumulus of the Orientalizing period became the seat of a hero cult that has been recognized as that of Aeneas, as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.64.4–5). A recent study by Giovanni Colonna has proven that in the late archaic age the worship of the Trojan hero was practiced at Veii in Etruria, even more intensively than in Latium, presumably asserting a destination for Aeneas north of Rome and connecting him (and his Trojan lineage) with the foundation of the Etruscan town.⁸⁶¹

Fragments of at least two terracotta statues from the first half of the fifth century BCE have been found in the sacred area of Campetti at Veii, representing Aeneas fleeing from Troy holding his father Anchises on his shoulder (Fig. 18.2); and in the second half of the century the same subject was used for votive statuettes from sanctuaries of the town.⁸⁶²

Most probably, there was an Etruscan tradition assigning a Trojan origin to Veii, rather than to the Latins, perhaps in the context of a religious polemic with Lavinium. It is certainly not by chance that relationships between the aristocracies of the two towns have been documented by gift-inscriptions from the late Orientalizing period.⁸⁶³

From Classical literary sources we know of other legends of mythical Greek founders of Etruscan towns, such as Telemachus for Clusium (Serv. *Aen.* 10.167) or generic Achaeans for Perugia (Just. *Epit.* 20.1.11); and a few much discussed verses from Hesiod's *Theogony* (1013–1016) mention Agrios and Latinos, children of Odysseus, who reigned over the Tyrrhenians.⁸⁶⁴

In this context, an interesting report of Odysseus' last wanderings has been preserved by Theopompus (fr. 354 Jacoby) and Lycophron (*Alex.* 805 f.), who record that the hero died in Gortyna (that is to say Cortona) and was buried there on a mountain called Perge.⁸⁶⁵



Fig. 18.2: Reconstruction of a terracotta statue representing Aeneas and Anchises from Veii: in the circle the only fragment found during the excavation at Veii, Campetti (drawing: courtesy of S. Barberini, Rome)

In 1980 Colonna conjectured that the legend had been elaborated on the basis of the name of a local mountain **Perce* (today Pergo), similar to the Homeric *Pergama*, where perhaps an archaic tumulus had been considered as Odysseus' tomb and had become the location of a cult.⁸⁶⁶ Recently a signature on a bucchero aryballos from Veii dating from the end of the seventh century BCE has been read as *uthuzteths vuvze*, that is to say “*Vuvze* the Odysseid,” a descendent from Odysseus. Although it is unlikely that such a pedigree was intended to be real, it shows that elements of the legend were already forming in the late Orientalizing period.⁸⁶⁷

A truly Etruscan foundation myth was the tale of Tarchon, who was the founder of Tarquinia (carrying his name) and of the twelve towns of Etruria, but also of the other twelve in the Po Valley. The myth perhaps traveled to Campania as well.⁸⁶⁸ In short, Tarchon embodied the very origin of Etruria.⁸⁶⁹

Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence of possible cults of this hero in any of the cities of Etruria. Recently, however, Maria Bonghi Jovino has proposed to interpret a stone cist found at the Ara della Regina at Tarquinia as a cenotaph of Tarchon.⁸⁷⁰ The cist was shaped like a sarcophagus, and had a different orientation than that of the nearby temple. Further, it was later incorporated into an altar, thus confirming its sacred status.

Tarchon's tale is intertwined with the legend of Tages and the origin of the *Etrusca Disciplina* (see above).⁸⁷¹ According to Johannes Lydus (*Ost.* 2.6.B), the miraculous birth of the *genius*—an infant but with the features of an old man (Cic. *Div.* 2.50)—took place when Tarchon was plowing, which is to say tracing the boundary furrow of Tarquinia (as Romulus did at Rome).⁸⁷² The revelation of the *Disciplina* is thus linked through Tarchon to the foundation of the twelve towns (*dodekapolis*) of Etruria. Tarquinia, as place of the miraculous event, was presumably the seat of a special cult of Tages.

Evidence for this comes from a bronze statuette representing an infant rising from the ground, offered as a votive offering in a sanctuary of the urban area, which is probably again to be identified with the Ara della Regina (Fig. 18.3).⁸⁷³ The dedicatory inscription mentions the consecration of a child (... *nas* son of *Vel* and of a *Thvethli*) to the gods *Śuri* and *Selvans* (see section 4.4 below). It is attractive to suppose that the statue was intended to assimilate the young donor to the mythical *genius*.⁸⁷⁴

Tages' connection with the cult of *Śuri*—an Etruscan, chthonic version of Apollo, with oracular features⁸⁷⁵—allows us to understand the scene on an engraved mirror from Tuscania, dating from the mid fourth century BCE. Here a youth named *pava Tarchies*, dressed as a *haruspex*, reads a liver before *Avl(e) Tarchunus*, who is surely Tarchon or his son. The latter is dressed as a priest too and thrusts his stick into the ground, thus participating in the ritual.⁸⁷⁶ The scene most likely refers to the legend of Tages teaching the *Disciplina* for the first time.⁸⁷⁷



Fig. 18.3: Bronze statuette representing an infant rising from the ground, found in a sacred context in Tarquinia. Vatican Museums (after Cristofani 1985: 238, Fig. 126)

On either side of the scene, two gods attend the event: *Veltune*, the same as

Latin Vertumnus (or *Vortumnus*, *deus Etruriae princeps*, “the principal god of Etruria,” according to Varro *Ling.* 5.46.7), and *Rath*, another Etruscan version of Apollo, of whom the inscription says: “in the (sanctuary) of Rath.” It would not be too hazardous to infer that the deities represented are the most important god of the Etruscans, worshipped in Volsinii;⁸⁷⁸ and Apollo, the god of the sacred area of Tarquinia, where the myth took place and where a related cult was perhaps still performed at the time of the mirror.

Finally, the burial of an epileptic child dating from the early eighth century BCE, within the area of the sacred and institutional complex of Civita in Tarquinia (see above), has been hypothetically related by Maria Bonghi Jovino to the legend of the divine child, who spoke the revealed truth of the gods.⁸⁷⁹

The gods and the pantheon

Diverse kinds of sources, spread through the centuries from the archaic age to the Roman period, are at our disposal in order to investigate, describe and interpret the pantheon of the Etruscans.⁸⁸⁰ Still they are often contradictory. It is thus fundamental to be explicit concerning the material evidence and the research methodology we are using in dealing with the Etruscan gods and their functions and features.

In fact, on the one hand, evidence from iconographic sources such as terracotta statuettes and reliefs, vase paintings and, above all, engraved mirrors can only provide partial information about cults and religious practices, in particular because of the complexity of intertwining references to Greek myth and its symbolic values, within the context of the ritual events of daily life (such as marriage, birth, death and so on).

On the other hand, some iconographic evidence from sacred sites, as for instance architectural terracottas or anthropomorphic votive offerings, provides an image—so-to-speak a “face”—for the worshipped gods. At the same time, the nature of the votive offerings and other symbolic elements may help us to understand the type of cult that was practiced at different times.

A further and more specific kind of information comes from epigraphic sources. As a matter of fact, these provide a “name” for gods and goddesses and sometimes add less tangible data, such as the social position of the worshippers, the reasons for the offerings, references to time or place, and relationships between gods, etc.

Finally, indirect sources of information come from Latin and Greek literature dealing with Etruscan issues, providing a useful, though not always contemporary, external point of view. Moreover, this type of evidence is often unreliable due to misunderstandings or distortions.

On Etruscan religion, then, we will take into consideration here only direct

sources of information, such as epigraphy, cult images and votive offerings, using other material only in comparison with the results of analysis based on direct sources.

In fact, if we exclude the gods and deities known only from the iconographic evidence, even if their names are recorded through associated inscriptions, the Etruscan pantheon shrinks substantially. Nonetheless, when arranged in chronological order, it is possible rationally to describe the historical evolution of the pantheon across the centuries.⁸⁸¹

Seventh century BCE— Gods mentioned in inscriptions of the late Orientalizing period are few, and rarely correspond with the better known deities of later periods.⁸⁸²

A small *aryballos* with geometric painted decoration from a tomb at Marsiliana d'Albegna, dating from 630 BCE, is the earliest evidence of the cult of an underworld deity, *Vanth*, whose representations as a winged woman with bare breasts holding a torch are known in tomb paintings of the Hellenistic period.⁸⁸³ Another funerary god or goddess is probably called *flar*[---]—corresponding to *flere*, simply “divinity”—in a later inscription on an altar from the necropolis of Fosso di Arlena near Bolsena.⁸⁸⁴

Two deities of Aphrodite's retinue, called *Ithavusva* and *Achavisur*, appear in a long ritual text from the end of the century, inscribed on the foot of a bucchero calyx from Narce.⁸⁸⁵

Vena from Veii and *Vesi* from San Giovenale, who received inscribed votive offerings in sacred contexts, might be goddesses, but there is no further occurrence of these names.

Furthermore, there is no occurrence of the principal gods' names, recorded in inscriptions of the following centuries. There is, however, some indirect evidence that stems from nomenclature, since the family names *Nethuna* in Narce and *Tinnuna* in Cumae⁸⁸⁶ derive from *Nethuns* (corresponding to Gk. Poseidon and Lat. Neptunus)⁸⁸⁷ and *Tina* (or *Tinia*, Gk. Zeus, Lat. Jupiter) respectively.⁸⁸⁸

As for the iconographic material, reference to the other world as the seat of the gods, either in a funerary or in a transcendental sense, is often connected with wildness and liminality. These are represented through savage beasts and monsters, through which the deceased must pass in their last journey (as in the Campana tomb at Veii), or which surround the ancestors (as at Murlo). At the same time, the gods are represented as taming and dominating such monsters in their role of master(s) and mistress(es) of animals (“*Despotes*”~*Potnia Theron*).

The influence of Near Eastern cultures in the representation of gods—Phoenician, Cypriote and through them Egyptian—is attested by an ivory statuette of a suckling goddess from the Circolo della Fibula in Marsiliana d'Albegna, dating from the second quarter of the century,⁸⁸⁹ and some time later by the divine figures from the Tomba di Iside at Vulci.⁸⁹⁰

Sacred buildings of this period are rare. At Rusellae, within the area of the future forum, a precinct of mud bricks dating from the mid-seventh century encircled a small building of square plan with an inner circular room, probably imitating an archaic round hut (like the temple of Vesta at Rome).⁸⁹¹ We have to wait for the end of the century to find other remains of substantial structures in sacred places, as at Portonaccio in Veii, where the original huts were replaced by platforms and structures in tufa blocks, presumably connected with a temporary shrine.⁸⁹²

Sixth century BCE— From the end of the Orientalizing period, the ceremonies and formulas of the aristocratic gift-exchange system, which were already in existence in the pre-literary era, were transferred to votive offerings, providing information about gifts recorded in inscriptions.⁸⁹³ Such a system can thus be referred to as “votive gift,” and the term should be used when flagging the parallels with aristocratic gift exchange.

The standard formula in such cases was *mini mulvanice X*, “X gave me” (with some variants), and was intended to highlight the name of the giver rather than that of the receiver.⁸⁹⁴ That is why until the middle of the century, names of gods in inscriptions continue to be rare. A particular source of information is the votive deposit of the eastern altar in the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii, where a substantial group of inscriptions preserves the name of *Menerva*, who was worshipped there together with two other goddesses, *Turan* and *Aritimi*. In addition, another dedication from the same site records the god *Rath*.⁸⁹⁵

This short list allows us to recognize three categories of gods that are general features of the pantheon across the centuries. *Turan* and *Rath* are gods with Etruscan names, who were soon assimilated to the Greek gods Aphrodite⁸⁹⁶ and Apollo respectively (see above). *Aritimi*—the Greek goddess Artemis—keeps her name almost unaltered.⁸⁹⁷ *Menerva*,⁸⁹⁸ who had an Italic name, probably Sabine, was soon identified with the Greek Athena (although her cult is more specifically related to divination).

In the course of the sixth century⁸⁹⁹ the first category includes *Tina* (Zeus), *Cavatha* (Persephone), *Thesan* (Eos),⁹⁰⁰ *Śuri* and *Manth* (both names of Apollo as god of the dead⁹⁰¹), *Vei* (Demeter),⁹⁰² and the *Thuschva* (a group of goddesses, perhaps corresponding to Nymphs or Charites).⁹⁰³ A Greek name characterizes *Charun* (in later periods represented as a monstrous demon of the underworld with a hammer)⁹⁰⁴ and the Dioscuri (translated into Etruscan as *Tinas cliniar*, “sons of *Tina*”).⁹⁰⁵ The name of *Uni* (Hera) has an Italic origin.⁹⁰⁶

These categories of divine names are evidence for a stratified pantheon, formed on an originally Etruscan base, presumably during the period of development of proto-urban settlements in the proto-historic period.⁹⁰⁷ The involvement of people from beyond the Tiber explains the Italic components of the pantheon (and some other loanwords in sacred language). The long-

lasting contact with Greek culture from the colonial period until the Hellenistic age caused a steady insertion of Greek names and figures.

Scholars tend to attribute to Greek influence the development of the anthropomorphism of Etruscan gods,⁹⁰⁸ formerly worshipped as aniconic representation of forces of nature.⁹⁰⁹ As we have seen, however, the roots of such a process can be traced back to the protohistoric period.⁹¹⁰

The Etruscans were of course debtors to their contact with the Greeks for many features of their gods and characteristics of their cults, for most iconographic traits of divine figures, and obviously for introducing Classical mythology.⁹¹¹ In other words, the pantheon and cults of the Etruscans were developed under a continuous Greek influence, increasing through to the Roman period, while still preserving some of its original components and inner structure.

Within the pantheon a special status was attached to some gods, who kept their Greek name, adapted to the Etruscan language. This is a sign that they were imported directly from Greek religion, and found no correspondence among local gods.⁹¹²

This is the case of Artemis, but also of Herakles. The demigod, who in Etruria acquired fully divine status with the name *Hercle*,⁹¹³ is not attested by inscriptions before the fifth century BCE. Nonetheless his figure makes its appearance in architectural terracottas, votive statuettes and other representations already in the sixth century.⁹¹⁴

The introduction of the “man who would be god” accompanied a social and political evolution towards tyrannical forms of power in Etruscan cities, probably in imitation of Greece and the colonies of Magna Graecia.⁹¹⁵ Moreover, such monarchical figures were responsible for some hierogamic forms of cult, dedicated to specific goddesses as divine supporters in their bid for power.

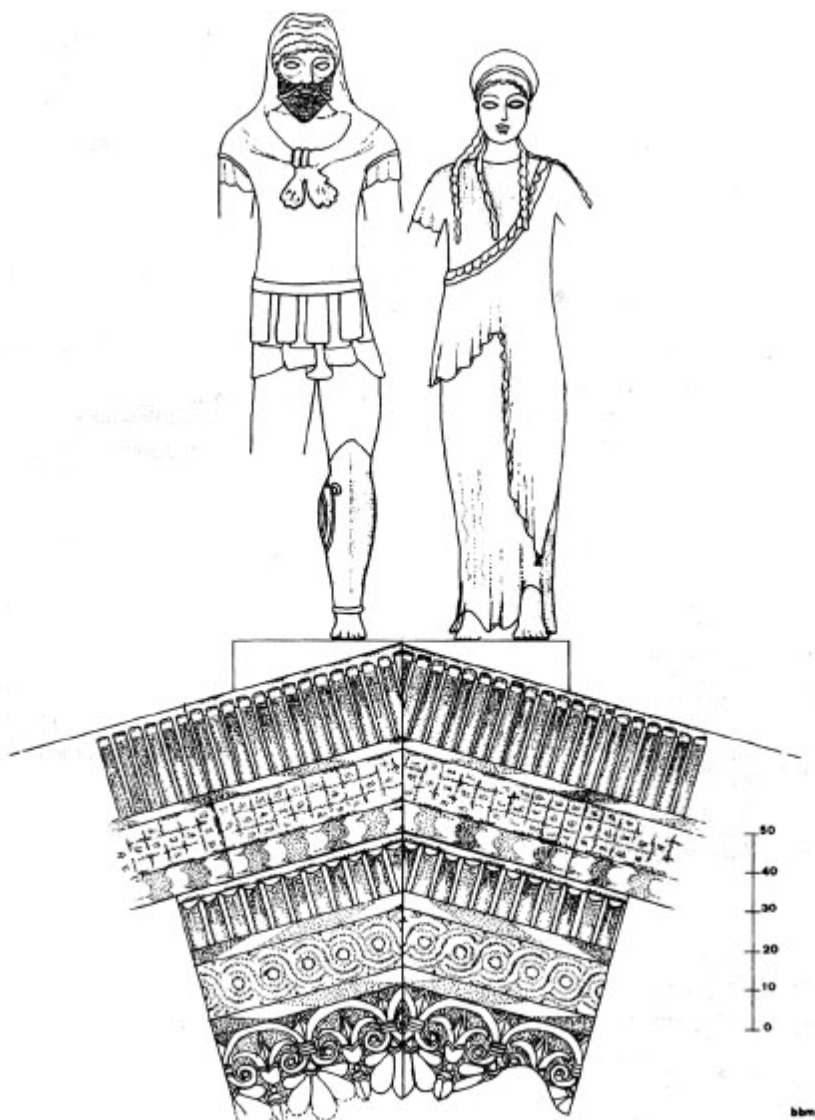
A splendid instance of such a cult is the dedication of Temple B in the sanctuary of Pyrgi, the harbor town of Caere, dating from the last decade of the sixth century, as recorded by the three famous golden tablets with inscriptions—two Etruscan and one Phoenician. The temple and its related structures were built by Thefarie Velianas, king of Caere (according to the Phoenician text), and dedicated to the goddess *Uni*, assimilated to Astarte, who helped him to reach the throne.⁹¹⁶

Although the temple was actually dedicated to a goddess, its terracotta decoration was devoted to Herakles and his adventures up to his apotheosis, accompanied, as it seems, by Hera (Fig. 18.4), the Greek deity corresponding to Etruscan *Uni*, whose protection was sought by the king.⁹¹⁷

Fifth century BCE – Sanctuaries became the centers of religious activity, expressing the ideology of the *polis* and of its ruling class, as in the contemporary Greek world.⁹¹⁸ The focus moved definitively from the aristocratic house or palace to the temple as the main public building, destined

to be monumentalized and decorated with architectural terracottas. A consequence of this social change and urban development was a transformation in votive practices, which were no longer the expression of a family group or of a clan, but of an individual within the civic community.

The change in perspective affected the formulas of votive inscriptions, which began to highlight the names of the gods rather than that of the person making the offering. The most common verb in archaic dedications, *mulvanice*, was abandoned and replaced by the verb *turuce*, in the formula *itan turuce X Ys*, “X gave this to Y” (with variants). A simple formula of consecration, recording only the name of the god—hence an anonymous dedication—is even more frequent.⁹¹⁹



This formula began to be used in sanctuaries frequented by foreigners in harbor towns, such as Pyrgi and Gravisca, where such inscriptions are attested already in the sixth century in Greek, as well as in Etruscan. In such places a steady contact between Greek visitors and Etruscan priests (and to a certain extent with Etruscan visitors too) caused a slow evolution of cult practices and the introduction of new models and customs from Greece.⁹²⁰

Instances of this increasing Hellenization are noticeable with the inception of a cult of Herakles, worshipped with the name *Hercle* at Pyrgi and Caere (the sanctuary at Sant'Antonio),⁹²¹ but also, and even more significantly, with the introduction of initiatory cults of Dionysos (Etr. *Fufluns*)⁹²² and the Eleusinian couple, Demeter and Kore (*Vei* and *Cavatha* respectively).⁹²³

As for Dionysos, important evidence is provided by a group of four graffiti on Attic vases found at Vulci, recording a consecration to *Fufluns Pachies velclthi*, that is to say "to the Bacchic *Fufluns* at Vulci" (Fig. 18.5). Such vases, found in both urban and funerary contexts, have been interpreted as tokens or talismans for initiates to a mystery cult.⁹²⁴

In addition, Eleusinian rituals have been recognized in the sanctuary of the so-called South Area of Pyrgi, where *Cavatha*, corresponding to Persephone, was worshipped together with *Šuri*, as we have seen, a chthonic Apollo.⁹²⁵

As regards the pantheon as a whole, we have now enough material to identify the functions and features of several deities.⁹²⁶

Well-known gods with Etruscan names are *Cavatha* and *Šuri*, just mentioned, worshipped together at Pyrgi and Volsinii (Orvieto), and the former alone at Populonia and Perugia. The latter is attested with other names, again at Pyrgi (*apa*, "the Father" and *papa*, "the Grandfather"), at San Polo d'Enza in the Po Valley (*Rath*) and at Narce in the Faliscan region (*Apalu*, here for the first time with the Etruscan form of his Greek name).

We find *Turan* (Aphrodite) and *Vei* (Demeter) again at Gravisca, the latter worshipped also at Caere, Pyrgi, and San Polo d'Enza, in the Po valley; the *Thuschva*-deities in the sanctuary at Sant'Antonio in Caere;⁹²⁷ and *Tina* (Zeus) at Marzabotto, where he was god of the Great Temple in the northern part of the town, and at Volsinii, where he had local name *Velthuna* (the same as Latin Voltumna-Vertumnus). New entries in the pantheon are *Lur(š)*, a god with a heroic aspect, perhaps connected with divination;⁹²⁸ *Laran*, a military god assimilated to Ares;⁹²⁹ *Calus*, a personification of the underworld;⁹³⁰ and *Thanr*, patroness of children and birth, but with a funerary aspect too.⁹³¹

As for gods with Greek names, we have already mentioned *Hercle* (Herakles) and *Apalu* (Apollo).

Finally, gods with Italic names had important and widespread cults, and were often assimilated to major figures of the Classical pantheon, such as *Fufluns* (Dionysos), at Vulci; *Uni* (Hera), at Pyrgi; and *Klanins* (god of the river *Clanis*, today Chiana), at Quarata near Arezzo.



Fig. 18.5: Inscription *Fuflunsul Pachies Velclthi*, “To the Bacchic *Fufluns* at Vulci”, scratched under the foot of an Attic kylix, from Vulci, Doganella. Last quarter of the fifth century BCE. Florence, Archaeological Museum (photo by D. Maras)

A separate mention is appropriate for *Selvans*, the god of boundaries and the wild, with no corresponding Greek deity.⁹³² It appears that his cult was more important than the Roman *Silvanus*, in recognition of the importance of boundaries in Etruscan culture.⁹³³

Two of the longest Etruscan ritual texts date from the mid-fifth century BCE: the Capua Tile (or *tabula*), an inscribed terracotta tablet recording a religious calendar,⁹³⁴ and the lead disk of Magliano, inscribed on both faces with a complex sacred text.⁹³⁵ In both cases gods are mentioned, but beside some well-attested divine figures, local deities also appear (especially on the Tile), known only by a single occurrence. This shows that a local pantheon could be very different from the general pattern.⁹³⁶

Fourth century BCE– The formulas of votive inscriptions were enriched by additional information about the place of the offering (as we have already seen for the *Fufluns* inscriptions in the previous century), as well as about the reasons for the gift, and even by the invocation of a secondary deity, whose sanctuary hosted the offerings.⁹³⁷ Votive offerings, until the fifth century mainly consisting of pottery (often Attic vases), became more differentiated, including a large number of bronze statuettes representing mostly the donor, but sometimes also a deity.⁹³⁸

The earliest examples of *sortes*, oracular tokens, consecrated to a single god and drawn by lot in the course of a cleromantic rite, also date to this period. The gods’ names attested are *Śuri*, *Artumes*, and the obscure *Lurmita*.⁹³⁹

As regards the pantheon, the increasing number of votive inscriptions

provides a statistically significant sample, enabling us to identify the most frequently worshipped gods, and revealing some unexpected peculiarities.⁹⁴⁰ Heading the list, we find a group of different versions of Apollo, appearing as *Śuri* at Tarquinia, Vulci, Viterbo and Perugia, as *Rath* in Clusium, and as *Aplu* in some occurrences of uncertain provenance. In addition, an inscription from Pyrgi at the end of the century is a mark of increasing contact with Rome, since the god was named *Veivis*, a loanword from his Latin counterpart Veiovis.

A conspicuous group of dedications concern *Selvans*, who was widely worshipped from south to north, at Tarquinia (with *Śuri*), Bolsena, Clusium, and perhaps Cortona. *Veī* is still attested at Gravisca, but also at Norchia (as a funerary goddess within a funerary context), Rusellae and in the sanctuary of Cannicella at Volsinii, where the famous archaic statue of a nude goddess (“Venere della Cannicella”) was probably her cult image, an image quite different from that expected of a goddess assimilated to Demeter (Fig. 18.6).⁹⁴¹



Fig. 18.6: Marble statue representing a nude goddess, so-called “Venere della Cannicella”, from Orvieto, necropolis of Cannicella. End of the sixth century BCE (after Andrén 1967, pl. 3a)

Important city cults were those of *Uni*, who at Gravisca and Cortona received offerings marked with the name of the town, tallying with the information from literary sources that record Juno or Hera as the patron of cities like Veii and Perugia. By contrast, *Tina* is mentioned in just a few sporadic inscriptions from the urban area of Adria in the Po valley⁹⁴² and from a cult place in the countryside near Siena.⁹⁴³

In the neighborhood of Lake Trasimene, a sanctuary of *Cel*, a goddess of the earth like the Greek *Ge*, developed.⁹⁴⁴ Here, a group of five statuettes has been found, which were part of a set inscribed with the name of the goddess before selling them to visitors as sacred offerings. In addition, somewhere in the hinterland of Volsinii, a sacred place was created for *Vatlni*, an obscure deity who is attested by three inscriptions and is only invoked in the dedications as a host to other deities.⁹⁴⁵

Other gods recorded by votive inscriptions include *Turan* (at Gravisca and Clusium), *Artumes* (variant of *Aritimi*-Artemis), *Thanr* (at Clusium), *Lurmita* (at Vulci), *Menerva* (at Tarquinia), *Lurs* (at Corchiano), *Calus* and *Mantrns*, both gods of the dead (at Cortona), *Mariś*, a divine child bearing the name of the Latin-Italic Mars (at Clusium),⁹⁴⁶ the goddess *Pethan* (at Volsinii, Via di San Leonardo). Finally, there are occurrences of uncertain provenance of *Hercle* and *Catha* (a later counterpart of *Cavatha*, with marked solar features).⁹⁴⁷

Further information comes from the comparison of such votive evidence with the iconographic material, now available in tomb paintings and mirrors. The frequent presence of captions allows us to see some differences between the gods for whom there is evidence of cult and those for whom there is iconographic evidence.⁹⁴⁸

Figures such as *Sethlans* (Hephaistos) or *Usil* (Helios),⁹⁴⁹ often included within the pantheon by the scholars, are never mentioned in votive inscriptions, while other important gods, such as *Cavatha*/*Catha* or *Selvans* are never pictorially represented. Such a difference is particularly interesting with regard to the gods of the underworld, whose names are known from epigraphic sources as *Calus*, *Manth* (or *Mantrns*) and *Śuri* (the male figure), and *Cavatha*, *Mlach* *Thanra* and perhaps *Pethan* (the female figure). In tomb paintings, however, these deities keep their Greek names *Aita* and *Phersipnai* (respectively from Hades and Persephone) along with their Greek iconography.⁹⁵⁰

Such a situation seems to suggest that the iconographic resources used by artists in dealing with divine figures diverged substantially from the pantheon apparent in votive religion. In this regard it is certainly significant that the solar features of *Usil* and *Catha* partially overlap, the former attested only in images, the latter only in votive contexts.⁹⁵¹

Finally, *Thufłtha* was a most important goddess, whose worship is attested from the fourth century (Fig. 18.7).⁹⁵² Her identity as Tyche/Fortuna has recently been proposed, on the grounds of certain features of her cult.⁹⁵³

Attested all over Etruria, this goddess received offerings from people of all social classes (at Volsinii, from the fourth century, and at Tarquinia, Vulci, Montecchio, Mucigliano, Clusium and Montalcino in the following centuries). She was related to fate and divination.



Fig. 18.7: Bronze statuette with dedication to *aiseras Thufithcla* of uncertain provenance, probably from Volsinii. Second half of the 4th century BCE. Vatican Museums (drawing by D. Maras)

A further peculiarity of *Thufitha* is the fact that a group of gods depended on her, the so-called *aiser Thufithas* (or *Thufithica*). This expression has been hypothetically linked with what some Latin literary sources call *di complices et consentes* or *superiores et involuti* (Sen. *Q nat.* 2.41; Arn. 3.40).⁹⁵⁴ They were Jupiter's advisers on the throwing of the most terrible category of thunderbolt and were thus connected with divinatory science and the fate of human beings (see [chapter 20](#) Rollinger).

Third century BCE– In this period, we see an increasing number of inscribed bronze statuettes, especially in northern Etruria, and terracotta votive offerings, in comparison with vases, which were no longer the favorite support for votive inscriptions.

The list of worshipped gods is not very different from what we met in the fourth century:⁹⁵⁵ *Tina* and *Apollo* (as *Śuri*, *Aplu* and *Rath*), continue to be widely worshipped, as well as *Selvans* and *Thufltha*.

Local cults are known for *Hercle*, *Thuschva* and *Nethuns* at Caere, *Menerva* at Castrum Novum (Punta della Vipera, near Caere), *Vei* and *Uni* at Vulci (sanctuary of Fontanile di Legnisina), *Thanr*, *Pethan* and *Laran* at Perugia, *Lurs* at Bolsena and Cetamura del Chianti.

A new entry in the votive pantheon is *Culsans*, a two-faced god corresponding to the Latin *Janus*, with no Greek equivalent,⁹⁵⁶ whose name is related to the Etruscan word *culs*, “door,” and who probably oversaw city walls and boundaries. Supporting this notion is the fact that a pair of statuettes, representing this god and *Selvans*, was found in a pit near a city gate at Cortona (Fig. 18.8).

Other gods’ names now appearing in dedications include *Turms* (*Hermes*),⁹⁵⁷ the patron of trade, who receives the offering of a weight together with *Rath*; *Tiu*, deity of the moon⁹⁵⁸; and the obscure *Tlenasie*. Moreover, in the South Area of Pyrgi, where a process of Romanization was already at work from the end of the fourth century, there is no further occurrence of the original, Etruscan gods, such as *Śuri* and *Cavatha*. As a replacement for the latter, a group of Etruscan and Latin graffiti records a deity whose name begins with *M* (or, on one occasion, *MA*), identified by Colonna with the Roman goddess of the underworld *Mania*.⁹⁵⁹

In this period, a specific terminology to define different aspects of the sacred (*cver*, *alpan*, *tinscvil*, *nuna*) and types of deities (*ais*, *flere*, *farthan*) was developed and used in dedications.⁹⁶⁰ Moreover, names of gods are now often accompanied by epithets or adjectives, which allow us to investigate the relationship between the gods and certain features of their cult.

The documentation of “families” of gods, more evident in this period, but occasionally attested from the archaic period onwards, is especially interesting. Thus, a group of different gods is qualified as “belonging to *Calus*” (Etr. *calusna*—that is, to the underworld): they are *Tina*, *Pethan*, *Turms* and probably *Selvans* and *Menerva*. Such a series can be compared with the *aiser Thuflthas*, mentioned before, that now also include *Śuri*, as attested in a dedication from Vulci. Furthermore a circle of *Thanr* was attested already in the fifth century, with reference to *Turan* and *Mlach*.⁹⁶¹

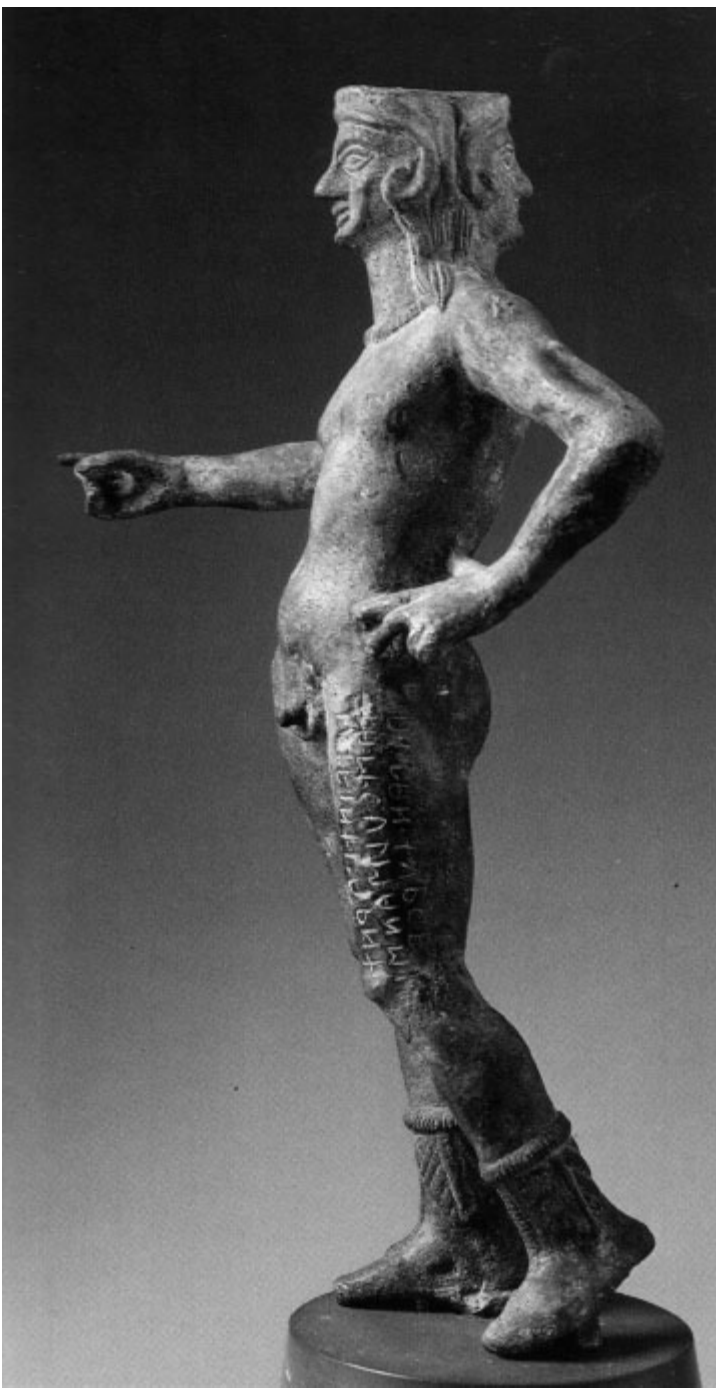


Fig. 18.8: Bronze statuette representing *Culsans* from Cortona, Porta Ghibellina. Cortona, Museum of the Accademia Etrusca (after Cristofani 1985: 209, Fig. 104)

Clearly these “families” are not groups of minor deities moving around and helping the major, Olympic gods as attested in the Greek and Latin tradition,

and also in Etruria, for instance in relation to *Turan* (Aphrodite) and her divine helpers and servants. A specific feature of Etruscan theology is the belief that every god(ess) can participate in the sphere of his (her) colleagues, and this results in a greater importance attached to the corresponding aspects of his or her own personality. For example a funerary aspect of *Tina* (Zeus) belongs naturally to *Calus*, and when issues of fate arise *Šuri* (Apollo) takes part in the circle of *Thuflltha*.

Such a religious system is quite different from what we know in the Classical world, and is most likely a product of speculation by Etruscan priests on the basis of ancient tradition. This subject, therefore, deserves particular attention in research on Etruscan religion.



Fig. 18.9: Bronze statuette of a child holding a bird from Tuoro, near Lake Trasimene. Vatican Museums (after Cristofani 1985: 241, Fig. 127)

A further group of well-defined divine figures, associated with a specific function, includes deities who accompany the dead into the underworld and watch over the “great gate” to prevent anyone from escaping.⁹⁶² We know

much about such figures from tomb paintings and reliefs on sarcophagi, where *Charun* and *Vanth* are often represented leading the dead in the journey to the underworld (the former at times multiplied, as though there was a group of *Charun*-s). Sometimes a she-demon named *Culsu* joins them as warden of the gate. In addition, in the Tomba dell'Orco at Tarquinia a monstrous, Fury-like *Tuchulcha* is tormenting the damned.⁹⁶³

These deities had no place of commemoration in Etruria other than tombs, but sometimes received dedications in a funerary context, as we saw for *Charun* already in the sixth century and now for *Vanth* in Spina and Adria, as well as, for the group together, again at Adria, called *kulśnuter*, literally “the watch of the door.”⁹⁶⁴

Second–first centuries BCE – The last centuries of Etruscan religion are marked by the increasing Romanization of society and language, as well as of institutions and forms of cult. Therefore, it is not by chance that all the epigraphic material for this period comes from northern Etruria, since it is here that cities remained free and autonomous in their culture for longer.⁹⁶⁵

Bronze statuettes were offered to *Thufłtha* at Cortona and Montalcino and a bronze bird to *Cel* at Volterra. The local god *Tec Sanś*, worshipped at Tuoro near the northern bank of Lake Trasimene (the location of Hannibal’s victory), received magnificent votive offerings such as the famous statue of the Arringatore and a statuette of a child holding a bird (Figs. 18.9.–18.10).⁹⁶⁶

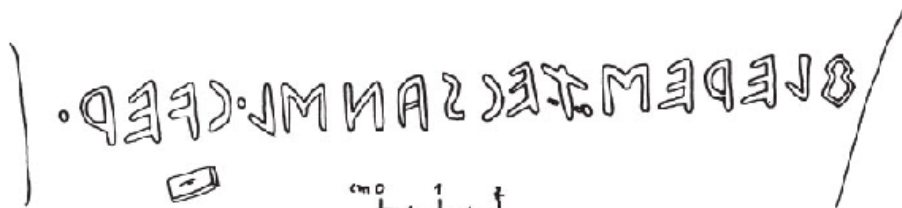


Fig. 18.10: Inscription on the statuette of fig. 18.9, incised along the right leg (drawing by D. Maras)

Apollo, both as *Aplu* and as *Śuri*, is attested on two different lots (*sortes*) from Arezzo, where his oracle was still famous in Roman time. Finally *Tina* is mentioned on a group of *cippi*, marking the boundaries of an Etrusco-Roman colony at Smindja in Tunisia.

Such cases fit the general pattern of Roman Italy, where a reference to the pre-Roman past was often a sign of conservatism or an attempt to place the actual situation in a favorable light by appealing to ancient tradition, especially relating to religion. This is certainly the case of the *cippi* from Smindja (Tunisia; see chapter 88 Naso),⁹⁶⁷ and of two stone blocks from the base of a building from Feltre, in Rhaetian territory. Here an inscription in the local alphabet records the consecration of the temple to *Tina* and perhaps *Tiu*, thus presumably referring to the Etruscans as ancestors of the Rhaeti,

according to a version also found in Livy (5.33.11).⁹⁶⁸

Very recently a long inscription, dating from the first half of the second century BCE (or shortly before) has been found on the acropolis of Populonia. It records an important dedication to a deity whose name ends with *urnz*. On the grounds of chronology, the dedication is connected probably with the founding of the sanctuary, thus again linking the use of the Etruscan language with a claim to an ancient, pre-Roman tradition.

From the same period dates the Linen Book of Zagreb (*liber linteus*),⁹⁶⁹ celebrated as the only preserved linen book from the whole of antiquity. Written in inland northern Etruria, it was preserved for us by its use as a mummy wrapping in Egypt, where it had been presumably brought by somebody (a soldier or a priest?), accompanying the Roman army under Caesar, Mark Antony or Octavian.

The book contains a religious calendar and some prescriptions for the public rituals of a community left unspecified on purpose, in order to allow the use of the book for any city (*spura enas*).⁹⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, some of the divine names occurring in the book are partly already known, such as *Tina*, *Uni* and *Nethuns*; but there are some anonymous figures too (*aiser šic šeuc* and *flere in crapšti*), probably to be determined at the time of use.

For these reasons, scholars have proposed to classify the Linen Book among the *Libri Rituales* mentioned by the ancient authors (see above). Its journey to Egypt in a Roman historical context seems to suggest that Etruscan religion survived at that point only in the traditions of families and thanks to the integration of the Etruscan aristocracies into Roman society (see below).

Beside these attempts to preserve the independence of Etruscan religion, the esteem enjoyed by the Etruscan science of haruspicy survived the disappearance of their language and even of other aspects of Etruscan culture.

One of the last great testimonies of Etruscan religious thought belongs in such a context: the famous bronze liver of Piacenza, dating from the beginning of the first century BCE.⁹⁷¹ This is a life-sized model of a sheep's liver, with the lower face divided into thirty-eight sections with divine names inscribed in them. Each section corresponds to a deity, whose will could be read in the liver of a sacrificed victim. An outer band encircled the liver showing the correspondence between the organ (microcosm) and the sixteen regions of the sky (macrocosm), inhabited by as many gods.

Most probably the liver was used as a device in teaching haruspicy (or perhaps to remind a seer of the position of each section), by a priest in the Roman army or in any case within the context of Roman Italy.

The gods mentioned on the liver partially correspond to those mentioned in votive dedications, but some important figures (such as *Menerva* or *Vei*) are missing, and others are attested only here (such as *Mae* and *Tvnth*).⁹⁷² The various names of Apollo are also missing, but the god is probably replaced by *Vetis*, derived from the Latin *Vedius* (a variant of *Veiovis*, see above).⁹⁷³

Cult practices and sacred architecture

Apart from iconographic and epigraphic sources, archaeology provides substantial information about votive religion, through the remains of ritual contexts and of sacred structures.⁹⁷⁴ It is therefore worthwhile to delve deeper into cults and their locations.

The principal ritual behavior, recognizable through archaeological finds, is the offering. Depending on time, place or motive, different kinds of offerings were possible, from libations to sacrifices, and from ritually shared consumption of food to a burnt offering (holocaust).⁹⁷⁵ The specific place for such rites was clearly an altar, which therefore was the central unit of any sacred place in ancient times, in Etruria as elsewhere.⁹⁷⁶

There were various types of altars, according to their specific function, from rude, primitive accumulations of stones or even of clods of earth to stone tables and even precious metal *trapezai*, none of which survive but which are recorded in the literary sources.⁹⁷⁷ A typically Etruscan kind of altar was pierced, used to pour liquid offerings deep into the ground, in the worship either of chthonic deities, or of the dead (Fig. 18.11).⁹⁷⁸

Offerings included animals and plants, but also drinks (primarily wine) and other foods. In such cases we find bones or remains of instruments used for rituals, especially vases.⁹⁷⁹ But there were some durable elements as well, equivalent to a sacrifice, consisting mainly of terracotta or metal figured objects or statuettes (produced for a votive purpose), and in some cases objects of daily life (transformed into votive objects).⁹⁸⁰ Votive deposits were filled with the remains of offerings and votive objects, which provide us with information on the deities worshipped.⁹⁸¹

Aspects of the environment were considered as natural points of contact between the human and the divine spheres. Through the fire of the holocaust, sacrifices ascended directly to the sky; but for blood and other liquid and solid offerings, it was appropriate to pour them into the ground or bury them, as in the case of *bothroi* and pits.⁹⁸² Similarly, pools and rivers received solid offerings for their deities.⁹⁸³

As we have seen, an important feature of Etruscan culture was the special attention paid to boundaries and divisions of space, permitting correspondences between the microcosm and macrocosm, as well as between the human and the divine.⁹⁸⁴ As a consequence, a most important aspect of a sacred place was its delimitation, often made visible by means of an enclosure (Gr. *temenos*), surrounding the sacred precinct, which marked its boundaries and was under the protection of a deity.⁹⁸⁵ There are several examples of *cippi*, inscribed with the dedication to single gods, such as *Selvans*, *Śuri*, *Laran* and *Menerva*.⁹⁸⁶

An altar surrounded by a small precinct was a specific cult unit in the Etruscan tradition. Although it evolved later into an altar on a podium, in some cases the traditional unit continued to be used until a very late period.⁹⁸⁷

Structures such as altars and precincts were liable to be monumentalized. This occurred, for instance, at the funerary altar at Grotta Porcina, near Blera, in which a round base was sculpted with a procession of quadrupeds, and surrounded by a theatre-shaped structure.⁹⁸⁸ Similarly, in its earliest layout, the grand precinct with a four-pillared entrance of Temple B at Pyrgi (Fig. 18.12)⁹⁸⁹ formed the support for the so-called building of twenty *cellae*, completed by altars in front of it, where it is thought that sacred prostitution was practiced.⁹⁹⁰

From the point of view of ritual, the house of a god or a goddess may be thought of as secondary in the organization of a sacred place. Still, already as early as the period for which documentation begins to become available, it had been developed; and in the course of the archaic period it became the focus of the sanctuary, receiving very impressive forms of monumentalization.⁹⁹¹

The earliest sacred buildings were at first huts and then shrines (*oikoi*), not very different from other kinds of structures. It is, however, possible to observe a tendency to use old-fashioned types of houses for sacred purposes,⁹⁹² such as oval and round huts after square huts had become customary; *oikoi*, when three-roomed houses had become common; and Tuscanic temples with a triple cella, after the evolution of housing complexes had long evolved away from this type of structure.⁹⁹³



Fig. 18.11: Pierced altar from Bolsena, Poggetto, with consecration to *Tina* (drawing by D. Maras)

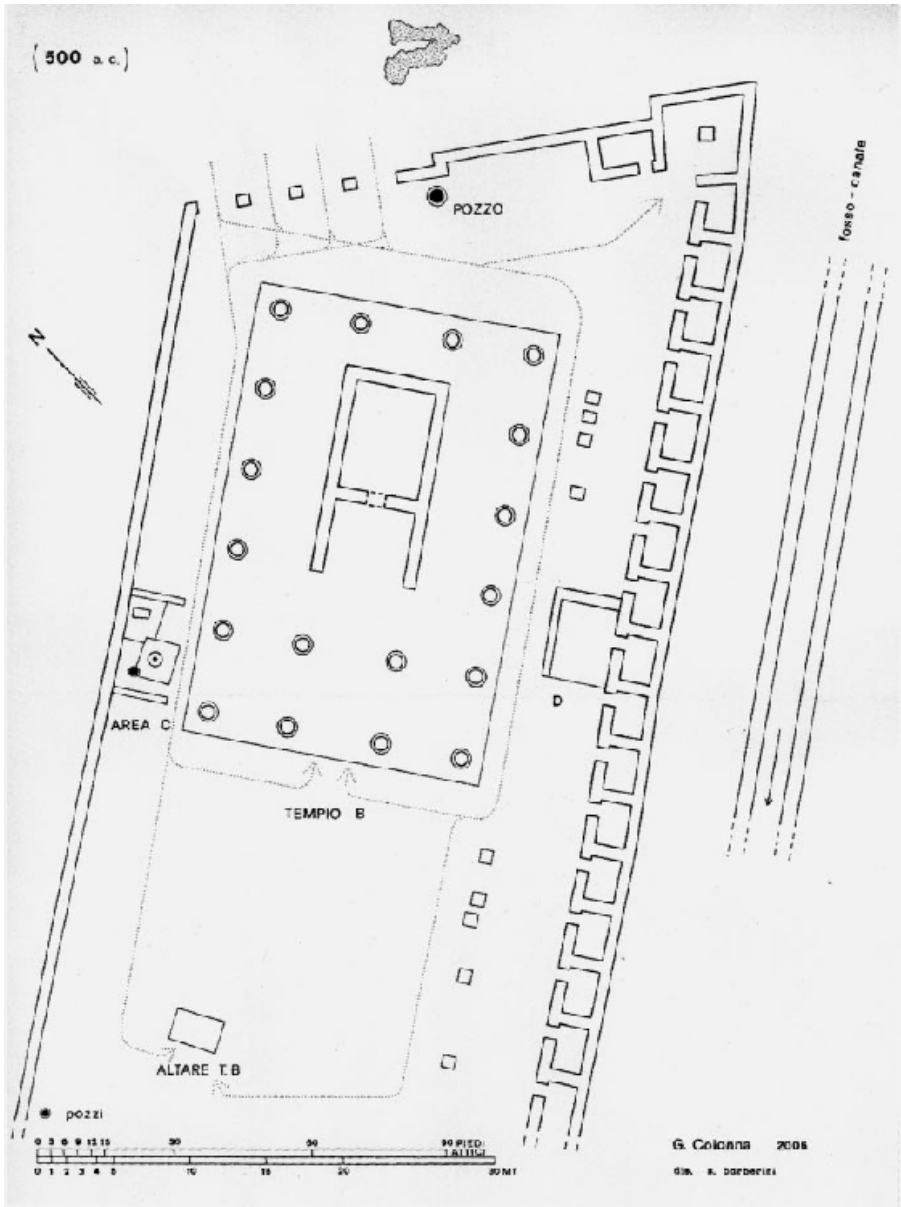


Fig. 18.12: Pyrgi. Plan of the earliest layout of Temple B with its precinct and the building of "Venti Celle" (after Colonna 2007: 19, Fig. 2)

Clearly the evolution of sacred buildings in Etruria was not linear. During the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, to the *oikos* were added at first a *pronaos* (ante-chamber) and a *podium*, which raised it above ground level, then *alae* on both sides, columns at the front, and a rear part (*pars postica*), so achieving

the form of Tuscanic temple.⁹⁹⁴

Nevertheless, there were also cases of peripteral temples of Greek tradition (such as Temple B at Pyrgi or the Great Temple of Vulci) and mixed types or variants. In addition, other types of shrines, usually of rectangular shape, were built and used until the late period, contemporary with examples of monumental sacred architecture.⁹⁹⁵ This is especially evident in the case of some peculiar cults, such as the Eleusinian, mystery cult of *Cavatha* (Persephone) in the South Area of Pyrgi (see above) or the worship of the Greek goddesses at Gravisca, where a special provision for the cult of Adonis, of Near-Eastern origin, was included.⁹⁹⁶

The bequest of Etruscan religion

During the final centuries of their independent history, the Etruscans were more and more integrated into the Roman world, as the aristocratic families of Etruria joined the Senatorial class and their traditions became part of the *mos maiorum*.

Clearly such a process was long and largely unconscious. Its starting point is linked with the foundation of Rome itself, performed *Etrusco ritu* according to the sources (Plut. *Rom.* 11; Varro *Ling.* 5.143).⁹⁹⁷ However, in the late period we can follow the stages of this process of integration.

From the archaic period, a statue of Vertumnus, the main god of Etruria, had stood in the *vicus Tuscus*, the Etruscan quarter at the foot of Capitoline Hill. Moreover, in the collective memory of the Romans, the Capitoline Temple itself, the principal sacred building of Rome, was closely connected with the monarchy of the Tarquins.⁹⁹⁸

The Etruscans were considered responsible for anthropomorphizing the gods (Plin. *HN* 35.157)⁹⁹⁹ and, above all, for possessing a monopoly of knowledge about divination and haruspicy, as well as other sacred matters.¹⁰⁰⁰

Such faith in the capabilities of Etruscan priests soon led to a series of consultations of soothsayers from Etruria, and to their integration in religious, military and institutional roles in Roman society (see [chapter 21](#) Haack). Texts of haruspicy and divination were translated into Latin, in some cases by scholars of Etruscan origin, such as Iulius Aquila, Nigidius Figulus, Aulus Caecina and Tarquitiuss Priscus.¹⁰⁰¹

Therefore, when Livy wrote on the special devotion of the Etruscans (see above), religious matters were all that survived of the ancient Etruscan culture, preserved in family traditions and priestly doctrine. Still, Livy was speaking of ancient times, when the Etruscans were independent and preserved their customs. Now, what can we say about other Latin authors dealing with Etruscan religion?

As for Seneca (*Q nat.* 2.32.2), he refers his account of the lightning bolts

and their interpretation as divine signs to the present time, when talking of the difference between “us” (Hellenized philosophers) and the Etruscans, that is to say priests and soothsayers, who based their doctrine on ancient Etruscan tradition.

Much later, when Arnobius thundered at Etruria as the “mother of superstition” (*adv. gent.* 7.26), he was fighting against pagan religion, which, in his time, still used the Etruscan tradition as a guarantee of truth, and fidelity to the *mos maiorum*.

Still in the fifth century CE, at the end of antiquity, it was possible for Martianus Capella to find original information on Etruscan lists of gods and partitions of sky (1.45–61), and even later Johannes Lydus could translate Nigidius Figulus’ brontoscopic calendar.¹⁰⁰² Such religious material (by then only nominally Etruscan) had been handed down by priests within the Roman tradition.¹⁰⁰³

Nevertheless, the close connection with late paganism, and the consequent enmity of the early Christian Church, was fatal to such a tradition and, probably, to much of the remaining literature dealing with Etruscan matters.¹⁰⁰⁴

Christian monks handed over neither the works of learned Latin *haruspices*, nor copies of Verrius Flaccus’ *Tusci libri* and the Emperor Claudius’ *Tyrrheniká*.

Etruscan religion was doomed to sink into oblivion.

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Alessandro Naso

19Death and burial

Abstract: Cemeteries are our greatest source of knowledge of the Etruscans, because the Etruscan elite furnished their tombs very richly, a “barbarian” custom that they adopted throughout their civilization, from the second half of the eighth century BCE onward. The three major arts—sculpture, architecture, and painting—were developed mostly for use in burials. Although (or because) this constitutes a huge amount of information, a detailed study of death and burial in Etruria is still lacking; the various reviews of aspects of the whole subject, usually involving a single site or a particular period in history, show that the development of a funerary ideology is closely connected to contemporary religion and society. Funerary ideology is a traditional and conservative matter. Up-to-date analyses of single sites specifically concern the Iron Age and the Orientalizing period, while the more complex Archaic and Late Archaic periods are less well known. From the Classical period onward the emergence of a precise view of the underworld can be followed, influenced by Greek conceptions of its geography: the ferryman Charon, ferrying the dead across the river Acheron to the hereafter, was adopted as *Charun* in Etruscan culture, where further male and female demons of their own peopled the underworld.

Keywords: Funerary ideology, Etruscan graves, Etruscan Underworld, orphic religion, Dionysian cult

Introduction

Cemeteries are our greatest source of knowledge of the Etruscans, because the Etruscan elite furnished their tombs very richly, a “barbarian” custom that they adopted throughout the civilization, from the second half of the eighth century BCE onward. The three major arts—sculpture, architecture, and painting—were developed mostly for use in burials. Although (or because) this constitutes a huge amount of information, a detailed study of death and burial in Etruria is still lacking; the various reviews of aspects of the whole subject, usually involving a single site or a particular period in history, show that the development of a funerary ideology is closely connected to contemporary religion and society. Funerary ideology is a traditional and conservative matter. Up-to-date analyses of single sites specifically concern the Iron Age and the Orientalizing period,¹⁰⁰⁵ while the more complex Archaic and Late Archaic periods are less well known.¹⁰⁰⁶ From the Classical period onward the emergence of a precise view of the underworld can be followed, influenced by Greek conceptions of its geography: the ferryman Charon, ferrying the dead across the river Acheron to the hereafter, was adopted as *Charun* in Etruscan culture, where further male and female

demons of their own peopled the underworld.¹⁰⁰⁷

1Funerary ideology

The development of a funerary ideology is closely connected to the contemporary society, and the custom of burying an individual is a specific cultural choice, connecting the society of the living to the community of the dead, as Bruno d'Agostino has clarified on several occasions.¹⁰⁰⁸ The furnishings are the material component of rituals and ceremonies, which otherwise often remain totally unknown. The burial and the furnishings reflect select aspects of the deceased—his or her position in the family, the society, political life, and religious life—which were highlighted by those who carried out the burial. To understand the meaning of the interments, one has to know the relevant society and its outlook, by collecting texts, rites, myths, iconography, and iconology (see [chapter 6](#) Lubtchansky). Otherwise, as is the case for societies with as few written texts as the Etruscans, one has to work with the furnishings, their composition, and their relationships.

Several cemeteries in Etruria have been explored, but Etruscan tombs have often been looted of their treasures, their contents damaged or destroyed, so that they can no longer be interpreted for this purpose. Only a few tombs have been found as they were originally sealed, and it is impossible to know whether they can be taken as a typical or random sample. Between continuity and discontinuity, the concept of an underworld as a space geographically separate from the world, which has to be reached after death, is deeply rooted in Etruscan culture. The iconography of Etruscan burial monuments often includes horses, chariots, and ships, which are clear references to the journey of the dead to the underworld.¹⁰⁰⁹

2Iron Age

Cremation, the prevalent burial custom in the Early Iron Age in Etruria, meant the physical destruction of the dead, and the collection of the remaining bones (Lat. *ossilegium*) in a cinerary urn, following a pattern already established in the *Bronzo finale*¹⁰¹⁰ (see [chapter 42](#) Trocchi). This operation extended to the remains from the pyre, which contained charcoal, ashes, and cremation detritus. Some burials have two urns—one for the deceased and one for the pyre remains. In Etruria and the areas of the Italian peninsula connected to Etruscan expansion, including Emilia Romagna, the Marches, and northern and southern Campania, the cinerary urns usually have a biconical form with two handles, one of which was often intentionally broken during a ritual for the deposition of the urn in a pit grave ([Fig. 19.1](#)). With the same purpose of

avoiding reuse of the urn, several urns have only one handle. Some details make it clear that the urns were viewed and handled as a reproduction of the human body that had been destroyed by the fire. Sometimes urns were put horizontally in *fossa* graves like a buried person; some have ornamental chains or clothing draped over them¹⁰¹¹ The urn is closed by a lid, which may be a bowl or a sort of helmet, i.e. an overturned bowl with a knob in the center. Generally, bowls were limited to female and helmets to male depositions, but it is important to note local variations site by site.

By analyzing the remains of bones from the cineraria found in the Early Iron Age cemetery of Villa Bruschi Falgari at Tarquinia, which has recently been explored, and comparing them with the archaeological finds, Flavia Trucco was able to distinguish differing customs for the cremations of children/young people versus adults by differences in the placement of the bowl used as a lid. For younger people, the bowl is small and placed right side up, to hold remains of the pyre and food offerings such as meat or fruit. For men and women, the bowl is larger and placed upside down. There are some interesting exceptions: in some cineraria containing adult male cremations, the bowls face up, as in children's graves. Did these men, treated like children in death, have a low social position? This is a possibility.¹⁰¹² In some cases in the same cemetery, the remaining bones were probably washed and placed in the urn wrapped in a cloth, as documented by the decorations that survive, such as sheet bronze ornaments stitched to the cloth, or fibula used to fasten it. The clay helmets may have on their knob an exact reproduction of a hut roof, a custom already documented in the *Bronzo Finale* in central Italy both in Etruria and in Latium Vetus.¹⁰¹³ This connection with the dwelling is repeated by the rare cinerary urns in shape of a hut, which were used occasionally in Etruria and often in Latium Vetus from the *Bronzo Finale* onward.¹⁰¹⁴ Some burials belonging to the last decades of the Iron Age, in the third quarter of the eighth century, already show some of the main characteristics of the subsequent Orientalizing period. These include luxury goods, which were directly imported from the Levant or Greece, or locally made but inspired by imports, and are identified in rich male and female burials in Tarquinia and Capua.¹⁰¹⁵

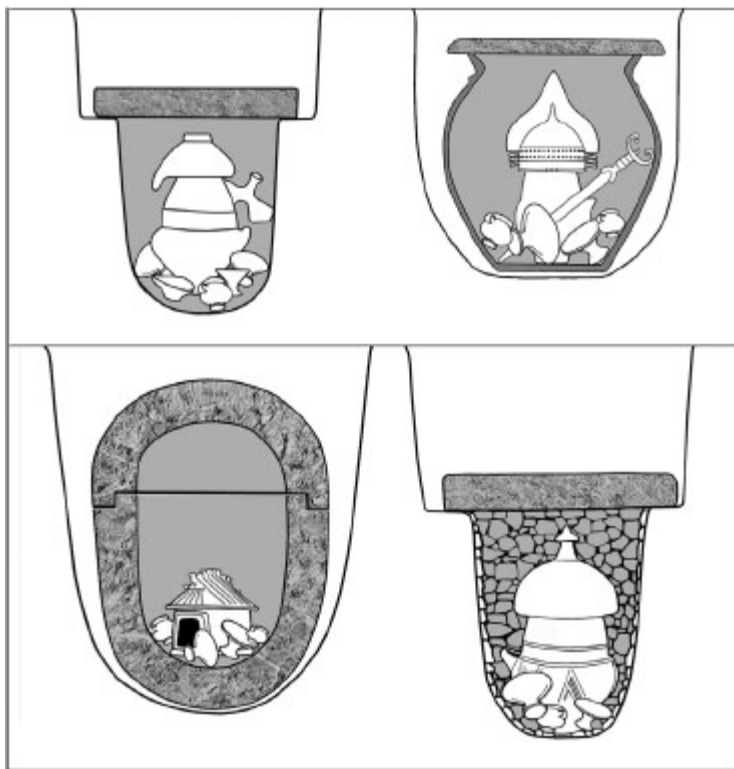


Fig. 19.1: Villanovan graves from Tarquinia

3Orientalizing period

The shift from the Iron Age to the Orientalizing period was marked both by continuity and discontinuity. Inhumation burial is now the most common funerary practice, but new forms of interments were introduced, including chamber tombs contained in huge tumuli. Some tumuli were used by the same family for several generations, but originally a tumulus was built for the burial of a single person. This practice can be closely connected to the cult of this person as ancestor (see [chapter 48](#) Trocchi and [Section 7](#), below). Huge tumuli, clearly inspired by Near Eastern models in Syria and Phrygia, created a new funerary landscape in Etruria, whether located in cemeteries around the cities or isolated in the countryside, with the function of marking land ownership by the elite.¹⁰¹⁶ In Etruria the tumulus developed as a new space intended for funerary cults. Friedhelm Prayon notes, for instance, that in southern Etruria the entrance doors and the corridors of chamber tombs dating to the seventh century are often oriented in a northwest–southeast direction: this corresponds to the Etruscan conception of heaven, known from late

descriptions by Roman authors, whose northwestern portion housed the gods of the underworld (Figs. 19.2.–19.3).¹⁰¹⁷ The orientation of the Orientalizing chamber tombs seems to confirm that the idea of an underworld is an old tradition with deep roots in Etruscan culture, and the conservative character of Etruscan funerary culture begins to emerge. Pursuing the tendency already begun in the Iron Age, there is an effort to reproduce the body of the deceased in the burials. For instance, in interments in Vulci and Marsiliana, which date to the first half of the seventh century, some sheet-bronze busts consisting of a sphere for the head, a cylinder for the neck, and two conical elements for the arms, imitate the shape of a human body in geometric form.¹⁰¹⁸ In the same period, in Chiusi and the surrounding territory canopic urns with masks that reproduced human faces came into use.¹⁰¹⁹ The iconography of seventh-century burial monuments shows the journey of the dead to the underworld: horses, as in the wall painting of the Campana Tomb in Veii; two wheeled chariots, as in the Zannoni stela in Bologna; and ships, as in the vase painting on the jug from Tragliatella, are clear references to the modes of travel.¹⁰²⁰

The locations of cemeteries usually changed in the Orientalizing period. The areas reserved for cemeteries are usually around the cities or the settled land, following a pattern already established in the Iron Age. In most cases, however, the general topography of the cemeteries was deeply modified from the Orientalizing period onward, as shown by Caere in southern Etruria and Pontecagnano in southern Campania. In both cases, the Iron Age cemeteries—Sorbo at Caere and ECI at Pontecagnano—were partly or totally abandoned and new areas designated for burials, and they were used as cemeteries for many centuries: the Banditaccia at Caere and the Second Western cemetery at Pontecagnano.¹⁰²¹

The lifestyle of the Etruscan elite and the composition of tomb goods were dramatically changed by the luxury items imported from Near Eastern regions to Etruria. Bronze cauldrons from northern Syria, silver ribbed bowls sometimes plated with gold, silver or bronze jugs from both Cyprus and the Levant, and Phoenician or Syrian glass bowls delighted the Etruscan elite, who placed them as furnishings in burials at several cities, including Vetulonia, Marsiliana, Caere, and Pontecagnano. Some imports were adjusted for sepulchral purposes, as is shown for instance by the snake heads on the—likely—Cypriot silver cauldron plated with gold from the Bernardini Tomb in Praeneste.¹⁰²²

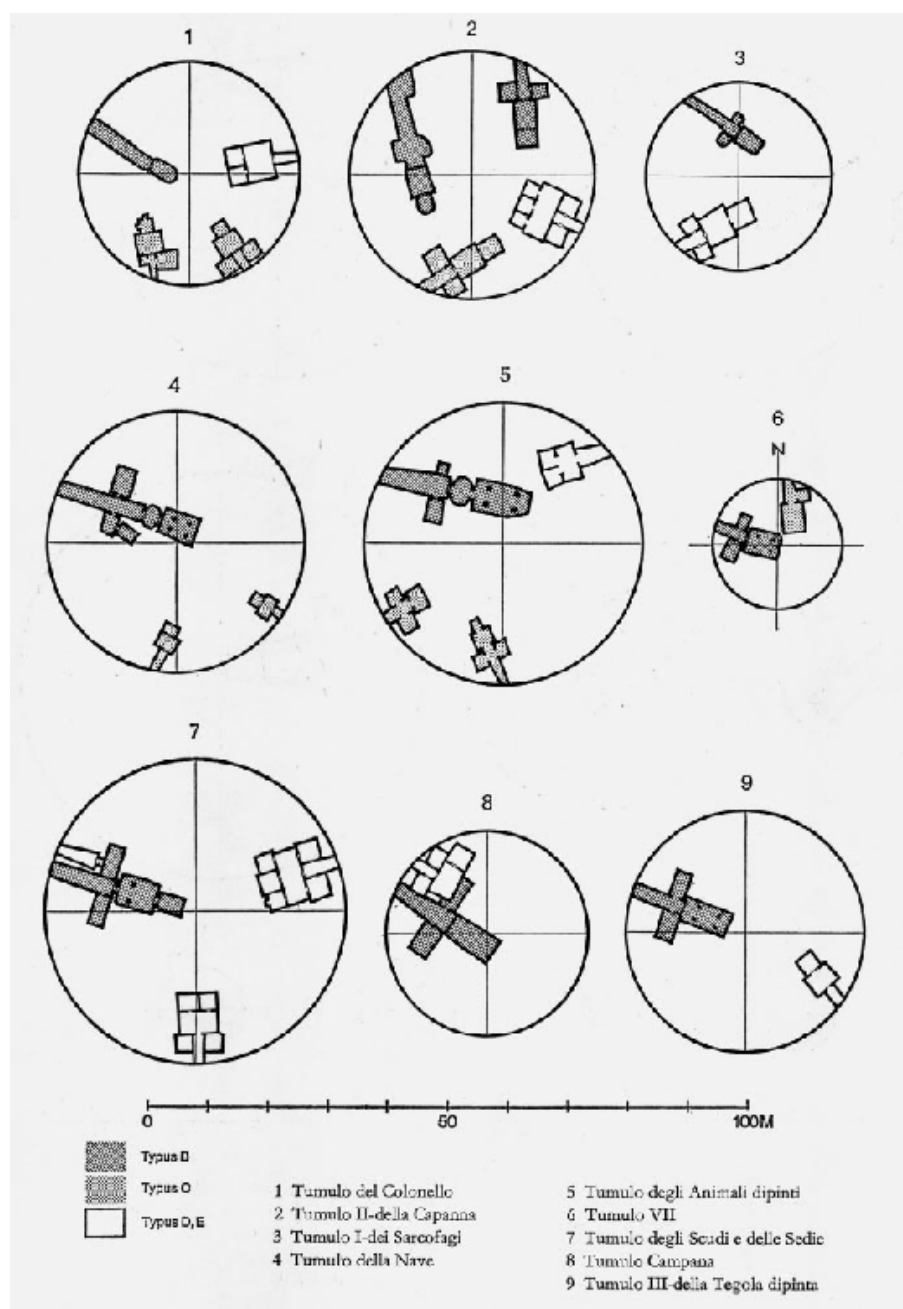


Fig. 19.2: Tumuli with several chamber tombs in the necropolis of Caere: the oldest tomb is always oriented northwest (after Prayon 1975, pl. 82)

Two warrior burials from Pontecagnano in southern Campania, dating to the second quarter of the seventh century, are particularly important, because they were found intact. *Fossa* graves 926 and 928 have similar plans. Both are bordered by stone slabs, and both include a recess in the ground containing

bronze cauldrons; in both recesses one cauldron was used as a funerary urn (Figs. 19.4.–19.5). The cauldrons were probably wrapped in cloth fastened with silver fibulae. Precious silver and bronze jugs and bowls were found in the recesses. In the *fossa* lay iron tools like spearheads, axes, spits, and andirons, as well as animal bones and clay vases of various origins. In both graves, the difference is clear between objects relating to the sacrifice, including tools and portions of animal flesh, placed in the *fossa*, and the most valuable items, which belonged to the deceased warriors and which were concentrated in the niche with the bones. Bruno d'Agostino compares both niches to the *thamos*, a room in ancient Greek houses that contained the most valuable possessions (Gk. *agalmata*) of the hero, revealing his social status (Gk. *ktemata*). In both graves, the adoption of the cremation ritual, reserved in Homeric Greece for heroes, has been seen as a Greek influence; on the other hand, at Pontecagnano inhumation predominated.¹⁰²³

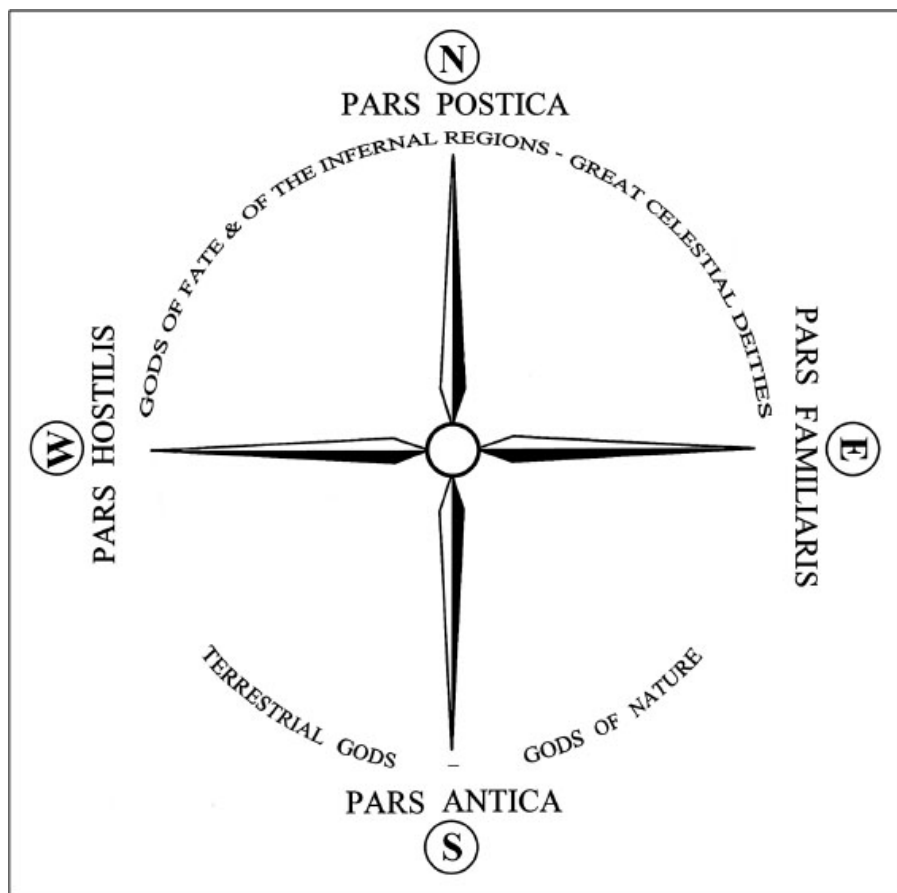
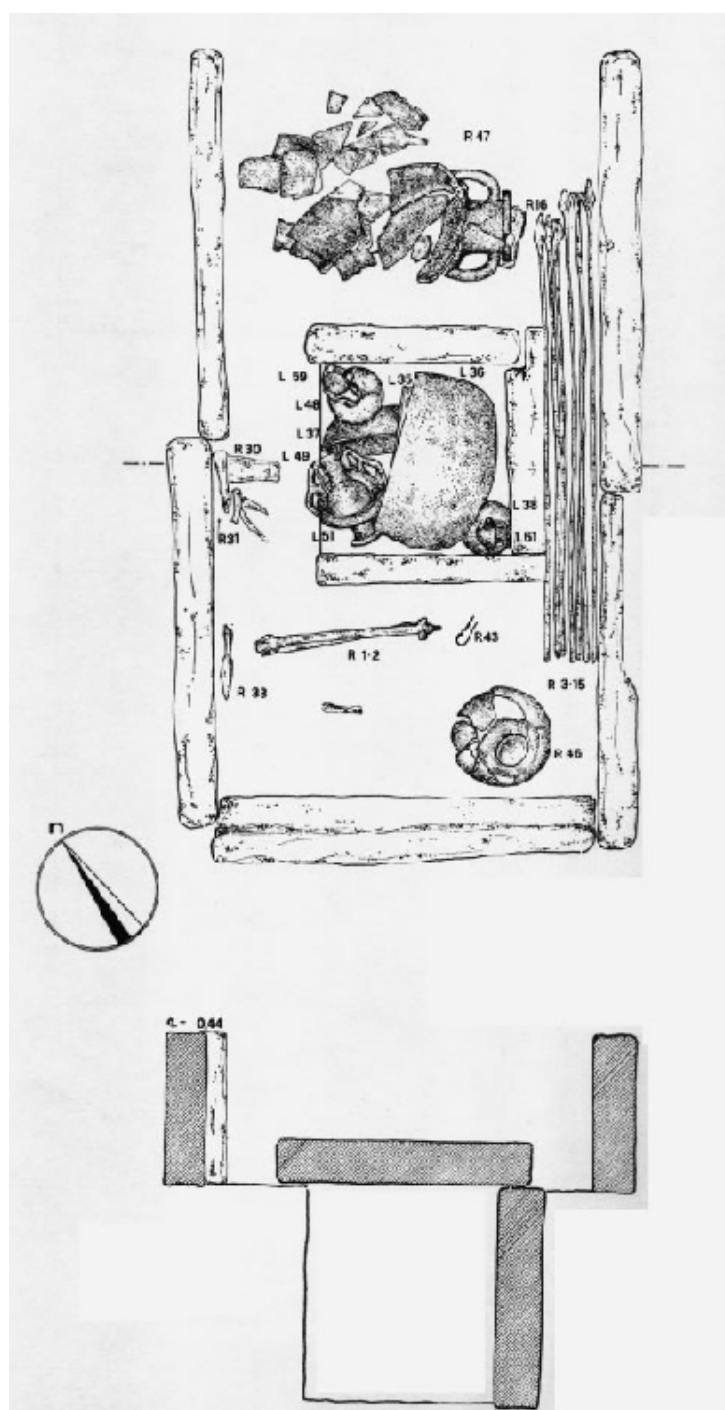


Fig. 19.3: Etruscan conception of the heaven



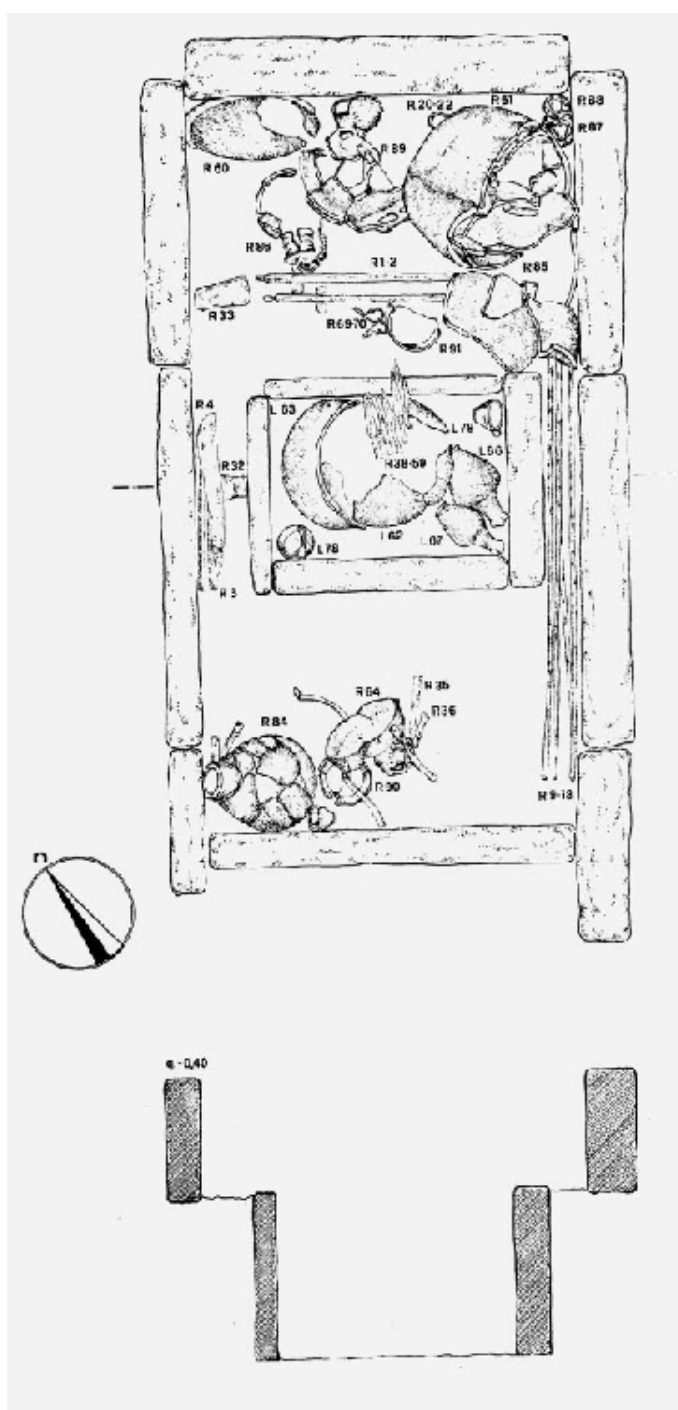


Fig. 19.5: Plan of grave 928 at Pontecagnano (after d'Agostino 1977, fig. 13)

The two categories of items that are so clearly distinguished in the two warrior graves at Pontecagnano—the personal property of the dead and the

objects used in the funeral—are distinguished in most Etruscan interments. A third category is evident, too: objects belonging to the tomb furnishings that were not personal property or related to the cult. As is usual for funerary practices, which were very conservative, the use of three categories of funerary furnishings continued throughout Etruscan civilization.

In the well-known Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere, dating to the second quarter of the seventh century, the furnishings were displayed in spaces comparable in function to the two graves of Pontecagnano and included all three categories. This tufa-block tomb, consisting of one long corridor and two small side chambers, held two deceased persons, a woman buried with an exceptional *parure* of gold jewelry in the corridor, and a man whose bones were placed in an urn in the right chamber. A buried woman and a cremated man in the same interment are widely attested in Orientalizing Etruria.¹⁰²⁴ The high status of the female, probably a queen (see [chapter 47](#) Naso), is further emphasized by bronze items, including eight shields, some of them still hanging on the walls, which were placed in the innermost part of the chamber, corresponding to the *thalamos*. The front portion of the corridor held bronze objects belonging to the cultic sphere, which include not only a ritual cart, cauldrons with their related stands, spits, and andirons, but also a bed and a four-wheeled wagon. The bed and wagon were used respectively for viewing the body at home (Gk. *prothesis*) and bringing it to the tomb (Gk. *ekphora*). In the tomb, about forty bucchero statuettes of women were placed around the bed, to recall the women weeping for the dead during the funeral (Lat. *praeficae*). The left side chamber was devoted to the sumptuous life of the queen, containing, among other things, a silver wine service, including twelve bowls of various forms, a little amphora, and two jugs. Some of these vessels, used for drinking wine mixed with water, bear the same Etruscan inscription, *mi larthia*, “I am (property) of Larth.” Since Larth is a male personal name, the wine service was a gift from Larth to the deceased woman, probably his daughter or wife. Additional metal vases, including twelve ribbed bowls, one of silver and eleven bronze, still hung on the walls of that chamber.¹⁰²⁵

Near the exceptionally rich tombs just mentioned, several interments, dating from the second half of the seventh century onward, have a great quantity of clay vases instead of metal furnishings. Like the metal vessels, the clay vases were imported from Greek manufacturing centers such as Corinth, East Greece, Sparta, and Athens, or produced in Etruria. The vases produced in Etruria include coarse ware (It. *impasto*), several types of painted pottery, and bucchero. The various vases were arranged in sets, each one with a specific function. It has been noted that *impasto* services, including plates, were mostly intended for food, while bucchero, in a large variety of jugs and chalices, was mostly used for drinking wine.¹⁰²⁶ Trade amphorae imported from several Greek cities, including Corinth, Athens, Chios, and Samos, have been found in Etruscan tombs from the first half of the seventh century

onward. The amphorae, developed mostly for trading wine and oil, found their final use in funeral contexts as wine containers. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed by analysis of the organic remains in the amphorae.¹⁰²⁷ From the Orientalizing period onward, the custom spread of placing a variety of food (meat, fish, eggs, fruit) in the tombs as offerings to the dead (Ger. *Totenmahl*). The chamber tombs were conducive to good preservation of organic remains, which improves our knowledge not only of funerary ideology, but also of agriculture.¹⁰²⁸

4Archaic and Classical periods

Around the year 580, the development of the city as an institution and changes in Etruscan society are reflected in the interments. The elite, now more numerous, invested the surplus not only in funerary accommodations, but also in the construction of sanctuaries and public structures. The newly established settlement pattern included an increasing occupation of the countryside in order to produce more food. City and countryside must now be distinguished in every aspect of Etruscan civilization. From the early sixth century onward, the historical development of Etruscan civilization reveals the major importance achieved by individual cities and great districts, each one having its own characteristics. For instance, the custom of putting stone stelae and markers (Gk. *semata*) outside tombs spread all over Etruria, but the forms exhibit considerable local variation (see [Section 8](#) below). This detail and the absence of specific research on the subject make it difficult to follow general lines of development throughout Etruria. As influence grew from both Athens and Rome, where sumptuary laws against the high cost of burials were promulgated, in Etruscan Veii and its countryside only a few objects were entrusted to the tombs.¹⁰²⁹

The deceased could be buried, as was usual in southern Etruria, or cremated, as was usual in northern Etruria,¹⁰³⁰ but there are many exceptions. Cremations in Attic and Etruscan figured vases are known in southern Etruria during the sixth and fifth centuries, as earlier. In Tarquinia, cremation is not limited to a single age, given that the cremated persons are identified as youths, most not more than twenty years of age, or as people older than sixty, but the age of the deceased is not always clear.¹⁰³¹ The existence of familial traditions—at least for the elite—is assumed, possibly followed for several centuries.

In Campania there was a long tradition of cremation as a funerary ritual: the oldest interment at Cumae dates to the end of the eighth century and shows Euboean influence. Regarding the seventh century, we reviewed the graves at Pontecagnano in [section 3](#) above. During the sixth century, both male and female aristocrats in Capua were cremated in rich tombs, such as the

Quattordici Ponti Tomb, in the specific form of the cube tomb. In the Late Archaic (510–470 BCE), local Capuan aristocrats adopted distinctive bronze urns as containers for the ashes (Fig. 74.8). The lids of these urns are decorated with human statuettes reproducing subjects related to the ideals of the aristocracy such as athletic games.¹⁰³² The images painted on the Attic red-figured *stamnoi*, which were probably used in Capua as cinerary urns in the fifth century, reproduce Dionysian motifs and death scenes, which clarify the funerary ideology of the Capuan elite.¹⁰³³

The painted tombs of Tarquinia, which from 530 onward show various moments of the funeral rituals, have a special role in our understanding of funerary rituals. Some tombs reproduce the structure of wood and textile tents, in which the viewing (Gk. *prothesis*) of the deceased took place. The scenes painted on the walls of these small chamber tombs reproduce several activities, such as symposia and athletic games that took place during the funerals and that included fighters, boxers, and two-wheeled chariot races. Stressing the function of the tomb as the place of transition between life and death, Mario Torelli argues that the games belonged to the living, while the symposia belonged to the dead.¹⁰³⁴ Francesco Roncalli notes that in the painted tombs at Tarquinia the usual absence of decoration on the side walls closest to the entrance door, versus the presence of paintings in the interior part of the chambers. This was reserved for the deposition true and proper, as we have seen in older tombs such as the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere.¹⁰³⁵ It may also be added that from the fourth century onward, the Etruscans used the term *cela* (Lat. *cella*) for the interior chamber, which was the funerary one.¹⁰³⁶

The furnishings of this period show new forms, but the same functions already noted in the Orientalizing period.¹⁰³⁷ Specific investigation has been carried out on Attic vases found in Etruscan cemeteries,¹⁰³⁸ cities and settlements,¹⁰³⁹ and sanctuaries,¹⁰⁴⁰ producing an impressive amount of information. The choice of the subjects painted on Attic vases for Etruscan customers' tombs to form more or less homogeneous sets has not yet been the object of systematic research, probably because of the huge quantity of pottery. Single cases, such as the Brygos Tomb at Capua and Tomb 128 in Valle Trebba at Spina, show how careful and consistent such selection could be.¹⁰⁴¹ From the second quarter of the fifth century onward, the Attic red-figured vases show a growing number of scenes derived from the imagery of Dionysios, the Greek god of wine. The ceramics from Bologna and Spina show the high popularity of this Greek divinity in Etruria, probably because of the eschatological teachings of the Dionysiac cult.¹⁰⁴² The provenance from these cities of such important evidence regarding the Greek cults is no accident. From the fifth century onward, the role of the Etruscan cities of the Po Valley increases in the general development of Etruscan funerary culture, because Greek commerce was localized in the Adriatic ports, and that brought the possibility of contact with new ideas.¹⁰⁴³

5Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

The ships painted around the middle of the fifth century on the walls of the Tomb of the Ship at Tarquinia show that the journey to the underworld was thought to be by sea.¹⁰⁴⁴ This is confirmed by other painted tombs in Tarquinia, such as the tomb of the Blue Demons, which dates to the second half of the fifth century. Francesco Roncalli notes that the paintings in this tomb mark the shift to a new age, because for the first time a precise view of the underworld can be seen, which is influenced by Greek ideas about its geography. The Greek ferryman Charon (Etr. *Charun*), ferrying the dead across the river Acheron to the hereafter, was adopted in Etruria, where male and female demons of their own populated the underworld. In the Tomb of the Blue Demons, two horrible male demons are seated on a large rock on a side wall near the entrance door. They are in sharp contrast with the opposite side wall, which is dominated by the quiet scene of musicians playing for the symposium depicted on the chamber's front wall. The position of the demons near the entrance door marks the access to the underworld and shows how terrible the hereafter was thought to be. The rock is the symbol of the death in other fifth- and fourth-century Etruscan artifacts as well, as Roncalli originally pointed out.¹⁰⁴⁵ Other scholars interpret the paintings of the Tomb of the Blue Demons differently.¹⁰⁴⁶ Direct influence of Greek funerary ideology, particularly the Orphic doctrine further developed by Pythagoras of Samos (ca. 570–495) when the philosopher moved to southern Italy, is visible in the wall paintings of the Tomb of the Orcus II at Tarquinia, which dates to the end of the fourth century. The small human figures are the *animulae* of Orphic religion; the souls in the underworld are looking for safety or their metempsychosis (Fig. 19.6).¹⁰⁴⁷

During the fourth century, the use of stone coffins or sarcophagi to contain single burials and related furnishings increased in the chamber tombs.¹⁰⁴⁸ The sarcophagus of the founder of the family and of the tomb (Lat. *pater familias*) was emphasized through its central position in the chamber and often through an inscription. The friezes sculpted or—rarely—painted on the long sides of the chest reproduce scenes inspired by the daily life of the dead, adapted to the funerary destination by the insertion of demons or other details of the underworld. A constant reference to an underworld is seen in the presence of sea creatures, both real, like dolphins, or fantastic, like seahorses and sirens. They always function as an allusion to the body of water that needed to be crossed to reach the hereafter.¹⁰⁴⁹

6Late Hellenistic and Republican periods

From the second half of the fourth century, and with particular intensity

during the third and second centuries, Etruscan handicrafts were characterized by a degree of standardization, which is visible in the stone reliefs as well as in the pottery and bronze work.¹⁰⁵⁰ This tendency was particularly strong in southern Etruria after the years of the Second Punic War (or Hannibal's War, 218–202) and emerged later in northern Etruria (see [chapter 64](#) de Angelis). In both districts it is reflected in the repetitive composition of the funerary furnishings, which still include several types of clay vases, usually grouped in drinking and eating services. Regarding funerary ideology, two phenomena emerged in this period. The first is the presence of low-value coins in the grave goods, following a practice long documented in Greece and Italy. The coins in the interments have traditionally been interpreted as Charon's obol—the fare for transport to the underworld—but this simplistic statement needs to be verified. It should be compared with important information, such as the position of the coin in the burial, the rank, sex, and age of the deceased, and so on, as has recently been stressed by Renata Cantilena for ancient Campania.¹⁰⁵¹ The situation in Etruria is not clear, because specific research has yet to be done.



Fig. 19.6: Tarquinia, Tomb of the Orcus II: Agamemnon and Tiresias in the Netherworld; on the tree, *animulae* (after Steingraber 2006, 189)

The second new phenomenon is the widespread adoption of Greek myths focusing on death. The friezes on the cinerary urns adopted in several cities in

northern Etruria offer a wide selection of Greek myths relating to the death of legendary figures, as celebrated in the Greek tragedies devoted to the Homeric and Theban cycles (Fig. 19.7).¹⁰⁵² The probable aim is the self-identification of the Etruscan deceased with these heroes. The characteristic standardization of Etruscan handicrafts in this period forbids us to compare the repetitive friezes of the urns with the few exceptional cases that pursued this aim in earlier centuries. Around 490, the suicide of Croesus on the pyre has been reproduced on an Attic red-figured amphora from Vulci painted by Myson in Athens. This is the only depiction of the myth and was probably painted in Athens as a special commission intended for the ashes of a sophisticated Etruscan gentleman.¹⁰⁵³ The friezes on the urns include Etruscan demons, which may be inspired by Greek culture, such as the ferryman Charun, or Etruscan culture, such as the female Vanth (with torch and scrolls), the female Culsu, and the male Tuchulcha. Such demons, which are more or less horrible, were not necessarily an invention of this period, but were reproduced during this period with special frequency.¹⁰⁵⁴



Fig. 19.7: Cinerary urn from Chiusi with Orestes killing his mother Clytaemnestra

7Cults in Etruscan cemeteries

The remains of buildings consisting of foundation walls, altars, and architectural terra-cotta that were originally part of roof decorations have been found in several Etruscan cemeteries, and prove the existence of structures presumably reserved for burial cults, at least from the Archaic period onward. A well-known case is the building identified on top of Tumulo II del Sodo near Cortona.¹⁰⁵⁵ Although inscriptions are still lacking, the ancestor cult, which is documented in many ancient societies, has also been observed in Etruria.¹⁰⁵⁶ A particular case has been explored at Populonia in the cemetery on the Gulf of Baratti, where about 250 pieces of spearheads and spear-butts have been found near a small stone tumulus (diam. 5 m), in which interments have not been found. One can imagine that the spears marked the presence of the stone monument, which dates to the late seventh century and was worshiped in the following centuries.¹⁰⁵⁷

8Statues, stelae, and *semata*

According to Etruscan ritual, stone and probably wooden artifacts of various forms were placed in cemeteries as markers (Gk. *semata*) near the tombs, particularly on top of the mounds, if there were any, and in front of the entrance doors.¹⁰⁵⁸ The form of the artifacts relates strictly to their function. At least from the late Orientalizing period onward, statues of animals such as lions or fantastic creatures like sphinxes were adopted to mark the imaginary border of the afterworld on the ground.¹⁰⁵⁹ Stelae otherwise emphasized the position or the entrance of the tomb. In the Late Orientalizing period, stone pillars with figured decoration in bas-relief were introduced in the cemeteries of Vulci, where in the Archaic period some workshops producing lion and sphinx statues have been identified.¹⁰⁶⁰ The great local variability of tomb markers in the various cities of Etruria must be stressed. Stelae were introduced at Bologna already in the seventh century,¹⁰⁶¹ and they flourished in several forms, particularly from the late sixth to the early fourth century.¹⁰⁶² Stelae are particularly widespread in northern Etruria. Single items dating to the late seventh century have been found at Vetulonia¹⁰⁶³ and Monte Gualandro near Perugia,¹⁰⁶⁴ and dating to the sixth century at San Casciano.¹⁰⁶⁵ In the sixth century, local workshops flourished because each city had its own form, as was usually the case in Etruria: several items are known at Faesulae,¹⁰⁶⁶ Volterra,¹⁰⁶⁷ Populonia,¹⁰⁶⁸ and Rosellae.¹⁰⁶⁹

In southern Etruria, several forms of stone *cippi* were exclusive to female and male burials, following local variants. Regarding female burials, *cippi* reproducing houses and recalling burial ideology were especially widespread. Although one example in the form of a hut roof from the cemetery of Poggio Selciatello di Sopra at Tarquinia dates to the Iron Age, such *cippi* are particularly widespread at Caere and its surroundings in the late seventh to the sixth century and again from the fourth century onward.¹⁰⁷⁰ Three warrior-head *cippi* have been found in male graves of the second half of the sixth century at Orvieto, which have been interpreted not only as funerary markers, but also as signs of resurrection.¹⁰⁷¹ Marble *cippi* in the form of a club, although of earlier origin, were popular during the fifth century in northern Etruria, especially in the Pisa and Volterra districts, where other forms developed.¹⁰⁷² From the fourth century onward, *cippi* of cylindrical form were used at Caere to mark male depositions. The exemplars found at Aleria in Corsica and at Carthage in North Africa can be connected with people from Caere and are considered signs of geographic mobility.¹⁰⁷³

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Robert Rollinger

20Haruspicy from the Ancient Near East to Etruria

Abstract: The paper deals with the cultural technique of divination, its development in the Ancient Near East and the possible influence of this craft on the Etruscan diviners and augurs. It presents the major characteristics of the different divination techniques starting with their documentation at the beginning of the second millennium BCE and reaching as far as the last centuries of the first millennium BCE. It shows that divination was a highly professionalized and specialized discipline with a scientific spirit where not only the communication with the gods but also writing and the interpretation of divine signs were looming large. In the course of centuries a vast array of companions and manuals, commentaries and excerpts has been created. The diviners were distinct by their education and were regarded to dispose of secret knowledge. Haruspicy (extispicy) played a major role in this context. The paper discusses the hermeneutics and techniques of the discipline and puts the craft into an intercultural context.

Keywords: Haruspicy, extispicy, divination, intercultural exchange, secret knowledge

Introduction

Although intercultural contacts between the Ancient Near East and the cultures further to the west have become a common and fairly popular topic in the last decades, the issue of divination does not seem to play a prominent role in this context. About half a century ago, the situation was quite different. Whereas in general scepticism was prevailing concerning cultural exchange between the Levantine and the more Western Mediterranean cultures, it was exactly divination where doubts about these contacts were far less dominant. This may be due to the fact that, in this case, the main focus was not on “oriental” and Aegean contacts but on Levantine – Etruscan ones. From the beginning haruspicy¹⁰⁷⁴ loomed large in these discussions. In two independent seminal studies Jean Nougayrol and Giuseppe Furlani respectively, were collecting and discussing the evidence concerning the relationship between Etruscan and Mesopotamian forms of divination in general and haruspicy in special.¹⁰⁷⁵ The bronze liver of Piacenza and the clay liver from Falerii Veteres have been main points of reference in this discussion. Since these two Etruscan liver models are the only exemplars so far testified outside the Near East where such models are attested broadly from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., this was a strong argument in favour of Assyro-Babylonian extispicy influencing Etruscan

hepatoscopy. Furthermore, applications and marks on the clay liver of Falerii Veteres which bears no inscriptions have been interpreted as corresponding to similar elements on Near Eastern liver models. Moreover, the division of the bronze liver of Piacenza into different sections has been regarded as coinciding with Babylonian conceptions.¹⁰⁷⁶ Yet, the conviction of a direct Near-Eastern influence has become weaker in more recent years.¹⁰⁷⁷ And indeed, there are clear differences between the Etruscan and Babylonian liver models. The inscriptions on the bronze liver indicate Etruscan and Italic deities and elements. What is more, queries and prayers connected with Etruscan extispicy were not directed to one specific deity. Thus, the prominent role played by the Mesopotamian sun god Šamaš and the storm god Adad has no counterpart in the Etruscan discipline where the reading of the entrails could be performed in the service of any deity. But a closer look on modern studies in intercultural contacts exhibits, that such differences by no way disprove possible contacts between East and West. Cultural borrowings are always embedded into new contexts and adapted to new structures.¹⁰⁷⁸ This already becomes evident when we look at the Ancient Near East as such, which was far from being a homogenous cultural zone.¹⁰⁷⁹ Divination techniques spread from Mesopotamia proper to neighbouring regions such as Anatolia, Syria-Palestine and Iran where they were reshaped, modified and “reinvented”. A good example for this development is the Hittite omens of the second millennium BCE. Although omen compendia have been imported from Babylonia and translated into Hittite, the general conception concerning the function of these omina was a different one. Whereas for the Hittites omina were an expression of divine dismay over the past, for the Babylonians they were far more a media to deal with the imponderabilities of the future.¹⁰⁸⁰ Taking into consideration these general criteria of intercultural borrowings and contacts there are three major arguments in favour of an ancient Near Eastern influence on Etruscan divination.

- a) The chronological and historical framework: The development of Etruscan culture coincides with the evolution of a Mediterranean network where ideas, commodities and cultural techniques were exchanged in all directions.¹⁰⁸¹
- b) The cultural context: Etruscan religion in general clearly shows traces of intercultural contacts with the world of the Ancient Near East.¹⁰⁸² Contacts, in which form ever, did exist as a bronze vessel fragment with a cuneiform inscription in an Etruscan tomb demonstrates.¹⁰⁸³
- c) Divination as a standardized and distinguished cultural technique: It is not only extispicy but divination in general where substantial similarities in conception and performance, structure and organization can be observed.

1 Ancient Near Eastern Liver Models

Our major concern here is these similarities.¹⁰⁸⁴ The liver models are a convenient starting point for the discussion of the topic. It has already been stressed that beyond the Ancient Near East models of sheep liver have only been unearthed in Etruria. All these models, including the Etruscan ones, are similar in shape and share characteristic features. This is not only true because of the innate anatomical appearance of a sheep's liver. These features affect those parts of the liver which are seminal for the hepatoscopy. What is more, all these models represent sheep livers which were the basic working objects for the diviners.¹⁰⁸⁵ It is true that the details on the liver models themselves exhibit distinctive differences but this touches upon the different functions these models had to meet. These functions were highly diversified as the Ancient Near Eastern exemplars show.

The oldest Ancient Near Eastern specimens hark back to the 19th cent. BCE, the youngest ones to the 8th century. Although the two Etruscan exemplars are even later, i.e. third cent. BCE, this is not a real gap. Extispicy is very well attested in the Ancient Near East until the very end of cuneiform culture, i.e. until Seleucid-Parthian times (third cent. BCE to first cent. CE). And the Etruscans did not invent divination from the scratch in the third cent. BCE.

The Ancient Near Eastern models do not only originate from Mesopotamia proper. To the contrary it can be observed that divination techniques spread from this core area to the adjacent regions of Anatolia, Syria-Palestine and Iran. The models preserved are fairly distinctive concerning details and marks.¹⁰⁸⁶ Some bear inscriptions, others do not. The reason for this is based on their different assignment and function. Some have been used as teaching aid to instruct apprentice diviners. These specimens do not represent the results of one single extispicy but collect all the information relevant to introduce young diviners into their future discipline. This is also true for those exemplars which were used as compendia collecting the essentials of a diviner's knowledge. Other pieces do represent the outcome of one single extispicy-performance which was regarded as being of major importance. It is important that some regions, like e.g. Syria-Palestine, exhibit distinctive developments, as the liver models from Hāṣōr demonstrate.¹⁰⁸⁷ These differences do not disprove the Mesopotamian origin of these models but show local adaptations and a combination of regional specifics with foreign impulses.

2Ancient Near Eastern divination disciplines

Focussing on Ancient Near Eastern divination in general, it becomes immediately clear that all disciplines, including the Etruscan practice, share characteristic features. Extispicy is one of a plenty of divination techniques in

the Ancient Near East. These techniques are very well attested not only by archaeological sources like the liver models just introduced but by hundreds and thousands of cuneiform texts. Although the origins of many of these techniques may go back to prehistoric times the bulk of our documentation starts with the beginning of the second millennium BCE. During this time, i.e. in the 19th and 18th cent. BCE a stream of tradition becomes visible which shows an astonishing homogeneity over the centuries and which is documented until the very end of cuneiform culture in Seleucid and Parthian times. The divination techniques can be divided into two major groups.

The first group represents those omnia which were sent unprovoked by the gods. The physical surroundings and common occurrences of daily life like the behaviour of animals, the conditions of weather and climate, the physiognomy and conduct of human beings, dreams, as well as abnormalities in physical developments were of major importance in this context. Prophecy loomed large¹⁰⁸⁸ and the vast field of astronomy and astrology was highly relevant although major developments in this discipline did not start before the first millennium BCE.¹⁰⁸⁹

The second group unites those omnia which could, at least theoretically, be provoked by experts at any time and place. Important techniques in this field were aleuromancy, where flour was poured out in small heaps and the diviner interpreted shape and orientation as well as lecanomancy, where oil and water were combined and the diviner interpreted the evolving patterns. Yet the most important technique in this context, at least as our documentation is concerned, was extispicy.

Some techniques could combine characteristic features of both groups. This is true, for instance, for the observations of the flight of birds which could be inductive and non-inductive as well.¹⁰⁹⁰

3World View and Writing

All these forms of divination were based upon a specific world view. From the beginning of creation, there was a well established and abiding world order with permanent structures and rules. The gods communicated with human beings by intermediaries, i.e. prophets, or by signs. These signs could not be deciphered by anybody but experts whose knowledge and skills were based upon an intensive and time consuming training. The gods could send these signs at any time they wanted or as a reply upon ritualized queries. The signs were regarded to be a form of script thus showing the fundamental connection between writing and divination.¹⁰⁹¹ Thus, the liver as well as the starry sky was conceived as the “tablet of gods” where the “heavenly writing” could be observed and decoded. A text of the first millennium BCE puts this crucial conception into perspective: “You (the sun god Šamaš) write upon the flesh

inside the sheep (i.e. the entrails), you establish (there) an oracular decision”.¹⁰⁹²

The diviner could read these signs, interpret them and derive meaning. The world was full of signs and these signs, or better the divine messages transported by them, were connected with real phenomena and events of any kind in the near future. Thus, the imponderabilities of human life could be mastered by observing the natural environment meticulously and by decoding the divine messages. Yet, the ancient Mesopotamians did not indulge in any kind of fatalism. For the gods did only communicate what will happen in the near future if no remedy or countermeasure were introduced which could change the predicted effects. To put it into modern terms, the interpretation of a single omen could reveal that a person was infected by looming mischief but the onset of the disease could be averted by the application of certain remedies. These remedies were conceptualized as prophylactic rituals and were called *namburbi*. They were staged like a divine judicial court where the subject of the sinister omen could obtain a change to one’s impending fate.¹⁰⁹³ In this procedure the client was advised and guided by an expert whom he (she) had to consult and for whose service he (she) had to pay.

Focussing on the general characteristics of divination in the Ancient Near East it has already become clear that, from the start of our documentation, the whole discipline was developed in a context with scientific structures. The major agents were experts who had to pass painstaking training programmes and who were highly specialized in their activities and fields. Prophecy seems to have been the only field where male and female experts are attested alike, all the other disciplines were dominated by men. Professionalization of the disciplines is also highlighted by a variety of designations concerning the expertise of the diviners. Two important ones are qualified as *āšipu* (“exorcist”) and *bārû* (“diviner”). Whereas the first one seems to have been primarily engaged in interpreting all those signs which were sent by the gods spontaneously, the second one was mainly involved in performing rituals and queries in order to consciously provoke divine omens on the spot. In any case, these specialists seem to have been organized in guild-like structures. Their expertise and knowledge was regarded to be a secrecy revealed by the gods and passed within the exclusive group of these scholars only.¹⁰⁹⁴ At least from the beginning of the second millennium onwards, this knowledge was preserved in written form.

4Series, compendia and commentaries

In their most typical formulation individual omens adopted the quintessential form of Mesopotamian logic.¹⁰⁹⁵ This logic was encapsulated in a casuistic sentence comprising of two different parts. In the first part which can be

characterized as protasis a certain observation was presented. The second part which can be labelled as apodosis rendered the interpretation in form of a forecast. Although in its beginnings divination seems to have been based predominantly on real observations the factor of writing became more and more a creative ingredient of this “science”. There was extensive use of hermeneutic and organizational principles for the purposes of the growing collections of omina which became manuals and handbooks over the century. This process of canonization can be observed since the second half of the second millennium. Most of the series and handbook created in this context have been preserved in the famous library of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE) which was hosted in Nineveh and which can be regarded as one of the world’s first “globalized” collections of knowledge and books preceding the library of Alexandria for more than three centuries.¹⁰⁹⁶

The series and compendia developed in these contexts are enormous. The most important collection of astronomical omina *Enūma Anu Enlil* comprised about 70 tablets (experts: *āšipu* and *tupšarru*).¹⁰⁹⁷ A diagnostic and prognostic handbook of

40 tablets and about 3000 entries was dubbed *Sakikkû*. Its primary concern were all kinds of human disease which were interpreted as disruptions of the relationship between man and god (expert: *āšipu*).¹⁰⁹⁸ Physiognomic and morphoscopic omina were gathered in different series with more than 2000 entries (expert: *āšipu*).¹⁰⁹⁹ Dreams were collected in a Dream book of 11 tablets (experts: *šā’ilu* and *bārû*).¹¹⁰⁰ One of the largest collections was called *Šumma ālu*. The series consisted of 107 tablets some of which contained more than 200 lines. It was a collection of private omina taken from miscellaneous occurrences in man’s everyday life dealing with all kind of conspicuous incidents of the physical surroundings. The behaviour of animals played a major role in this context. 15 Tablets (64–79) were devoted to the interpretation of the flight of birds in the sky. The total number of omina originally included in this series was probably around 10.000 (expert: *āšipu*).¹¹⁰¹ The major concern of the 24 tablets of the series *Šumma izbu* were all kinds of monstrosities, human and animal ones alike (expert: *bārû*).¹¹⁰² The seminal importance of extispicy is documented by the series *iškar bārûti* with more than 100 tablets and some thousands of omina (expert: *bārû*).¹¹⁰³ Experts and catalogues were produced to facilitate access; commentaries were a major tool for the interpretation of the omina.¹¹⁰⁴ One of these, *Mukallimtu*, commented upon terminology, another one, *Multābiltu*, comprising of 17 tablets, gave insights into the hermeneutics of the discipline.¹¹⁰⁵

The important series *iqqur īpuš* was organized as a menological and hemerological handbook, the basic conception of which was the belief of the existence of favourable and unfavourable days/months for all sorts of activities which had meticulously to be adhered to. Such activities encompassed the erection/restoration of any building (house or temple), every cultic operation, the construction of tombs, work on the fields, in the garden

5Extispicy and hepatoscopy

As already mentioned extispicy was performed by the *bārû*-expert. Apart from the compendia, series and canonical texts his activities are mainly attested by extispicy reports,¹¹⁰⁷ rituals,¹¹⁰⁸ queries¹¹⁰⁹ and letters.¹¹¹⁰ The bulk of evidence originates from Old-Babylonian¹¹¹¹ and Neo-Assyrian times. According to these texts it is clear that many diviners were in the service of king and court and that their discipline intrinsically touched state affairs. This is also true for other forms of divination. The diviners had to be paid for their service and the sheep had to be purchased. Although this was expensive, diviners could also be hired by private clients as Old-Babylonian extispicy reports exhibit. There we also learn that diviners routinely loaned silver and barely for the purchase of ritual sheep. It seems that even female diviners did exist although this might have been fairly exceptional.¹¹¹² The private Old-Babylonian reports preserve the names of clients, the period for which the query was effective, the date of performance and the issue for which the extispicy was performed. Sometimes the result is also adduced. Thus, e.g. BM 26594 reads: “One lamb of the ritual of the diviner, for the (advisability of a) business enterprise, from Month 5, Day 10, to Month 6, Day 2, flesh for the ritual”. What follows is the report, and the document concludes: “For Galdani, as far as the (oracular) message, it was favourable. Month 5, Day 10, Year Ammišaduqa 11”.¹¹¹³

Apart from Old-Babylonian documents, especially from the city of Mari,¹¹¹⁴ diviners serving court and king are very well attested in Neo-Assyrian times. The queries and reports originate chiefly from the reigns of Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) and Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE). Like in Old-Babylonian times the god regarded to be responsible for this discipline is the sun god Šamaš. The queries are placed before him, and both, queries and reports draw their omina from the relevant extispicy manuals and compendia of this time. The subject matters are highly political ones. They deal with the intentions and activities of named and unnamed enemies, the loyalty of officials, the prospective appointees to different offices and the illness of the royal family. Whereas these queries and reports are the working copies of the diviners at the Assyrian court writing in coarse hands, there is another divinatory genre attested, also consisting of queries, called *tamītu*. These texts which share an unquestionable similarity in the formulary with the Sargonid queries do not address Šamaš alone but the duo Šamaš and Adad. They are archival copies from professional scribes. Why they introduced the storm god Adad and wrote as if the inquiries were always to Šamaš and Adad jointly is not clear.¹¹¹⁵

Like the Old-Babylonian reports the Neo-Assyrian queries designate a specific period of time for the efficacy of the extispicy.¹¹¹⁶ In the extant queries this is from 7 to 100 days (and nights). The query itself abounds in stereotyped key phrases. In its most elaborate formulation it is structured as follows: “RN¹¹¹⁷ who is now intent on sending ... (and whom) your great divinity knows – in accordance with the command of your great divinity, Šamaš, great lord, and your favourable decisions, should RN strive and plan? ... Is it pleasing to your great divinity? If he, having planned, sends ...”.¹¹¹⁸ The query usually ends with the following closing formula: “Does your great divinity know it? Is it decreed and confirmed in a favourable case, by the command of your great divinity, Šamaš, great lord? Will he who can see, see it? Will he who can hear, hear it?”.¹¹¹⁹

The reports are autopsies performed on dead sacrificial sheep where the physical condition of the exta of these animals is recorded. The nomenclature is highly technical but recent research could clarify most of the terms.¹¹²⁰ The entire exta of the sheep came under scrutiny but the starting and most important point of the inspection was the liver. The reports note “fixed” anatomical parts like liver, lungs, heart intestines and parts thereof like the gall bladder. On the liver itself four markings which usually appear as creases or fissures gained major importance. As Ivan Starr puts it: “It was the absence of any of these or any other part of liver, their dislocation from their normal position, or any other abnormality observed on them by the haruspex which made them ominous, and predictions were derived from their abnormalities”.¹¹²¹ Furthermore, there were fortuitous markings (holes, abrasions, blisters, scars, fissures) whose presence and condition was meticulously observed and regarded to be ominous. It is interesting to note that the liver itself as a whole was never an object of examination but its parts were. The exta enumerated in the reports appear in a kind of canonical order which seems to have remained unchanged from the second millennium onwards. This also applies for the different parts of the liver itself. The inspection proceeded in a counter-clockwise direction. Whether there exists a pictorial representation of such an inspection¹¹²² is debated.¹¹²³

6Ritual performance

The whole inspection was embedded into a ritual framework. At the beginning the diviner underwent a rite of purification. Therefore he used cedar and tamarisk as cleansing agents. The sacrificial animal was introduced and consecrated. This animal, a lamb or a ram, had to be immaculate and impeccable. The ritual had to take place on a favourable day only. The days 7, 14, 19, 21, 28 as well as the days around the disappearance of the moon, i.e. the 29th, the 30th and the first were avoided. The procedure started with the

question posed to the divine council chaired by Šamaš. This question to which a reply in the form of “yes” or “no” was expected, was whispered into the ear of the lamb which was given as an offering either to Šamaš (and Adad) or to the personal god of the client for whom the ritual was performed. It was accompanied by *ikribū*-prayers which could contain a petition to the divine council. An important element was the so-called *ezib*-formulae. They express excuses for any unintentional error which might creep into the ritual. The sacrificial animal was slaughtered according to a settled procedure. The throat was cut, the animal decapitated and dismembered. Parts of the flesh were presented to Šamaš as meal to be consumed. Only after the sacrifice as such had taken place, the diviner started his inspection. First he inspected the intestines still in the sacrificial animal’s body noting their design and the number of the windings. After that they were taken out together with the other entrails. Although heart and lungs were also inspected the liver was the most important object of investigation. It was subjected to a detailed examination of the *facies visceralis* where no single piece is equal to each other. The diviner proceeding counter-clockwise meticulously examined well defined squares on the liver. All these squares were organized in a right and left side. Whereas the right side was regarded to be “my side” (*pars familiaris*) the left side was the “side of the enemy”. This definition was the key element for any interpretation. Well-shaping of the right side was favourable, defection was unfavourable. On the left side it was to the contrary. Well-shaping was unfavourable for the client, defection favourable. The final result was established by counting the negative and positive signs and putting them into relationship. Did the positive signs prevail, the god answered “yes”. Did the negative ones predominate, the god answered “no”. If the answer was unclear the ritual could be repeated.¹¹²⁴

7King and Diviner

A very special client was the king. To work in his service was not only prestigious but the diviner’s profession immediately conveyed a political dimension. As we especially know from the rich documentation of Neo-Assyrian times, the Assyrian king availed himself of many different divination techniques which were also used for check and balances. Besides astrology, prophecy and oneiromancy, extispicy held a seminal position in this context. By this, the diviner’s knowledge and expertise can be defined as a kind of “Herrschaftswissen”, i.e. a technique essential for any political system and ruler to keep power in his hands and to act successfully in political affairs.¹¹²⁵ This implied some kind of control of the diviners by the king. Thus, they were put under oath. This oath was conceptualized like a treaty: “The scribes, haruspices (*bārū*), the exorcists (*āšipū*), the physicians and the augurs staying

in the palace and living in the city will enter the treaty on the 16th of Nisan. Now, let them conclude the treaty tomorrow”, as Issar-šumu-ereš informs Esarhaddon in a Neo-Assyrian letter.¹¹²⁶ Also in Old-Babylonian Mari, diviners were sworn in by the court, for they were taken to be secret carriers. They were obliged to report all meaningful observations to the king only and to no one else. The court’s demand for these specialists and their service seems to have been enormous. From Old-Babylonian Mari we know that the royal diviners required between 429 and 707 animals every month which is an average of 510 a month and 6020 each year.

Every diviner had to comply with certain qualifications, social and physical ones. A telling source for this is an aetiological legend from Neo-Assyrian times where we learn how Šamaš and Adad revealed the *bārû*-lore to an antediluvian king of Sippar, Enmeduranki by name.¹¹²⁷ According to the text only diviners from families of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon were regarded to be qualified. They had to be born in the right family. Since these experts had professional secrets, a father had to pass his knowledge to his son. As a consequence the number of the experts was restricted. From a modern point of view this also had the effect to ensure “a sufficiency of work for all members of the craft”.¹¹²⁸ But there were not only social requirements. A healthy, defect-free body was of essential importance as well.

8Conclusions

Reviewing the evidence of Ancient Near Eastern divination in general and for extispicy in special two important aspects of this craft become evident. The first aspect is the continuity of the phenomenon documented in our sources for almost two thousand years. This continuity shaped a highly standardized and systematized discipline which was conceptualized by a scientific spirit with manuals and handbooks on the one side and with well established hermeneutics and rules to interpret the ominous signs on the other side. The premise for all this was the conception of a world full of signs sent by the gods to communicate with man. As far as extispicy is concerned the liver was regarded to be the “tablet” where the divine messages became manifest. These messages had to be decoded and this was done by specialists with professional knowledge carefully chosen and educated, who established a kind of guild. The members of these guilds were distinguished by their knowledge and by the secrets of their profession which were kept inside the peer-group.

The second aspect is important as well. Even within the area of the Ancient Near East local diversifications and adaptations can be observed which show that extispicy, as well as other mantic disciplines, like e.g. the augurs’ craft, were not only wandering but changing as well, integrating local and regional developments and requirements. Furthermore, our view on divination in the

Ancient Near East is, due to the sources available, primarily a view on the practice and performance of the craft in the context of the social élites. Yet, it is evident that divination techniques were used and consumed by all strata of society. Apart from specialists also laymen were very much active in these fields.¹¹²⁹ Thus, the spreading and diversification of mantic techniques from Babylonia proper to east and west was a highly dynamic process taking place on a plenty of different levels, social and regional ones. Itinerant specialists and experts may have played a crucial role in this process,¹¹³⁰ when, especially in the first half of the first millennium, the geographical horizon of the Neo-Assyrian empire started to encompass the Mediterranean as a whole.¹¹³¹ Within this intercultural framework, mantic techniques were transferred to the far west in complex processes on a multitude of ways.¹¹³² The visible traces of the mantic series *Šumma izbu* in Cicero's *De Divinatione* show that Italy was within the reach of this influence.¹¹³³ The Etruscan liver models discussed at the beginning of this paper are a telling part of this process. Although dated not earlier than to the third c. BCE, they witness vibrant and intricate intercultural exchange which evolved many centuries before.

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Marie-Laurence Haack

21Prophecy and divination

Abstract: Emphasis will be given to Etruscan religious “science,” which had the reputation of being excellent. A divination is discernible whose main principles are put down in writing in three kinds of books—haruspical books (*libri haruspicini*), books on lightning (*libri fulgurales*) and ritual books (*libri rituales*), and prophecy art resting on the poets’ inspiration. We will try to know who the gods who pass on their will to men were. Lastly we will focus on men who interpret this will, on their gender, their behavior and their social status in an independent Etruria and after the Roman conquest.

Keywords: Haruspex, books, prophets, lightning, fate

Introduction

What we know of Etruscan prophecy and divination has been transmitted primarily by testimony from the Roman period, as the Roman world was passionate about Etruscan divination, which seemed far superior to traditional Roman divination. The Roman historian Livy (5.1.6) depicted the Etruscans as “the most religious of men.” Etruscan prophecy and divination essentially designates prophetic and divinatory practices that were considered Etruscan by the Romans. Romans distinguished Etruscan methods not only from their own practices, but even more so from those of the Greeks. While the Greeks relied on inspiration, the Etruscans developed a “science” of divination and prophecy (*haruspicina*) through a series of techniques that enabled them to distinguish and interpret the signs sent by the gods and to appease their anger. However, although recognized as superior in the art of divination, called *artificiosa*, based on a certain technique, the Etruscans also had their own prophecy.

1The religious “science”

A)Divinatory knowledge

– knowledge, not a gift

The supposed superiority of the Etruscans in prophecy and divination stems

from the idea that from generation to generation, the Etruscans passed down a body of knowledge, called *disciplina* in Latin. Unlike the Greeks, who looked to divine inspiration to predict the future or to interpret the present, the Etruscans used an inductive method, transmitted orally in families or from teacher to student, as well as through books and written artifacts like bronze livers.¹¹³⁴ Prophetic and divinatory knowledge of the Etruscans is based on principles tested, explained and enriched by the experience of soothsayers (Cic. *Div.* 2.50), who interpreted them according to the ideas of their time.¹¹³⁵ Every strange phenomenon was therefore noted, analyzed and interpreted according to a complex casuistry, with special cases and exceptions.

– book knowledge

The use of books of divination was so special in the eyes of the Romans that they considered books by Roman scholars of Etruscan origin (for example, Tarquinius Priscus and Aulus Caecina), which were translated into Latin in the first century BCE, to be purely Etruscan. For the Romans, they were *Etruscorum libri*, *Etrusca scripta*, *chartae Etruscae*, *Tuscorum litterae*, *Tusci libelli*. The consultation of these books goes back to the beginning of the legendary Etruscan divination. The first books specifically devoted to prophecy and divination are said to have been dictated by Tages.¹¹³⁶ This child in the form of an old man is said to have been plowed out of a furrow by a farmer, and to have revealed the principles of Etruscan divination to the leaders of the twelve Etruscan cities (Cic. *Div.* 2.50; Lydus *ost.* 1.3). It is possible that possessing or writing books on haruspicy was the prerogative of noble Etruscan families. One of the sarcophagi from the tomb of the Pulena family of Tarquinia, dated to about 270 BCE, bears on its cover an image of the deceased, holding an open scroll, on which we find the genealogy of Laris Pulena, the deceased author of a book on haruspicy.¹¹³⁷

– The books

According to Cicero (*Div.* 1.72), these principles were divided into three types of books, haruspicy books (*libri haruspicini*), books on lightning (*libri fulgurales*) and ritual books (*libri rituales*). The first type was dedicated to haruspicy, the study of the liver of sacrificial victims. The Etruscans considered the liver, a large and bloody organ, as the center of life and observed it during the bloody sacrifice of an animal offered to the gods. In Roman times, however, soothsayers were also interested in other internal organs, the *exta* such as the heart, spleen, kidneys and lungs. There was also knowledge of this in Mesopotamia and Greece (see [chapter 20](#) Rollinger), but Etruscan knowledge was so developed and so specific that the Roman lexicographers derived the Latin word for soothsayer, *haruspex*, from *hariuga*, a word which meant “victim;” in Etruscan, several words probably designated haruspices according to their specialty: *netsvis*, *trutnvt* and perhaps *frontac* in a bilingual inscription of Pesaro (*ET Um* 1.7).

The soothsayers were interested in the colors, shapes, sizes and locations of these *exta*. Any abnormality was the subject of special attention, especially when the liver was affected. On this liver, it was necessary to distinguish *pars familiaris*, whose meaning affected the observer or the sponsor of the extispicy and *pars hostilis*, which concerned the fate of their enemies. The soothsayers looked at the familiar crack and the hostile crack that divide the liver into two distinct lobes, and the protruding ends of the liver, especially the “head” (*caput iecoris*) of the liver, a bulge located at the end of the right lobe. The final opinion of the prophet took into account all of his observations.

The second type of book (*libri fulgurales*) applied to the study of lightning and thunder, and may have been revealed by a nymph named Vegoia (*Serv. Dan.* 6.72). The Etruscans believed that the gods sent the lightning bolts (*manubiae*) and gave them different appearances depending on their state of mind with respect to men. It was, therefore, necessary to pay attention to the color, noises and lightning effects to determine their significance for men. Tinia’s casks, the Etruscan Zeus or Jupiter, would have been blood red, but those of eight other gods were light or dark. The lightning was interpreted differently depending on whether it was diurnal or nocturnal. Lightning that struck a public place involved the whole community and was therefore called “royal lightning.” The soothsayers also wanted to know if lightning pierced, burst or burned an object. Above all they tried to determine from what part of the sky the lightning came and what route it had traveled. The sky was divided by the four cardinal points, each of which was further subdivided into four. The sixteen “boxes” of the sky were supposedly the houses of the gods. Identifying where the lightning came from was therefore equal to identifying the god who sent it. When lightning came from regions of the sky from north to east represented the greatest happiness (*Plin. HN* 2.143), while the regions of the sky from west to north represented the greatest misfortune (*Plin. HN* 2.143).

The lightning bolts were further ranked according to their message: the “fateful” bolts were related to destiny and therefore carried a lesson about the future; the “raw” bolts had no meaning; the “vain” bolts that had not been well observed could not provide information and were therefore left out. Fateful bolts were further divided into “advisors,” which provided warning about present or future events and “authorities,” which indicated whether a past action was good or bad (*Sen. Q Nat.* 2.39.1). Other distinctions introduced differences between “ostentatious” bolts that expressed a threat, “admonitory” bolts that warned of danger, and “postulatory” bolts through which the gods demanded a sacrifice or a ceremony (*Sen. Q Nat.* 2.49). The divine message also had a variable duration.

A “perpetual” bolt was significant for the duration of a man’s life; a “finite” bolt for a day and a “future” bolt’s effect could take place ten years later for an individual and thirty years later for a city (*Sen. Q nat.* 2.47). Men could

then act upon the bolts, especially when they carried fatal messages. Thus they could bury or expiate them. The Roman poet Lucan in his *Pharsalia* (1.606–608) shows a soothsayer named Arruns expiating bolts by purifying the place struck by lightning. While praying, the seer buries the remains of lightning in a pit surrounded by an enclosure (*bidental*) and he devotes it by sacrificing a sheep to the god who sent the lightning.

Finally, the Etruscans had a reputation for being capable of provoking lightning (Plin. *HN* 2.140), which may be expressed in Latin by the designation of certain soothsayers as *fulguratores* (*ET* Um 1.7). This “weapon” was used from the earliest times to the end of antiquity. The Etruscan king Porsenna used it to liberate the city of Volsinii from the monster Olta (Plin. *HN* 2.140), in 408 C.E. the Etruscans also boasted of having repelled the attack of the troops of Alaric against the city of Narni in Umbria (Zos. 6.41.1–3).

The third type of book brought together a wider variety of subjects than indicated by their titles (books of rites, *libri rituales*), since there were books on wonders (*ostentaria*), books of fate (*libri fatales*) and books of Acheron (*libri Acheruntici*). Books on wonders treated all the phenomena by which the gods could send signs to men (*ostenta*); the interpretation of these phenomena was considered an Etruscan specialty, as we can see in the words of Cicero (*Leg.* 2.21), ‘prodigies and portents shall be referred to the Etruscan soothsayers’¹¹³⁸. They ranked among the *ostenta* any unexpected event or strange phenomenon occurring in plants, animals and the sky.¹¹³⁹ Specific books were devoted to wondrous signs occurring to plants (*ostentaria arboraria*): there were distinctions between the species of auspicious or ominous trees (*arbores infelices*). The wood of the latter was used to burn the *monstra*, while the auspicious trees provided signs for future leaders on several occasions: a tree that had grown suddenly, at the time of the birth of Vespasian, was interpreted as a favorable sign (Suet. *Vesp.* 5.2). Animals were also receptacles for the feelings of gods towards men. The presence, the transformation or the birth of an animal acquired the status of a sign. A swarm of bees in a public place was an ominous sign (Cic. *Har. Resp.* 25; Liv. 27.23.2–4; Plin. *HN* 11.55; Jul. Obs. 71). A lamb born with purple fleece was considered a very positive omen, or even a royal omen (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.7.2; Serv. *Ecl.* 4.4). Signs from the heavens and from the earth were also carriers of divine messages. The passage of a comet, the earthquakes studied by Tages in a treaty, and volcanic eruptions were evidently feared (Amm. Marc. 25.2.7; Serv. *Dan.* 4.166; Jul. Obs. 29). The Etruscans were masters of observing the flight of birds. Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquin the Elder, was perfectly able to interpret an episode of the arrival of Tarquin the Elder in Rome. The fact that an eagle removed Tarquin’s cap and put it back on his head meant, according to her interpretation, that Tarquin was to rule over Rome (Livy 1.34.9).

A scene from the tomb of François in Vulci, dating to about 330 BCE, in which Vel Saties observes a woodpecker that a child named Arnza is about to

throw, is perhaps a scene of divination.¹¹⁴⁰ In Roman times, divination through the flight of birds appears to have been reserved primarily for augurs. The flooding of rivers and lakes, like Lake Alban in 396, which foreshadowed the fall of Veii (Livy 5.15), also held significance for men. The births of abnormal children or animals were seen as the anger of the gods. Hermaphrodites were often banished, burned or drowned (Livy 27.37.6; Livy 31.12.6; Jul. Obs. 3; Jul. Obs. 22). Attention to divine signs could reach extreme cases in Rome: cattle that had allegedly begun to talk were fed at the expense of the state for the rest of their lives.

The books of fate offered reflections on the lifespans of individuals and communities. It was said that the lives of individuals were organized in a cycle of twelve “weeks of years,” each of seven years, and that people and cities had a destiny counted in centuries. The problem is that these centuries were called “natural:” they had no fixed term, but they were based on the record longevity of the oldest member of the community since the city or the people was founded (Censorinus, *DN*, 14 and 17). An Etruscan’s lifespan allegedly lasted ten centuries, but in some centuries it lasted 119 or 123 years; changes in centuries were marked by prodigies, such as comets or the sound of trumpets (Plut. *Sull.* 7; *Serv. Dan.* 8.526; *Serv. Ecl.* 9.46). Time elapsed neither in a linear fashion nor in regular rhythm; on the contrary, the Etruscans seem to have had a cyclical conception of time in which the present reproduced the past. An Etruscan needed to know the past to know the future. If we follow the principle that history repeats itself, every seer must have been a historian. The frescoes of the Tomb Francois in Vulci show the same episode of history repeating itself three times, in the forms of the Trojan War, the war of Vulcians against Rome in the sixth century, and the victory of Vel Saties in the fourth century.¹¹⁴¹

Latin translations of Etruscan books also pass almost do not mention the use of small discs, lots or strips of lead to interpret the will of the gods. These objects (*sortes*), which archaeologists found in several sites of Etruria (Punta della Vipera, Arezzo, Chiusi, Viterbo, and Tarquinia) and date to between the fifth and second centuries, were mostly perforated and marked with the names of gods (Śuri in Chiusi and Viterbo; Aritimi in Tarquinia). Funeral urns show young people emerging from a vase in the presence of a soothsayer. A bucchero box of the mid sixth century engraved with a dedication to Minerva discovered in the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii, was probably a reproduction of the lost wooden box from which these spells were drawn.¹¹⁴² It is unclear under what circumstances and how accurately the spells were drawn and interpreted. Livy indicates only that at Caere, in 218, the lots had shrunk (*attenuatas*).

B) Prophetic art

Although less developed than in the Greek world, prophecy had its place in Etruria.¹¹⁴³ Plutarch (Plut. *Rom.* 2.4) mentions an oracle of Tethys Tarchétios, king of Alba Longa, who consulted after seeing a phallus appear in the flames of his hearth. A mirror and Hellenistic urns show a prophet named Cacū playing the lyre to Artile, a young man who transcribed his words on a diptych. Cacū, according to Roman legend, was imprisoned by Tarchon. Moreover, on some urns, Cacū is attacked by the two brothers of the Vibenna family.¹¹⁴⁴ These struggles appear to reflect conflicting influences between cities and their large families, jealous of the sacred books they thought would guarantee their legitimacy. The Greek figure of Orpheus also found echoes in Etruria. A series of Etruscan images shows the oracular head of Orpheus, of a supernatural size, housed in a hole or in a well, which seems to be dictating to a scribe. On several Etruscan mirrors of the fourth and third centuries BCE, a group of deities appears around Orpheus and the young scribe, whose name, Aliunea, was registered once. The head of Orpheus is lying on the ground, singing. The oracular head and the scribe leaning over it are on a series of gems and amulets dated to the third century CE.¹¹⁴⁵

2The gods

The Etruscans' attention to divine signs can be explained by their divine conception of the universe, in which what happens in the cosmos depends on the will of the gods and not on chance or mechanical laws. Control of divination was inseparable from knowledge. In a world in which fate escapes them, men try to get in touch with the gods to satisfy and appease them and to understand their moods. A project or a human action needed to be approved by the gods to be successful. Before undertaking anything important, therefore, men wanted to ensure the benevolence of the gods upon them. The need to know the future was therefore primarily the need to know the state of mind of the gods towards men.

The sacrifice that led to the *extispicina* was thus “consultatorium” (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.5.1; *Serv. Dan.* 4.56), as it was to consult the gods through *exta* of cattle or sheep. The worshippers offered the gods the animal's life (*exta*) and the gods sent the men signs on these *exta*. The attention given to *exta* was based on the idea that the *exta*, the center of the animal's life, reflected, reproduced and summarized the entire universe. In this sense we can say that the liver is a microcosm of the macrocosm. The names of the gods inscribed on the bronze model of a liver found at Piacenza inform us about the Etruscan pantheon. Seneca sums up this Etruscan particularity: “This is the difference between us and the Etruscans, who have consummate skill in interpreting lightning: we think that because clouds collide lightning is emitted; they believe that clouds collide in order that lightning may be emitted. Since they attribute everything

to divine agency they are of the opinion that things do not reveal the future because they have occurred, but that they occur because they are meant to reveal the future”.¹¹⁴⁶

The Etruscans also appealed to certain gods to deify the souls of the deceased with a bloody sacrifice of another kind, of unknown sequence, what the Romans called *ritu humano* “in a human ritual” (Gell. 5.12.12). Rather than make a human sacrifice, it meant the bloody sacrifice of an animal in exchange for a dead man. The blood of the animal, which represented the person’s soul (*anima*), was offered in exchange for a place among the gods for the deceased, and the deceased then became a “god made of a soul,” according to a doctrine of the *dii animales* (Macro. *Sat.* 3.5.1).

3The Men

– gender

Those who worked to predict the future or to interpret it were primarily men, which does not mean that women had no skills in divination and prophecy. As we have said, Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquin the Elder, interpreted the removal and return of Tarquin’s cap by an eagle as a sign. In the Hellenistic period, women of Vulci may have held the priesthood (*hatrencu*) in a college. A woman depicted on a sarcophagus from the third century BCE (now at the British Museum) has the attributes of a bacchante or a priestess of Bacchus or Fufluns, the Etruscan Bacchus, but we do not know if these priestesses had the skills of divination and prophecy.¹¹⁴⁷ Finally, among the Etruscan prophets, Vegoia, whose books on lightning (*libri Vegoici*) were kept in the temple of Apollo in Rome, is seen as a nymph in the Latin texts and as the author of a prophecy given to Arruns Veltymnus on the limitation of land and the land registry.¹¹⁴⁸

– dress and instruments

On mirrors, statuettes and urns, the consultations of Etruscan diviners are represented in the same way.¹¹⁴⁹ The haruspices wear a special hat (*pilos*) and a long mantle. The hat is different depending on time and place. It is tall and cone-shaped on a fourth century bronze statuette (now in the Vatican Museums), and on a mirror from Tuscania dating to the beginning of the third century. It appears as a simple hat with a peak on the top on coins from Volsinii dating to the third century, and on bronze statuettes now in Göttingen dating to the late third and second centuries, on which the hat has a large strip in the base and seems to be placed on top of another hat. Finally, on the ash urn of Arth Remzna dating to the late third century, the hat is a thick roll over the forehead and ears. The mantle, too, is different from one picture to another. It is generally very thick and probably made of wool, with a rough

fringe all along its edges and fastened with a large fibula. It probably retains the features of an Archaic shepherd. On the mirrors, the haruspices have their left leg bent and their left foot resting on a rock or a field enhancement. The sacrificial knife is visible on some coins from Volsinii dating from the third century.

– Social origin

At the time of independent Etruria, haruspicy seems to have been taught in the family, from father to son, in aristocratic families. Haruspicy was seen as the prerogative of noble Etruscans by Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 11.15; see too Censorinus, *DN* 4.13; Comm. Bern. Luc. 1.636) and according to Cicero (*Fam.* 6.6.3), Aulus Caecina obtained his knowledge in the field of divination from his father, a noble Tuscan from Volterra. A few cases of haruspices of noble birth are known from archaeological sources (Laris Pulena in *ET* Ta 1.17 and Arnth Alitle Pumpus in *ET* Ar 4.4). From the late third century, however, most representations of Etruscan soothsayers are anonymous and texts show that at the time, haruspices of humble origins provided consultations to stewards in agricultural areas (Cato *Agr.* 5.4) and humble folk from the disreputable neighborhoods of Rome (Plaut. *Poen.* 463 ff., 746 ff; Plaut. *Curc.* 483 ff.).

In the Roman world diviners of diverse origins and status called themselves soothsayers.¹¹⁵⁰ Until the early first century, most of the soothsayers were Etruscan and offered consultations to Etruscan customers, but literary sources testify to the early use in the Roman senate and in the army. In the third century, Etruscan soothsayers were called for when the Roman soothsayers were unable to explain a natural phenomenon. One example was when lightning struck the statue of Horatius Cocles between 278 and 250 BCE, – C. according to Gell. 5.5.1; another example is the birth of a hermaphrodite in 207 BCE, according to Livy 27.37.6. Several cases of Etruscan soothsayers present in the Roman armies are also known before Etruria became completely Roman. A soothsayer followed two consuls in 340 to interpret the entrails of a victim before a decisive battle (Livy 9.9.1). Fabius Maximus was warned of danger by haruspices in 215 (Livy 23.36.10) and in 209 (Livy 27.16.15); Tiberius Gracchus used harus pices in 212 and the consul Marcellus was alerted of danger by soothsayers in 208. It seems that Roman institutions had feared that the gradual Romanization of the territory led to the decline of Etruscan divination for their descendants. At the end of the third century, perhaps a *senatusconsultus* decided that a certain number of Etruscan children would be selected to receive instruction in haruspicy (Cic. *Leg.* 2.21; *Div.* 1.92).

At the same time there were official soothsayers at the service of Roman, Italian and provincial institutions, and private soothsayers gave private consultations to wealthy aristocrats as well as to the very poor. The official soothsayers were strictly hierarchical: from the late first century the top

soothsayers were from “the order of 60” (*ex ordine LX*) and were of equestrian rank. Their headquarters were in Rome and their members were chosen from among the members of large families of Etruscan origin until the middle of the first century CE. The order, which had a box (*arca*), was led by a president (*magister publicus* in *CIL* VI 2161; *haruspex maximus* in *CIL* VI 1964 and 1965) who could have then become special adviser to the emperor (Sertinius Maximus Eutyches: *BMusInscr* III, 540; *ILS* 8833; C. Umbricius Melior: *AE*, 1930 52; Suet. *Galb.* 19.1; Plut. *Galb.* 24.4–5; Plin. *HN* 10.19). The order, however, was apparently intended to assist the Senate in case of prodigies (Phlegon, *Mir.* fig 25). In 47 CE, in order to counter the development of foreign superstitions, the Emperor Claudius reportedly proposed to the Senate a transformation of the order in college like the college of pontiffs or *flamines* (Tac. *Ann.* 11.15). However, the attempt appears to have been in vain since no college of soothsayers is later attested, while there was a renewed interest in haruspicy during the reign of the Severi and while the imperial haruspicy became a paid function (*ducenarius*). In the provinces, the soothsayers of governors had different statutes, as they advised the governors of senatorial or equestrian provinces. The soothsayers of senatorial provinces were of equestrian level, while haruspices of governors of provincial provinces were non-commissioned officers, possibly former haruspices of legions whose functions appeared under the Severi and who were promoted for their expertise. The presence of official haruspices was also required in the municipalities and provinces and colonies of Italy.

Soothsayers are mentioned in the law of Urso (*CIL*, II, 5439, § 62, l. 24–32), a Betic colony, in section 62 among the apparitors of the *duoviri* and those of the aediles, where the remuneration of the haruspices was low. On the inscriptions, the soothsayers of the municipalities and colonies merely mentioned their title “*haruspex publicus*” or called themselves *haruspices* of their city. In addition to this official divination a private haruspicy was developed with very different practices and statutes. Most private haruspices were frowned upon by the writers of Roman times. Cato the Elder (*Agr.* 5.4) forbade his steward to use “a soothsayer, an augur, a soothsayer (*hariolus*) or a Chaldean” for financial reasons and policy reasons, too, to prevent any ferment of revolt in the *familia*. In fact, private haruspicy was extremely popular (Cic. *Div.* 2.9; 2.51; 2.149; *Nat. D.* 1.71), but suffered from disrepute because its practices were regarded like those of astrologers, who were expelled on numerous occasions by the Roman authorities (for example, in 215 BCE: Liv. 25.1; in 139 BCE: Val. Max. 1.3.3; in 33 BCE: Dio Cass. 49.43; in 16 CE: Tac. *Ann.* 2.32). Consultations by private soothsayers were strictly regulated. Augustus (Dio Cass. 56.25.5) and Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 63.1) prohibited them from answering questions on the health of the prince, and the haruspex Larginus Proculus was sentenced to death by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 16; Dio Cass. 67.16.2) for predicting the day of the emperor’s death. However, when confined to private matters, soothsayers were accused of

quackery (Plin. *HN* 2.24; Juv. 6.396–397; 585–587; Plin., *Ep.* 2.20.3–5).

Official and private haruspicy declined in the fourth century CE with the introduction of anti-pagan laws.¹¹⁵¹ On February 1, 319 (*Cod. Theod.* 9.16.1), private haruspicy was prohibited; on May 15, 319 (*Cod. Theod.* 9.16.2), the ban was extended to all haruspices regardless of their status, then to customers (*Cod. Theod.*, 9.16.4). The haruspices Amantius and Campensis were sentenced to death under the laws of Constantine and Constantius II. Haruspicy was then associated with opposition to the senate. In 381 and 385, two edicts (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.7; 16.10.9) condemned those who performed sacrifices for divination, in November 392, Theodosius prohibited all sacrifices, and *spirantia exta* consultations regarding the lives of others were prohibited.

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II. Issues

Technique and technology

Patrice Pomey

22Ships and Shipping

Abstract: History attributes to the Etruscans a powerful maritime presence that testifies to their naval traditions. While the texts, unlike the iconography, provide little in the way of technical precision, historiography attributes several inventions to them, including the ram, and archaeology has confirmed, through the evidence of shipwrecks, their activity within maritime trade.

The most ancient evidence is provided by Villanovian boat models from the 9th and 8th centuries BCE whose characteristics appear original and show that the origins of Etruscan boats reach far back into the past. This originality is confirmed by documents, graffiti or vase paintings, from the 7th and 6th centuries wherein the Etruscan ship often appears as a mixed propulsion craft with a hull that might be equipped with an “added” ram, following the invention of *Pisaeus Tyrrheni* (Pliny, *HN* 7.209). Sometimes it is a sail-powered merchant ship with a powerful cutwater, sometimes it is a warship with a rounded hull and a high set ram.

As well as these typically Etruscan ships, towards the end of the 6th century BCE other boats appear whose characteristics correspond to Greek types: warships with a horizontal keel extending into a ram (hydria of the Micali painter); merchant ships with a concave stempost and two-masted rigging (Tomba della Nave).

Among the shipwrecks holding Etruscan goods, we should distinguish between those where Etruscan products from the same region predominate (*La Love*, *Grand Ribaud F*) and those carrying a varied cargo of Greek and Etruscan goods (*Isola del Giglio*, *Bon PortéI*). While ships of the first category testify to a direct trade and can reach a large size (approx. 1000 amphorae and 40 ton deadweight for the *Grand Ribaud F*), the second correspond either to the emporia trade (*Isola del Giglio*), or to a short distance redistribution trade undertaken by smaller craft (*Bon PortéI*). As for naval architecture, all these shipwrecks refer back to construction systems of Greek tradition corresponding to the Archaic method of sewn boats of the 6th century BCE (*Isola del Giglio*, *Bon PortéI*) or to an evolutionary phase that employed stitching and tenon-and-mortise joints at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th centuries BCE (*Grand Ribaud F*). All of this tells us very little about genuine Etruscan naval construction, which we still cannot identify despite its originality.

Keywords: shipwreck, sewn boats, naval architecture, sea trade

An old maritime tradition

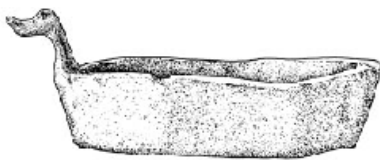
The existence of a maritime Etruria, even more powerful at sea than on land according to Titus Livius (1.23.8), is nowadays generally accepted.¹¹⁵² This forceful seagoing presence, as noted by ancient authors, and to which can be added a solid reputation for piracy, is confirmed by historiography that recognizes in the Etruscans, through the attribution of several notable inventions such as the ram and the naval trumpet, ingenuity in naval matters.

This would imply a long and strong maritime tradition.¹¹⁵³ On the other hand, archaeology, through the evidence of shipwrecks and the very spread of Etruscan goods in foreign lands, has demonstrated the active participation of the Etruscans in commerce across the Tyrrhenian Sea.¹¹⁵⁴ Such maritime activity would suggest the existence of war- as well as merchant ships, and a variety of vessel types. One must consider the nature of these ships that were instruments of Etruscan maritime power, the carriers of their trade and the expressions of their naval know-how.¹¹⁵⁵

Ships

The origins

The texts, in the first instance, are not of much help in determining the vessels' characteristics and their nature is rarely specified.¹¹⁵⁶ The iconography, on the other hand, is more eloquent and gives evidence of diversity.¹¹⁵⁷ The Villanovian models of boats found in the tombs of Caere and Tarquinia are evidence of the great age of Etruscan maritime traditions and their ancient indigenous roots. The oldest models are of little craft, probably monoxylon, that were used locally. Other models dating to the ninth and eighth centuries BCE represent more elaborate craft, the size of which is difficult to determine. At the prow—and sometimes at both extremities—several of these feature an animal head resembling a duck (Fig. 22.1.a–b). This motif, somewhat rare, is found in Urnfield culture sites of central Europe and also in the eastern Mediterranean, notably on the boats of the Sea Peoples depicted on the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Certain authors have made a connection between the Villanovians and the Urnfield culture, and with the *Tursha* of the Sea Peoples, identified with Tyrrhenians originally from Lydia (Hdt. 1.94)¹¹⁵⁸. While one should be cautious about such notions, these connections could nonetheless correspond to memories of very distant origins. In this series, two craft deserve particular attention. The first, which bears holes around the outside corresponding to oar ports, has at the base of the stem and sternpost a protuberance that could represent a protruding keel (Fig. 22.1c). The second also has a protruding keel that extends to the fore as a sort of cutwater and to aft as a leeboard (Fig. 22.1d). In the two cases, the craft seem suitable for maritime navigation and present original characteristics that distinguish Etruscan ships from other ancient boats.¹¹⁵⁹



a



b



c



d

Fig. 22.1a, b, c, d: Villanovian clay models of boats (9th – 8th c. BCE). (After Höckmann 2001, figs. 3–6)

Orientalizing: the apogee

The period of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, which corresponds to the heyday of the Etruscan navy, is rich in figurative representation of ships, either graffiti or paintings, mostly on vases. One of the oldest representations of this period, dating back to the beginning of the seventh century, is a graffito cut into a vase from Veii (Fig. 22.1e). The ship has a symmetrical rounded hull and the extremities end in a curling motif aft (the *aphlaston*) and an upward curving motif to the fore (*akrostolion*). The ship has a mixed propulsion system, and is equipped with a central mast ending in a double volute motif that suggests a sort of top. The mast bears a square sail furled to the yard. The schematically represented rigging is made up of different fittings (stays, shrouds, and braces). As well as this sail, four oars are represented on the flank, while aft there are two quarter rudders, one on each side. To either end of the hull there is a raised platform forming a poop deck and forecastle. But the most curious element is the pointed extension beneath the bow of the ship, which has been interpreted as a ram. The strangeness of this feature, which appears to have been affixed to the hull, has often been noted and is considered to be an illustration of the invention attributed to *Pisaeus Tyrrheni* by Pliny (*HN* 7.209) of a ram “added” to the hull.¹¹⁶⁰ The discovery of a bronze ram, today held in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, (Fig. 22.2) which is grooved such that it could be attached to the convex bow of a ship, has made this invention appear perfectly credible.¹¹⁶¹ It was not the very idea of the ram itself that the Etruscans invented but a very particular type of ram that was so efficient that the Romans were still using this system in the first century BCE.¹¹⁶² It is instructive to juxtapose this graffito with the procession of ships that feature on two Etrusco-Corinthian vases from

Tarquinius (beginning of the seventh century BCE)¹¹⁶³ (Fig. 22.1f). Despite a certain clumsiness of the painter, common to both vases, who is scarcely concerned with nautical exactitude,¹¹⁶⁴ the ships are clearly similar and of a type close to that of the graffito: the same rounded hull, the same rigging, and on some the same rear platform set above the horizontal line suggesting the presence of a deck. The front end of the hull, however, appears to be cleft and suggests the presence of a ram similar to the previous one we have seen situated below the *akrostolion*. The nature of these ships, with no indication of oar propulsion, is ambiguous. The clearly rounded hull is that of a merchant vessel, but the ram is that of a warship. Because of the mixed propulsion system on the ship of the Veii graffito, one might think that the ships were merchant galleys armed with rams.

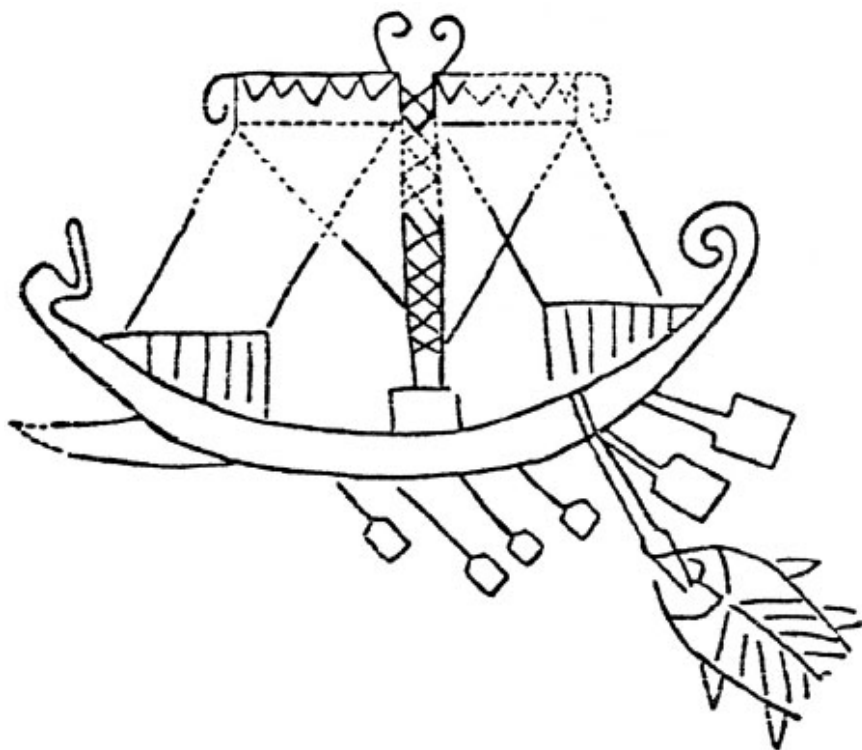


Fig. 22.1e: Ship graffito on a vase from Veii (beginning 7th c. BCE). (After Höckmann 2001, fig. 8)

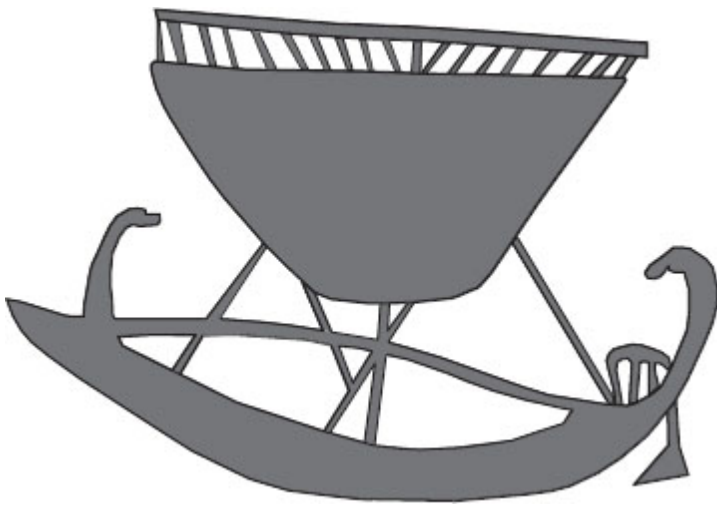


Fig. 22.1f: Detail of a boat from the procession of ships on an Etrusco-Corinthian oenochoe (circa 700–675 BCE, Museum of Art & Archaeology, University of Missouri). (Drawing P. Pomey)



Fig. 22.2: Bronze ram (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). (After Basch 1987)



Fig. 22.3a: Aristonothos krater (circa 675–650 BCE, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome). (After Höckmann 2001, fig. 16)

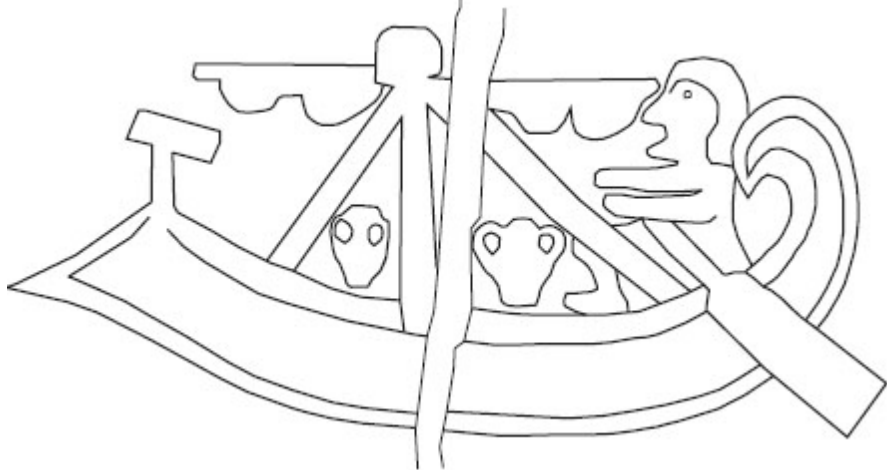


Fig. 22.3b: Ivory pyxide from Chiusi. (Drawing P. Pomey)

It is most probably a pirate scene that we can see on the Aristonothos krater (c.675–650 BCE) from Caere (Fig. 22.3a). To the left, an oar-powered warship of Greek type lying low in the water, equipped with a ram and bearing three warriors, attacks a single-masted, round-hulled ship sitting high in the water with its flanks reinforced by three wales that jut out from the stempost. The latter vessel, which we can see as an Etruscan merchant ship, is defended by three warriors fighting from a raised deck and by a fourth set in a top at the masthead.¹¹⁶⁵ This ship is characterized by its curious and powerful stempost that ends in a downward turning point. The shape and position of this stempost means that it cannot be considered a ram, but perhaps is more easily seen as a large cutwater.¹¹⁶⁶ It is in this fashion that we can interpret the ship that figures on the ivory pyxide from Chiusi (end of the seventh century) (Fig. 22.3b). Given the amphorae that it is carrying and that represent the cargo, and the lack of oars, we can be certain that this is a merchant vessel. This shape of a well-rounded hull with rising foreparts ending in a downward-turning point can be seen on several other representations of ships.¹¹⁶⁷ This type of stempost, as on the Aristonothos krater, should be interpreted as a cutwater, rather than as a ram.

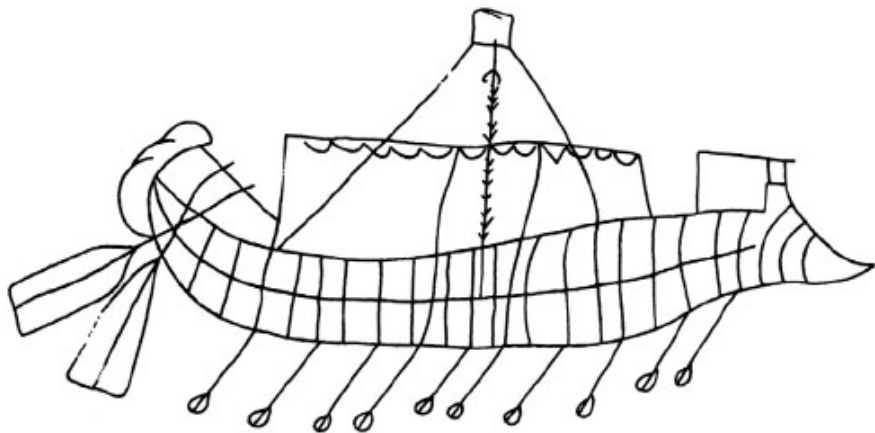


Fig. 22.3c: Warship graffito on a vase from Tarquinia (7th c. BCE). (After Höckmann 2001, fig. 9)

Thus, from the beginning of the seventh century BCE, Etruscan shipping already presented a very particular silhouette that we will continue to see. It is characterized by a well-rounded hull equipped either with a removable ram or a powerful cutwater. By adopting the possibility of arming merchant galleys as warships, the Etruscans had set themselves apart in terms of naval capability.¹¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, a single mast rigging bearing a square sail with the usual gear and a steering system using two quarter rudders would seem on all points to be identical to other Mediterranean shipping of the same period. Nevertheless, the frequent presence of a top high up on the mast appears as an original feature.

The Etruscans seem, however, to have had true warships as is suggested by the graffito cut into a seventh century BCE vase from Tarquinia (Fig. 22.3c), where a long-hulled ship is equipped with a ram and is propelled by numerous oars.¹¹⁶⁹ It differs in its elongation from another type of warship represented on vases from Vulci (British Museum, H 230) (Fig. 22.3d) and from Caere (Louvre Museum, D 151), both from the beginning of the sixth century BCE. These ships are characterized by a rounded hull, sitting high in the water, equipped with a high ram that fits on a convex stempost according to the Etruscan system. Curiously, the figures in oarsman position are not equipped with oars.¹¹⁷⁰ It is the same type of ship that one finds in the fifth century on what is known as the “navarch’s” stele from Felsina (Bologna) (Fig. 22.3e). Similar to the Caere vase ships, the mast is down, resting upon trestles, and the faces of the oarsmen are turned to the front. Once again we have most probably the same type of warship with rounded hull and added ram, here turned downwards, that can be seen predominately on urns from Volterra of the third and second centuries BCE, although the type has become very clumsily generalized.¹¹⁷¹

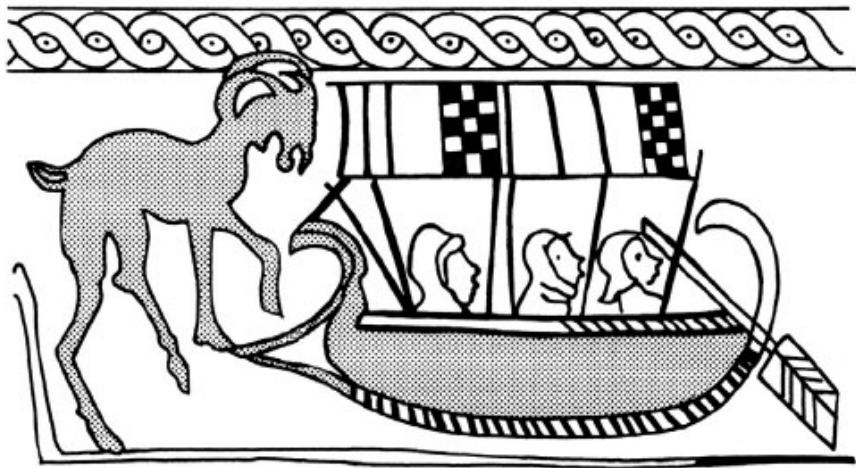


Fig. 22.3d: Warship on a vase from Vulci (beginning 6th c. BCE, British Museum, H 230). (Drawing P. Pomey)

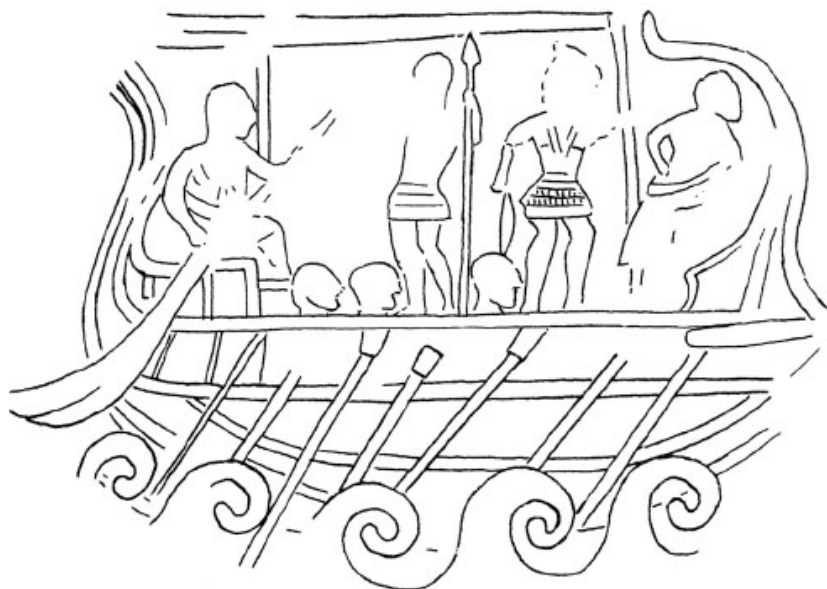


Fig. 22.3e: Warship on the “navarch’s” stele from Felsina (Bologna) (end 5th c. BCE). (After Basch 1987) frames of the boats’ internal structure rather than oars which would normally extend beyond the hull (Basch 1987, Fig. 869).

The Greek influence

Alongside these typically Etruscan ships, towards the end of the sixth century BCE, certain ships appear whose characteristics correspond to a Greek type of

vessel. This is the case of the bireme on the hydria of the Micali painter from Vulci (end of sixth century, British Museum) (Fig. 22.4a). This ship features a horizontal keel with a ram as an extension, above which an eye is marked, and a fighting platform set just rear of the stempost.¹¹⁷² Here we have the characteristics of Greek ships of the period.¹¹⁷³ Likewise, the large sailing vessel of the Tomba della Nave at Tarquinia (beginning of the fifth century, Fig. 22.4b)¹¹⁷⁴ has a hull that is altogether similar to that of the merchant ship depicted on an Attic cup (British Museum, B 436, late sixth century) (Fig. 22.4c).¹¹⁷⁵ We have the same bulbous hull with concave stempost and an identical system of wales and gunwale equipped with washboard or bulwarks. The similarities are reinforced by the location and the look of the steering gear and the presence, at the rear, of a removable embarkation ladder. Only the two-mast rigging, underlining the large size of the Tarquinia ship, points out the originality of this latter, an originality that also lies in it being the oldest known representation of such a rigging system on a merchant ship, though the system was to become widespread.¹¹⁷⁶ In these two cases, the analogies with Greek boats are all the more striking because the Etruscan ships show signs, as we have emphasized, of their own originality.¹¹⁷⁷ These ships, like the Greek style galley of the Aristonothos krater, could suggest a Greek presence in the Tyrrhenian Sea. However, they could also signify, as we shall see, the use of Greek style ships by the Etruscans for specific purposes.



Fig. 22.4a: Bireme on the hydria of the Micali painter from Vulci. London, British Museum, end 6th c. BCE. (After Höckmann 2001, fig. 21)

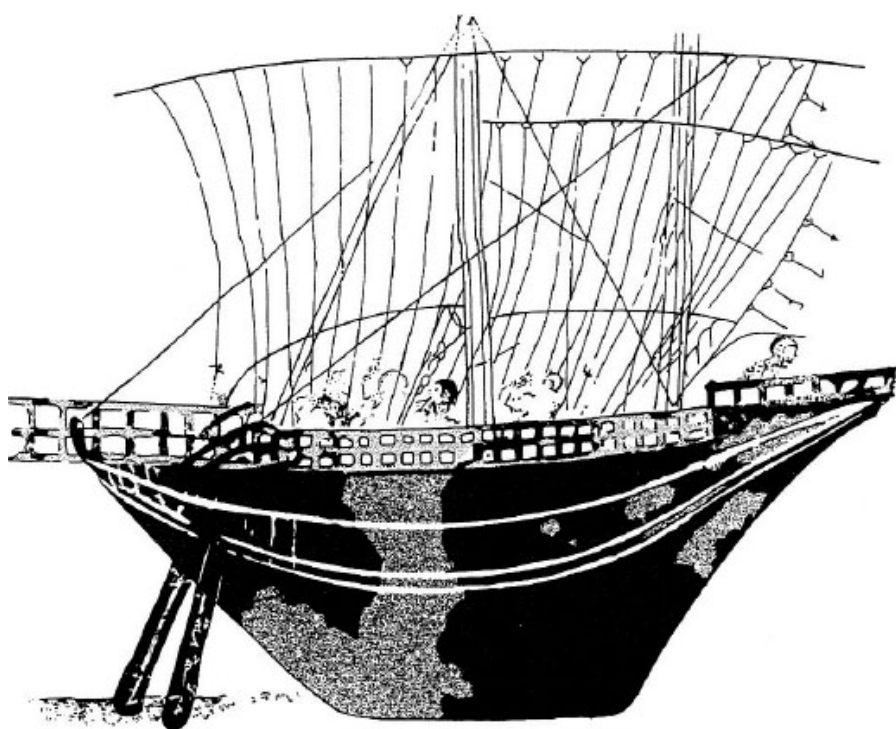


Fig. 22.4b: Ship from the Tomba della Nave, Tarquinia, beginning 5th c. BCE
(Drawing M. Rival, Centre Camille Jullian, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence)

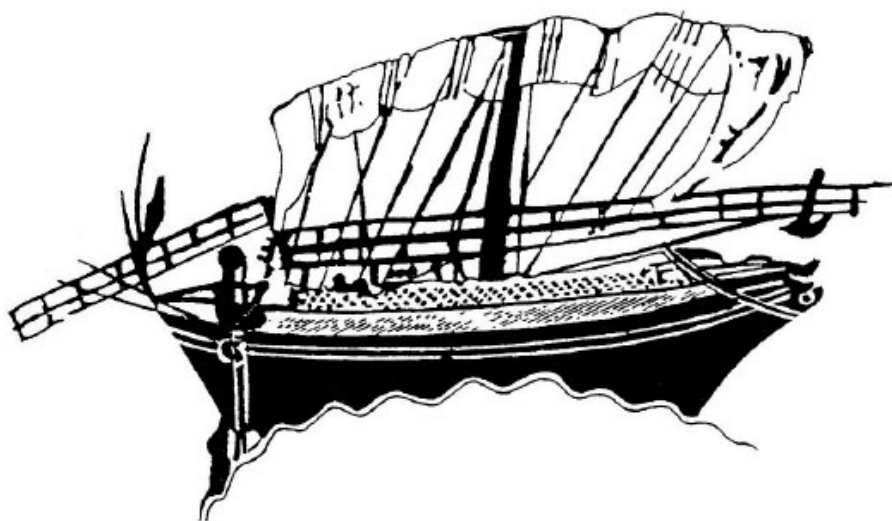


Fig. 22.4c: Ship on an Attic cup. London, British Museum, B 436, late 6th c. BCE.
(Drawing M. Rival, Centre Camille Jullian, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence)

Shipping

While shipwrecks and the cargo they carried are evidence of Etruscan participation in traffic across the Tyrrhenian Sea, these are still rather few when set against the volume of trade that can be deduced from the amounts of Etruscan material discovered in land excavations.¹¹⁷⁸ Moreover, shipwrecks that can provide us with information regarding the vessels themselves, their type and their architecture, are even rarer, and the picture that we get is blurred at best.¹¹⁷⁹ First of all, we must distinguish between those shipwrecks holding cargoes of relatively homogenous provenance, in which Etruscan goods predominate, and those characterized by the diversity of product origin. In the first category, evidence of a trade dedicated to the transport of Etruscan goods, we can cite the wreck that lies between the Capo Enfola and Capo Vite on the island of Elba (end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth century BCE) with a cargo of wine amphorae, *bucchero nero* and bronze basins that came from Vulci;¹¹⁸⁰ the

La Love shipwreck at Cap d'Antibes (c. 560–550 BCE) with a cargo of wine amphorae and *bucchero nero* from the region of Pyrgi-Caere;¹¹⁸¹ the Ecueil de Miet 3 wreck at the entrance to the Bay of Marseilles (first half of the sixth century BCE) with a more or less similar cargo;¹¹⁸² and the Grand Ribaud F wreck off the peninsula of Giens (Hyères, c. 500–475 BCE), with its impressive cargo of wine amphorae, along with bronze basins and discs and Etruscan ceramics from the Caere region.¹¹⁸³ Of these shipwrecks, only those of La Love and Grand Ribaud F allow us an idea of the size of their cargo. The first, which has given us more than 180 amphorae, around eighty ceramic pieces and three schist anchor stocks, would have been a medium-sized ship about fifteen meters long.¹¹⁸⁴ The second, however, with its cargo estimated at 1,000 amphorae lying in five layers, was a ship of some twenty-five in length, perhaps more, and with a carrying capacity of forty tons (Fig. 22.5).¹¹⁸⁵ These dimensions undeniably point to a very large ship for its era that was adapted for a large-scale trade directly from one production region to a single destination. Within the category of wrecks bearing cargoes of diverse origins, the Campese wreck of the Isola del Giglio (c. 590–580 BCE), with its cargo of amphorae and of Etruscan and Greek ceramics, its load of copper, lead and iron ingots, and its bronze Corinthian helmet, appears to be the perfect practitioner of the *emporion* trade as exercised along the Etrurian coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea by a Greco-oriental *naukleros*.¹¹⁸⁶ The ship, estimated to have been of a respectable size, would have possessed sufficient navigational qualities to allow it trans-Mediterranean maritime capabilities.¹¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, the Bon Porté 1 wreck and that of the most likely identical Dattier correspond to a coastal craft of some ten meters in length.¹¹⁸⁸ With a load of a few dozen Etruscan and Massalian amphorae, along with some Greek examples, these wrecks look more likely to have been part of a redistribution trade, limited in distance and probably setting out from

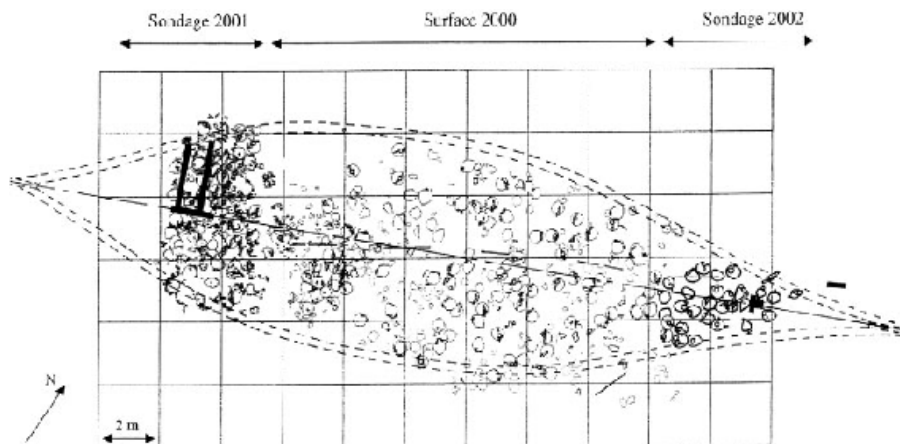


Fig. 22.5: Plan of the *Grand Ribaud F* wreck. (Drawing M. Rival, Centre Camille Jullian, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence)

Naval architecture

As regards naval architecture, only the Giglio, Bon Porté 1 and Grand Ribaud F wrecks have provided us with sufficiently significant elements of their hulls that we can recognize the construction systems. The hull fragments from the Giglio wreck display exactly the same morphological and assembly characteristics as those of the Bon Porté 1 wreck. Only the dimensions of the pieces are different, pointing out the difference in the tonnage of the two ships.¹¹⁹⁰ The Bon Porté 1 has been identified as a sewn boat, assembled entirely by stitching.¹¹⁹¹ Its construction system is characterized as a shell first method using pre-assembly treenails to hold the strakes in place, then with stitches running through tetrahedral recesses into holes for the plank assembly. Before stitching, rolls of waterproof fabric were placed upon the seams and small pegs were inserted to block the stitches and close up the holes. The frame timbers have a narrow base, flared sides and rounded upper face to allow for a better tightening of the lashings that hold them to the planks. The base is regularly notched to allow the passage of the plank stitching. The interior of the hull was then covered with a layer of pitch mixed with wax to ensure complete proofing and to protect the assembly ties. This system has since been observed on the Jules-Verne 9 wreck in Marseilles (end of the sixth century BCE), where the exceptional state of preservation has led to the discovery of numerous lashings still in place on the planking and framing.¹¹⁹² Going beyond the analogous construction systems, the two shipwrecks, Bon Porté 1 and Jules-Verne 9, are identical in all their parts. The

Jules-Verne 9 wreck corresponds to a large coastal craft for local work, having notably been employed in coral fishing, and could only have been built in a Massalian shipyard.¹¹⁹³ And thus the same must be true for the Bon Porté 1 vessel, which we have seen was involved in short distance redistribution trade in a Massalian context. We should add that the construction techniques employed in Marseilles throughout the sixth century BCE reflect the techniques in use at Phocaea, whose colonizers had founded Massalia at the beginning of that century. Indeed, these techniques would have been those of Greek shipyards throughout the Aegean Sea.¹¹⁹⁴ It is therefore not surprising to find them again on the Giglio wreck, and that would confirm the Greco-oriental origin of the naukleros. From this, the Giglio and Bon Porté 1 wrecks appear to be ships whose construction methods spring from a similar construction tradition testified by several other wrecks and rooted within a well-recognized Greek context,¹¹⁹⁵ not Etruscan. The case of the Grand Ribaud F is more complex, in that its impressive cargo of amphorae from the Caere region, plus the bronze and ceramic objects, make this a wreck in which Etruscan goods are clearly predominant, to the point that J.-P. Morel considers it to be “fondamentalement étrusque.”¹¹⁹⁶ Once again, however, the vestiges of the wreck itself point towards construction within the Greek tradition.¹¹⁹⁷ Although this wreck has only been the object of soundings, the elements of the hull that have been studied are sufficiently representative of the structure and its construction method to identify without any doubt the ship’s architectural system.¹¹⁹⁸ Added to this, there is an exceptional fragment of the starboard quarter rudder, which confirms the iconography and clarifies its operation. All the elements of the hull are strictly identical, except for dimensions given the difference in size between the two ships, to the equivalent elements from the Jules-Verne 7 wreck from Marseilles. Built in a Massalian shipyard and abandoned at the end of the sixth century BCE, this craft belongs to the same family of sewn boats of Greek tradition as the Jules-Verne 9 wreck, and indeed the Bon Porté 1.¹¹⁹⁹ It represents, however, the first stage of a development characterized by the adoption of assembly by mortise-and-tenon joints for the planking and nails for the frames, while stitching is only used at the extremities of the strakes and for repairs.¹²⁰⁰ The analogy between the two ships is such, corresponding to a transition phase of limited duration and bearing on very particular technical aspects, that the conclusion is clear: the Grand Ribaud F ship was built according to Greek tradition. This is not to deny its outfitting, which is certainly Etruscan and leads one to wonder, along with J.-P. Morel,¹²⁰¹ whether the Etruscans employed a Greek to work in one of their shipyards, or if they might have bought, or even captured, a Greek boat according to the practice attested by the Pech Maho lead.¹²⁰² In this regard, we could compare the Grand Ribaud F ship with that of the Tomba della Nave at Tarquinia, which we have already noted as of Greek type. We have also noted that the Grand Ribaud F ship was exceptionally large for its time and that its contemporary, the ship of the

Tarquinius tomb, was likewise a large sized vessel with an innovative two-mast rigging. Thus, we might imagine that the Etruscans could count on Greek-built ships to fulfill particular needs for heavy load shipping, as evidenced by the Grand Ribaud F wreck and illustrated by the Tomba della Nave ship. And in this way, one might propose that the introduction of tenon and mortise assembly into the tradition of sewn construction, as seen in the Jules-Verne 7 and Grand Ribaud F wrecks, had the precise result of a ship construction that was more solid, of larger dimensions and greater tonnage.¹²⁰³

Original but mysterious ships

As we reach the end of this presentation, we come to a paradox. While the iconography, confirmed by historiography, sets up an image of Etruscan shipping as original and inventive, with vessels that are clearly distinguishable from those of other Mediterranean peoples, archaeology struggles to identify these very ships. To be honest, we are at present incapable of characterizing Etruscan ships from the point of view of naval architecture; that is, as regards their structure and their construction method. In fact, certain authors have come to ask themselves whether there was not, in the end, a perfect analogy between Greek naval construction and Etruscan naval construction.¹²⁰⁴ If such a hypothesis can be entertained because of the convergence of Mediterranean naval construction techniques towards the generalized adoption of tenon and mortise assembly, this can only be possible for a relatively late date since we must wait until the fourth century BCE before this convergence is fully realized.¹²⁰⁵ On the other hand, given the originality and antiquity of Etruscan maritime traditions and their Villanovian roots, it is unlikely that there was such a similarity in the Archaic era. Also, it is unlikely that Greek and Etruscan construction techniques had been strictly identical up until the transition phases which characterize Greek construction from the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries BCE. Moreover, even if it is highly possible that the Etruscans in the beginning employed sewn assembly techniques, as has been proposed,¹²⁰⁶ there is nothing for the moment to affirm, and it would in itself be astonishing given the great variety of sewn assembly systems,¹²⁰⁷ that the Etruscan technique was similar to the Greek technique, which for now still appears to be totally original and without known equivalent. In the same way, we could also envisage, along with Lucien Basch, that the Etruscans were introduced during the sixth century BCE to the tenon and mortise assembly technique by the Carthaginians rather than by the Greeks.¹²⁰⁸ Frankly, we do not know and all hypotheses remain open. It is all too possible that the problem is more complex than we think. Contrary to a rather too easily adopted viewpoint, we should not look at the

problem of ancient shipping from the angle of its permanence in space and time where, effectively, all ancient ships would be equivalent, but rather we need to take into account geographic and cultural differences and the evolution of naval architecture over time.¹²⁰⁹ It is highly probable that Etruscan ship and naval construction evolved throughout the ages. Above all, we must hope that new wrecks are discovered that will finally allow us to study without any possible doubt actual Etruscan naval architecture.

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23Harbors

Abstract: Etruscan cities facing the sea—Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Populonia, and Pisa—as well as those located farther inland, such as Roselle, Vetulonia, and Volterra, rose, except for Populonia, on raised mounds or spurs at a certain distance from the sea, with which they were connected by watercourses. Along the coast of southern Etruria, harbors exploited the presence of lagoons and other natural basins connected with the sea. Rivers mouths provided good shelter for ships and boats; rivers also penetrate inland and thus are useful as navigation channels. Settlements at river mouths developed from the seventh century BCE onward, following the main stream of urbanism. Trading posts were thus located outside the biggest urban centers but dependent on them, so that a binomial relationship was created between inland “powers” and specialized places on the coast, called “ports of trade” or *emporia*. The concept of harbor is denoted in Greek sources with terms like *limēn* (harbor environment), or *hormos* and *epineion* (anchorage, inner harbor). Technical literature in Latin of later periods, especially portolans (pilot’s books including nautical maps) and *Itineraria*, distinguishes between *portus* (an artificially protected area with installations easing ships’ access; cf. Vitr. 5.12.1), and *statio* or *positio navium* (minor landing site) and *refugium* (small berthing place).

According to literary sources of the Roman period, along the Etruscan Tyrrhenian coast there were twenty-eight landing sites at regular distances of around four to eight kilometers from Porto to the mouth of the Fiora River. The problem of identifying the named sites is not completely solved, because of coastal variation, the dearth of archaeological evidence, and frequent errors in the transcription of distances. It is not simple to distinguish archaeologically between landing sites and constructed harbors, although we know that ancient seafaring did not need specially built berths or docks.

It seems certain that harbor settlements that already existed in the sixth century BCE, such as Pyrgi, Castrum Novum, Gravisca, Regae, Orbetello, Talamone, Populonia, and Pisa, differed in importance from the sites at the mouths of rivers that were natural berthing places.

One may identify some recurrent elements. First of all, the choice of site, which was almost always the mouth of a river or a lagoon in the absence of a bay. In comparison with other areas of the ancient world, major Etruscan cities did not rise on the coast, although each had its own port(s) to which it was connected by a highway. Another remarkable element is the frequent close relationship between such *epineia* and extra-urban sanctuaries, both of which are direct expressions of the power of the city with respect to the external world.

Keywords: Ports of trade, Coastal cities, Extra-urban sanctuaries, Thalassocracy

1Environment and literary sources

Etruscan cities facing the sea—Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Populonia, and Pisa—as well as those located farther inland, such as Roselle, Vetulonia, and Volterra, with the exception of Populonia, rose on raised mounds or spurs at a certain distance from the sea, with which they were connected by

watercourses (Fig. 23.1). Along the coast of southern Etruria, harbors exploited the presence of lagoons and other natural basins connected with the sea (see [chapter 69](#) Perkins). River mouths provided good shelter for ships and boats; rivers also penetrate inland and thus are useful as navigable waterways. Settlements on river mouths developed from the seventh century BCE onward, following the main stream of urbanism. Trading posts were thus located outside the largest urban centers but were dependent on them, so that a relationship was created between inland “powers” and specialized places on the coast, called “ports of trade” or *emporia*.¹²¹⁰ The concept of “harbor” is expressed in Greek sources with terms like *limēn* (“harbor environment”) or *hormos* and *epineion* (“anchorage, inner harbor”). Technical literature in Latin of later periods, especially portolans (pilot’s books including nautical maps) and *Itineraria*, distinguishes between *portus* (an artificially protected area with installations easing ships’ access; cf. Vitr. 5.12.1), *statio* or *positio navium* (minor landing site), and *refugium* (small berthing place).

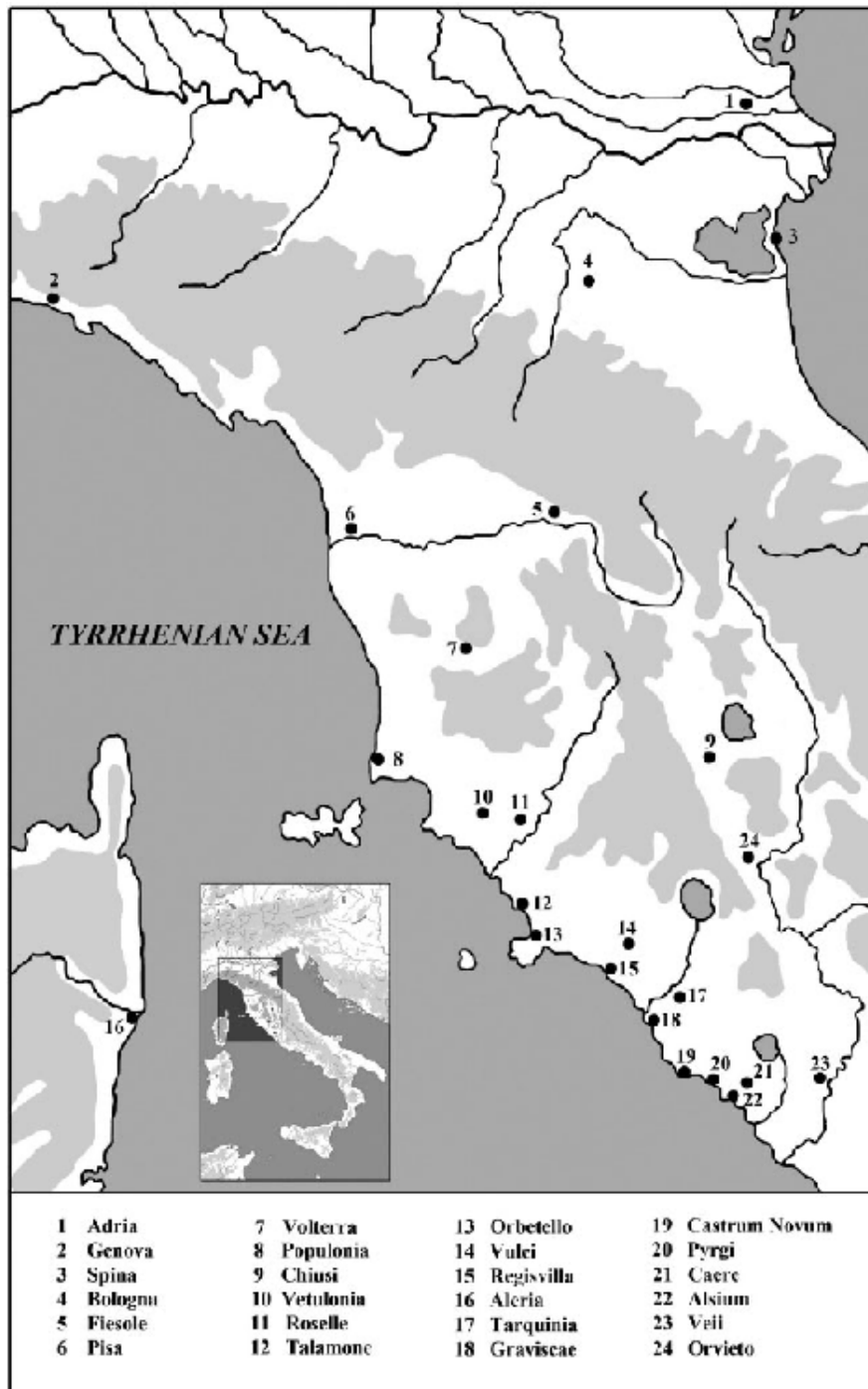


Fig. 23.1: Main Etruscan harbors and related cities, 600–150 BCE

The Etruscan Pilot's Book by Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 2.65), which says "Ultra Pyrgi, Minio, Castrum Novum, Graviscae, Cosa, Telamon,

Populonia, Caecina, Pisae Etrusca et loca et flumina; deinde Luna Ligurum,” reflects the situation in the Late Republican period. The system of harbors depicted coincides with that described by Strabo and with a Virgilian list of allies of Aeneas.

The *Itinerarium Maritimum*, another Pilot’s Book of official character ascribed to the time of Caracalla (early third century CE, although according to some scholars it dates only to the fifth–sixth century CE),¹²¹¹ provides a list of landing sites and distances from one *positio* to the next, from the harbor of Rome (*Portus Augusti*) up to the mouth of the Magra River, which marked the northern border of Etruria according to the Augustan subdivision of Italy. Following these sources, we may state that along the Etruscan coast there were twenty-eight landing sites at regular distances of around four to eight kilometers from Porto to the mouth of the Fiora River.¹²¹² The problem of identifying the sites mentioned in the *Itinerarium* is not completely solved because of coastal variation, the dearth of archaeological evidence, and frequent errors in the transcription of distances. It is in fact not simple to distinguish archaeologically between landing sites and constructed harbors, although we know that ancient seafaring did not need specially built berths or docks.

It seems certain that harbor settlements that already existed in the sixth century, such as Pyrgi, Castrum Novum, Gravisca, Regae, Orbetello, Talamone, Populonia, and Pisa, took on greater importance than the sites at the mouths of rivers that were natural berthing places.

2Southern Etruria

The absence of large inlets and gulfs along the Tyrrhenian coast between the mouths of the Tiber and the Argentario prompted the exploitation of channels, river mouths, and lagoons as natural harbors. This was the situation of coastal cities of southern Etruria when they created their own harbors, starting at the beginning of the sixth century. The *epineia* (“seaports”), which were basically devoted to trade, were located at a certain distance from the urban centers, in order to limit the influx of foreigners to these centers.

Moreover, there was usually a strong relationship between these coastal centers and a series of extra-urban sanctuaries. This relationship thoroughly illustrates the territorial control exercised by major cities beginning at the end of the seventh century.

The most inland major Etruscan city, Veii, experienced a different situation. Already in the ninth and eighth centuries it was the destination of Greek trade goods, hinting at a strict and organized exchange with Greek and Near Eastern realms. Control of salt production, perhaps exploited from a Maccarese pond,¹²¹³ and the use of the Tiber Valley as a trade route surely turned the

attention of the city toward the sea as early as the eighth century.¹²¹⁴

The “gateway” to the Tyrrhenian Sea in terms of Greek seafaring is Caere, which, being the closest city to the sea, was markedly distinguished by its international contacts with both the Greek and the Phoenician-Punic world. It had two harbors, which in the third century hosted the *coloniae maritimae* of Alsium, just south of the Palo Castle, and Pyrgi, near the Castle of Santa Severa.

Although the coast of Civitavecchia and Santa Marinella was occupied in the Early Iron Age, the area of Pyrgi¹²¹⁵ apparently was not, even though its environmental features (favorable landing site protected from wind and currents, with potable water available) always exercised a strong attraction. The Etruscan name of this place was obliterated by the Greek name, *Pyrgoi*, “towers,” which is connected with the ethnicon *Tyrsenoi/Tyrrhenoi*, the Greek term for the Etruscans, that is, “the inhabitants of towers” (*tyrseis*) (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.30.2) (see [chapter 3](#) Korenjak), an epithet which is in tune with the notoriety of pirates lying in wait on the coasts. Pyrgi is also called *metropolis* at a time when the Etruscans engaged in piracy (Serv. *Aen.* 10.184), with possible reference to the mythic origin of the Etruscans from the Lydians, who landed at Pyrgi and occupied Agylla/Caere to become the Etruscans (Verg. *Aen.* 8.479). Around 700, Caere controlled the seaways toward the mining region and the Gulf of Lion and imposed its thalassocracy. The monumental highway connecting Caere to Pyrgi demonstrates the importance, from the economic and military point of view, that Pyrgi held for Caere (like Piraeus for Athens). As for Alsium, the southern harbor, Caere preferred Pyrgi, which connected more easily with the northwestern sea routes. Pyrgi thus became the *epineion* of Caere, and also the seat of its navy (Diod. Sic. 15.14.3; Strabo 5.2.8). It may have been connected with Alsium by a road along the seashore. Pyrgi was destroyed during the events which in 273 led to the confiscation of half of Caere’s territory by Rome. In the earliest phase of the harbor’s use, the existence of monumental docking facilities cannot be demonstrated, due in part to the shifting of the coastline. The likely use of the channel in the seventh and sixth centuries suggests that the two surviving stone platforms were part of the earliest harbor. Around 600, the *epineion* already consisted of two different harbor slips connected by channels: beside the dock in the *porto-canale*, there may have been a second basin, located near the shallow mound on the southeastern side of the sanctuary.¹²¹⁶ The latter berthing area was thus closely related to the monumental area of the sanctuary, enjoying an “epithalassic” location which had few comparisons in Etruria or the ancient world. Giovanni Colonna has demonstrated that the location of the sanctuary primarily related to the presence of a perennial spring of fresh water, an element that in antiquity was deemed as important as advantageous docking facilities in determining the attractiveness of a port.¹²¹⁷ Water from the spring flowed into the ditch separating the two areas of the sanctuary; this ditch may have been connected

with the harbor in the Etruscan period, as well as with some lagoons, as in the case of Gravisca, Tarquinia's harbor.¹²¹⁸ The residential quarter,¹²¹⁹ with a regular layout, occupied the rocky spur where the Roman city and the medieval castle were successively erected. It was separated by a street running toward the sea, at right angles to the Caere-Pyrgi road; this street also marked the limit of the southern harbor. Recent excavations by "La Sapienza" University of Rome have brought to light structures and facilities connected with both the sanctuary and the related berthing basins, illustrating the coexistence of a multiplicity of functions (political, religious, and commercial).¹²²⁰

The site of Alsium, the second harbor of Caere to be sought in the coastal area between the modern villages of Palo and San Nicola, has not yet been precisely identified.¹²²¹ This center, according to the sources (Diod. Sic. 15.14; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.20, 3.58; Strabo 5.2.3, 5.2.8),¹²²² was a Pelasgian foundation. It also had, like Pyrgi, a Greek-derived name. Moreover, both San Nicola and Palo show paleo-environmental settings favorable for landings, similar to those of Pyrgi. Aerial photos show in both cases ancient ponds and lagoons just alongside the seashore, potential locations for a harbor. Another docking facility has been suggested on the coast of Ladispoli, a site directly connected with Caere by means of the Vaccina River and a system of ponds and marshlands.¹²²³ This may be the *caeretanus amnis* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.51), a specific topographic reference point for seamen, named together with Pyrgi and Castrum Novum in the territory of Caere. Castrum Novum, near modern Capo Linaro, on the other hand, was one of the few harbors not related to coastal lagoons. It lies in a bay protected by two rocky headlands protruding into the sea. Berthing structures discovered here date to the end of the fifth–beginning of the fourth century.¹²²⁴ In this spot a *colonia maritima* rose in 264, as did one in Fregennae (245), though for the latter there is no evidence for berthing facilities dating to the Etruscan period.

In the Late Iron Age, the existence of simple landing sites may be surmised for Tarquinia as well, exploiting coastal lagoons.¹²²⁵ Tarquinia's control over small docking and berthing sites seems to be indicated by a number of settlements and necropolises scattered along the coast. For the Orientalizing period we do not know the location of Tarquinia's harbor, which might have used the mouth of the Marta River, or, more to the south, the salt pools. The *positiones* of the *Itinerarium maritimum* (Algae, Rapinium, Gravisca, and Martanum) most likely correspond to landing sites of the Etruscan period. Martanum, at the mouth of the Marta, was a docking facility controlled by an ancient settlement. The development of Gravisca beginning at the end of the seventh century is emblematic of the power of the main city, which may have been connected with the harbor by a straight road. Gravisca, like Pyrgi, also exhibits a regular dwelling system and a direct relationship between the harbor and the sanctuary. Alongside an outer berthing facility, corresponding

to the modern-day “porto Clementino” (after Pope Clement XII), the main harbor was probably articulated in a series of basins, connected by channels to the sea. The origin of this landing site seems to go back to the early development of the cult of Aphrodite and Hera based on its freshwater wells, greatly sought after by seamen, and related metal-smelting activities. The coexistence of Greeks and Etruscans was made possible here by the “emporion” nature of the site:¹²²⁶ it might be surmised that the Greeks enjoyed a sort of right of *asylum* under the protection of the sanctuary. Here too, the Roman confiscation of the coast was the act that preceded the foundation of a *colonia maritima* in 181.

The other great maritime city of southern Etruria, Vulci, located on a bend of the Fiora, a broad, navigable river, directly controlled a riverine dock and possibly also had a harbor at the mouth of the river itself, around ten kilometers from the city. Vulci was connected to the coast by a road joining the coast road; the coast road was already of strategic importance for territorial control and was later partly replaced by the Via Aurelia.¹²²⁷

The northernmost coastal settlement, possibly connected with a docking facility located at the mouth of the Chiarone River, was Pescia Romana, the oldest of Vulci’s emporia, which as early as the eighth century opened to Greek-Euboean trade. Later, at Montalto di Castro (modern Le Murelle), the landing site of Regae (Regisvilla) was activated. It became the most important harbor of Vulci, again reproducing the same city-*epineion* system seen at Caere-Pyrgi and Tarquinia-Gravisca. Strabo (5.2.8) ascribes its foundation to Maleos, a mythic Pelasgian king. In the sea, the remains of a massive barbican protecting the harbor are still preserved. In the sixth century, Vulci’s harbor became a privileged trading terminal, while the inhabited area developed inside a rectangular precinct, which may have descended from a pre-established urban project.

The region north of Vulci, which received the commerce destined for the Albegna River Valley, took advantage of the important natural harbors of Orbetello and Talamone.¹²²⁸ Located on the inner shore of a coastal lagoon connected to the sea, the site of Orbetello developed beginning at the end of the eighth century. With the foundation of the Roman colony of Cosa (in 273), which inherited the role of the Etruscan site, the harbor was provided with impressive structural installations. To the north of the Argentario promontory one may surmise a landing site in the mouth of the Albegna River, a hypothesis which is corroborated by the flourishing during the Orientalizing period of the site of Marsiliana. The harbor of Talamone, on the other hand, began its main development in the sixth century, when in the modern-day locality of Bengodi, a temple was erected, connected to a maritime settlement (the currently available archaeological data refer exclusively to the Roman phase).¹²²⁹ South of the harbor, the settlement of Fonteblanda, on a strictly rectangular grid, was not only a berthing station for Tyrrhenian trade, but also the access to the sea for the settlement system of the lower Albegna Valley,

especially for the site of Doganella, with which it was connected by a road.

The importance of Vulci's mediation through the harbors under its control might explain the great flow of Attic pottery of the highest quality at a very early period, which made Chiusi one of the outstanding centers of Etruria for this kind of import (exemplified by the well-known "vase François"). This flow also involved the Val di Chiana as far as Cortona, and it would be difficult to explain it otherwise in comparison to the other coastal Etruscan cities that were directly open to trade and exchange with Greek cities.¹²³⁰

3Northern Etruria

Natural gulfs and coastal lagoons offer easy landings in northern Etruria as well.¹²³¹ The basin of Lacus Prile (Grosseto province), a wide lagoon fed by the Ombrone River, provided a series of landing sites especially at the foot of the hills on which the city of Vetulonia was built. The city already had several berthing stations between the late eighth and the early seventh centuries. The different ways of accessing the sea testify to long-distance trade developed to exploit the resources of the Colline Metallifere. Some necropolises, such as that of Val Beretta, may be attributed to a center that rose near one of these docking stations located in the southern part of the Follonica Gulf, probably in connection with one of the watercourses flowing through the Pian di Rocca, an area connected with the mining region of Vetulonia.

East of Lacus Prile, the city of Roselle, which controlled trade on the Ombrone River, surely was connected with the sea. Very recently it has been suggested that a river port of Roman age (first century CE to end of the fifth) was located by Spolverino, by the mouth of the Ombrone.¹²³²

The site was interpreted as part of the network of small berthing places along the Tyrrhenian coast, at a point where river, sea, and land routes interconnected. A Republican-period dating for the early establishment of this site is still under discussion.

On the stretch of sea between the mining district of the island of Elba and Populonia and the system of lagoons at the mouth of the Arno River, a major route to inland Etruria and northern Italy, two dedicated port cities were established: Populonia and Pisa, and farther inland, Volterra and Fiesole.

Populonia, with its highly favorable natural harbor, offered a protected refuge and attracted seamen already during the Early Iron Age, when contacts with Corsica and Sardinia are well documented.¹²³³ During the seventh century, Populonia was strictly connected with littoral trade perhaps directly under the control of the cities of southern Etruria. The city rose on a promontory overlooking the sea facing Elba, which was included in its territory with the harbor of Porto Azzurro, on its southeastern shore, which was its best dock for the transport of metallic minerals. The favorable natural

setting of its harbor, the propinquity of Elba, and the wide variety of minerals made Populonia a major reference point in maritime trade. The dock in the Baratti Gulf, which was protected by a natural rocky barrier, had to the north the lagoon of Rimigliano, a passage to the sea which guaranteed entrance to the mining region of Campiglia Marittima. Here, at least from the Late Archaic period, there were a landing berth and a sanctuary of great importance, as is demonstrated by the finding of a series of bronze figurines. South of the promontory of Populonia, the mouth of the Cornia River created a swamp, with sandy mounds and ponds, which extended to the Follonica Gulf and represented the main access to the mining region of Mount Accesa and Massa Marittima. There is nothing to indicate Populonian occupation or control over the harbor of Falesia—twelve miles south according to the *Itinerarium Maritimum*, nowadays identified with Portovecchio of Piombino—during the Archaic period, but this is a possibility. Highly developed ironworking activities in this region prompted the growth of the harbor of Populonia, the first Etruscan city to mint coins, between the late sixth and early fifth centuries (see [chapter 27](#) Catalli). In the second half of the fifth century, Populonia did not suffer the crisis which affected the harbors of southern Etruria and Vetulonia due to naval defeats inflicted by Syracuse. It flourished again during the fourth and third centuries, perhaps because of a special relationship with Rome that was established due to the strategic and military importance of its harbor and the mining activities related to it.

Besides Elba, the other islands of the Tuscan Archipelago (Giannutri, Giglio, Montecristo, Pianosa, Capraia, Gorgona), though at a different scale and in different times, were chosen as locations for landing sites or small *emporia*. In the first half of the sixth century, the island of Giglio hosted a fortified site that also served as a berthing place, and a harbor is well attested there and in Giannutri in the first and second centuries CE and can be surmised for previous periods because of some shipwrecks. In Corsica too, the division into spheres of influence for the Carthaginians and Etruscans, following the conflict with the Phocaeans, led speedily to the foundation of an Etruscan warehouse in Aleria.

The other great city of northern Etruria was Pisa, a city between two rivers (the Auser/Serchio and the Arno), some three and a half kilometers inland, which was connected with the coast by seaways and canals.¹²³⁴ As early as the Orientalizing period, access to the sea was characterized by a berthing system with a series of docking facilities on the coast, from the Point of Livorno to the south, and as far north as the mouth of the Auser (Serchio). In the *Itinerarium Maritimum*, a *Portus Pisanus* is mentioned as well as a landing site at the mouth of the Arno. The excavations begun in 1998 in the area of Pisa-San Rossore¹²³⁵ led to the discovery of shipwrecks that yielded a multitude of archaeological finds in an excellent state of preservation. This discovery brought public and scholarly attention to Pisa's ancient urban layout and to the ensuing reconstruction of port installations from the sixth century

BCE to the fifth century CE. There are various interpretations: according to Stefano Bruni, who carried out and published the excavations, San Rossore was the urban harbor of Pisa, with an extensive basin within an organized complex. Bruni interprets the harbor of San Piero a Grado, by the mouth of the northernmost branch of the Arno, as the *epineion*, the main port of the city, which hosted the Elban iron-working facilities, constructed as a landing site with wooden docks beginning in the seventh century BCE. Andrea Camilli, who continued the archaeological investigations, thinks instead that what was found at San Rossore was the remains of a simple docking station along the banks of the Auser. The system of the *Portus Pisanus* mentioned by Rutilius Namatianus (1.530–40) might more easily be considered a lagoon harbor, according to Camilli, and San Piero a Grado and perhaps Bocca d'Arno were also riverine landing sites, while the existence of an urban harbor provided with structures and installations for hosting ships seems extremely unlikely. Finally, scholars do not even agree about the existence of another harbor, the so-called Porto delle Conche, located on the Auser River and possibly used since the late fifth century as a natural access to the city from the coast.¹²³⁶ Regardless of the varying interpretations, finds at San Rossore testify to a flow of trade which connected Pisa with centers in Liguria and with all the coastal cities of Etruria.

Among the inland centers, in the second half of the fifth century, during the Syracusan protectorate of the Populonia-Elba district, Volterra seems to have participated in the flowering characteristic of the coastal area;¹²³⁷ at the end of the fourth century, a permanent Volterranean slipway was created at the mouth of the Cecina River, north of Vada.

Farther north, a very old route has been discovered that led from southern Etruria along the coast to a series of berthing places connected with major centers of the northern littoral of Etruria, up to the Ligurian coast.¹²³⁸ Among these, besides the small site of Poggio al Marmo, near the mouth of the Serchio, it is important to note the Massaciuccoli Lagoon, with the warehouse of San Rocchino¹²³⁹ (Viareggio), a seaport that was installed at the end of the eighth century and was included in the aforementioned trade system.

In eastern Liguria, by the mouth of the Magra River (modern Fiumaretta), another warehouse has been supposed to have been occupied and used by Etruscan *emporoi* beginning in the first half of the sixth century, coinciding with the abandonment of the landing site at Chiavari. At the mouth of the Boccatoio, at the outlet from the Valdicastello near Pietrasanta (Lucca province), another berthing place managed by the local population (*Liguri*) has been discovered, and farther north another dock near the necropolis of Chiavari. The harbor of Genoa was active from the beginning of the sixth century, performing a role in maritime trade, in a period when the coast of Liguria was under Etruscan influence:¹²⁴⁰ a series of small settlements rose along the littoral, serving as docking facilities, again in connection with mining activities which took place both in the Colline Metallifere and in the

marble mines of the Alpi Apuane and of Versilia. Simultaneously, an Etruscan warehouse was founded in an indigenous context at modern-day Lattes (France).

Finally, again in a northern Etruscan realm, the site of Florence, by the Arno, must be mentioned with the “riverine *epineion*” of Fiesole.¹²⁴¹

4Etruscan expansion: The Adriatic

On the Adriatic coast, which witnessed an early Etruscan presence, a dock near Rimini at the mouth of the Marecchia River was used by the city of Verucchio, which was some fifteen kilometers inland, but strongly oriented toward the sea.¹²⁴²

A basic role was assumed later by Adria,¹²⁴³ on the northern bank of the Po River, which was connected with the sea by channels through the coastal dunes, with the complementary docking site of San Basilio near Ariano Polesine. This Etruscan-Venetian *emporion* was founded around the first half of the sixth century, according to the sources by Phocaeans first and then by Eginetians; in the last decades of the century a massive Etruscan presence is documented, with the major intervention of regularization of the urban layout comparable with those of Marzabotto and Spina.

In the second half of the century, in fact, Spina was founded,¹²⁴⁴ to be interpreted as an answer to the early Greek presence spreading over the Adriatic, which was to reduce the role and importance of Adria. Spina inherited from Verucchio the function of an Etruscan port in the Adriatic, including the trade routes under its control, in a period when the Adriatic Sea had a privileged role in foreign exchange and a basic function with regard to the exchange network for Po-area Etruria. In 480–470, Spina’s urban plan adopted a regular layout, patterned on the city of Marzabotto, with dwellings and canals alternating. It had a major channel communicating with the sea allowing the arrival of Greek goods. Literary sources celebrate the fame and wealth of Spina, recalling its thalassocracy and the subsequent foundation of a *thēsauros* in Delphi (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.18.4; Strabo 5.1.7, 9.3.8), like the *thēsauros* of Caere. Spina was also considered a landing site of the Pelasgians who settled Cortona and became Etruscans.¹²⁴⁵

Ravenna had a similar urban structure, again located within a river delta, while for the settlement of Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito (Mantua), a pivotal point along the Po-Mincio axis, the function of “riverine *epineion*” has been suggested, as has been said of Florence.¹²⁴⁶

5Etruscan expansion: Campania

Pontecagnano, located in a wide plain near easily accessible coastal lagoons, grew up in a strategic location for controlling a very important maritime route, especially between the Late Orientalizing and the Early Archaic period. During the latter, a new series of settlements has its rise in previously non-urban districts, such as the Sorrentine Peninsula (Sorrento, Vico Equense, Stabiae) and Fratte at the mouth of the Irno River, in a formidable strategic location overlooking both the road connecting Capua to Poseidonia and the Lower Tyrrhenian sea route, using the natural harbor of Salerno by the mouth of the Irno. From the second half of the sixth century, Fratte (ancient Marcina, an Etruscan city according to Strabo 5.4.13) became a major reference point in the exchange network of the Lower Tyrrhenian together with the landing sites on the Sorrentine Peninsula, especially as regards the long-distance sea route of Cumae, as demonstrated by the finding of a conspicuous number of wine amphorae and Attic pottery in the necropolis there.

6Conclusions

One may summarize some recurrent elements, including the choice of sites almost always on the mouths of rivers or on lagoons in the absence of bays. In comparison with other areas of the ancient world, major Etruscan cities did not rise on the coast, although each had its own port(s) to which it was connected by a highway. Another remarkable element is the frequent close relationship between such *epineia* and extra-urban sanctuaries, both of which are direct expressions of the power of the city with respect to the external world.

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Adriana Emiliozzi

24 Vehicles and roads

Abstract: After the process of social differentiation began in Etruria in the ninth century BCE, some burial sites with grave goods that identified the deceased as the leader of a community (such as shields and helmets as symbols of authority, and not just as weapons meant for war), contained clay models of wheeled vehicles. At sites from around 775–750, actual vehicles begin to appear in both male and female tombs. From 730–720 on, these vehicles are buried together with banquet and symposium sets and with objects of women's domestic activities. From this date, and throughout the Orientalizing period (especially during the seventh century), political and religious leaders of the proto-urban communities were often interred in monumental burial mounds, and wheeled vehicles actually used during their lifetimes were buried in these tombs together with thrones, utensils for eating meat at banquets, and table services for drinking wine at the symposia. This is testimony to an aristocratic lifestyle emulating the Near Eastern world. At sites from the sixth century, these vehicles are no longer found among the funerary furnishings of the elite who ruled the great Etruscan cities, although the custom lingers in smaller non-urbanized centers where the most sumptuous parade chariots have been found. The custom of burying vehicles in the tombs of the elite is widespread among all non-Hellenized Italic civilizations. The technology evident in these vehicles in both Etruscan and Italic areas does not demonstrate significant differences, and all the finds at our disposal can be studied as one cohesive unit.

The roads systems connecting urban centers with each other and with their landholdings can be traced using a variety of methods, depending upon the chronological period. For the earliest periods we rely mainly on geomorphology and hydrography in relationship to site location. Only from the late seventh century can we study actual archaeological remains in urban centers or between them, where these roads were often preserved by their continuous use until the Roman period.

Keywords: chariots, carts, roads, bridges

Introduction

After the process of social differentiation began in Etruria in the ninth century BCE, some burial sites with grave goods that identified the deceased as the leader of a community (such as shields and helmets as symbols of authority, and not just as weapons meant for war) contained clay models of wheeled vehicles. At sites from 775–750, actual vehicles begin to appear in both male and female tombs. From 730–720 on, these vehicles are buried together with banquet and symposium sets and with objects of women's domestic activities. From this date, and throughout the Orientalizing period (especially during the seventh century), political and religious leaders of the proto-urban communities were often interred in monumental burial mounds, and wheeled

vehicles actually used during their lifetimes were buried in these tombs together with thrones, utensils for eating meat at banquets and table services for drinking wine at the symposia. This is testimony to an aristocratic lifestyle emulating the Near Eastern world. At sites from the sixth century, vehicles are no longer found among the funerary furnishings of the elite who ruled the great Etruscan cities, although, the custom lingers in smaller non-urbanized centers, such as Castro near Vulci or Castel San Mariano near Perugia, where the most sumptuous parade chariots have been found. The custom of burying vehicles in the tombs of the elite is widespread among all non-Hellenized Italic civilizations. The technology evident in these vehicles in both Etruscan and Italic areas does not demonstrate significant differences, and all the finds at our disposal can be studied as one cohesive unit.

The roads systems inter-connecting urban centers with each other and with their landholdings can be traced using a variety of methods, depending upon the chronological period. For the earliest periods we rely mainly on geomorphology and hydrography in relationship to site location. Only from the late seventh century can we study actual archaeological remains in urban centers or between them, where these roads were often preserved by their continuous use until the Roman period.

1 Vehicles

Studies aimed at a philological reconstruction of Etruscan and Italic vehicles began at the end of 1980s in Italy, at the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.¹²⁴⁷ The first results were published in 1997 in the exhibition catalogue *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi*, where an updated census of the finds almost doubled the number previously known.¹²⁴⁸ These finds are distributed over a geographical area that includes the modern regions of Lazio, Tuscany, Umbria, Marche and Abruzzo in central Italy, Emilia Romagna, Lombardy and Trentino-Alto Adige in the north, and Campania, Puglia and Basilicata in the south. It is useful to show the historical geography of Italy and the ancient cultural areas where the tombs of chieftains and their wives included the vehicles they had used in life, as a symbol of wealth and power (Fig. 24.1).

The Etruscan finds are almost exclusively from princely tombs dating from 775/750 to 475 BCE. In 1997, about 106 graves containing the remains of 119 vehicles of some significance were known. The remains of nine vehicles out of context were added to them. As of 2015, progress in the census and in subsequent excavations and restorations has increased the total number of Etruscan finds to at least 150 units.¹²⁴⁹ Those early studies have allowed us to understand that, with a few exceptions, it was always two wheeled vehicles that were found in these tombs: the chariot, with the driver standing as in the

Roman *currus*; or the cart, driven while seated as in the Roman *carpentum*.¹²⁵⁰ The chariot, drawn by two or more horses (*biga*, *triga*, and *quadriga*), was used by men of high rank to reach the field of battle, to hunt, or to ride in parades. The cart, drawn by two mules or asses, was used not only by men but also by women and served in daily life for short or long trips, with or without luggage, for ceremonies, and even for weddings. Only one two-wheeled vehicle was usually buried in each grave: in over sixty cases it is an individual burial, and in only twenty it is a dual or multiple burial. However, the entire Etruscan panorama shows to date about twenty cases of graves containing the remains of two or more vehicles; in some of these occurrences the tomb contains two or more burials and it is difficult to assign the vehicles to individuals. In still other instances the burial of a single individual is accompanied by deposition of both a chariot and a cart, an occurrence very relevant for studies on social history.¹²⁵¹



Fig. 24.1: The cultural areas of the pre-Roman Italy that adopted the custom of burying vehicles in the tombs of the elite. The numbers indicate how many finds were known in each area in 1997. The + sign indicates the numbers that have increased since the count was made

1.1Chariots

To date, two structurally homogeneous types of chariot with the body balanced on the axle—the most common type in Italy—have been identified in reconstructing Etruscan-Italic vehicles found in tombs dating from the second half of the eighth to the sixth century. The bodies of both are long and

narrow, such that if they accommodated two people, the charioteer and passenger did not stand side by side, but one in front of and one behind the axle. “Version A” is more common and is distinguished by its inverted U-shaped side rails. Etruscan examples of version A are fast chariots like that from the Tumulo dei Carri in Populonia (Fig. 24.2; 675–650) and parade chariots like those from Castro near Vulci (ca. 520) and from Castel San Mariano near Perugia (Fig. 24.3; 530–520).¹²⁵² “Version B” has been found less frequently, and its reconstruction is progressing slowly. Its most striking feature is the ear-loop side rails. The clearest evidence so far for this variant is from the area of Latium vetus, the fast chariot from the Barberini Tomb at Praeneste (675–650)¹²⁵³ and the parade chariot from the Via Appia Antica near Rome (Fig. 24.4; 560–550).¹²⁵⁴ In southern Etruria, the chariot of Greek type from the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere (660–650) has side rails of similar shape.¹²⁵⁵

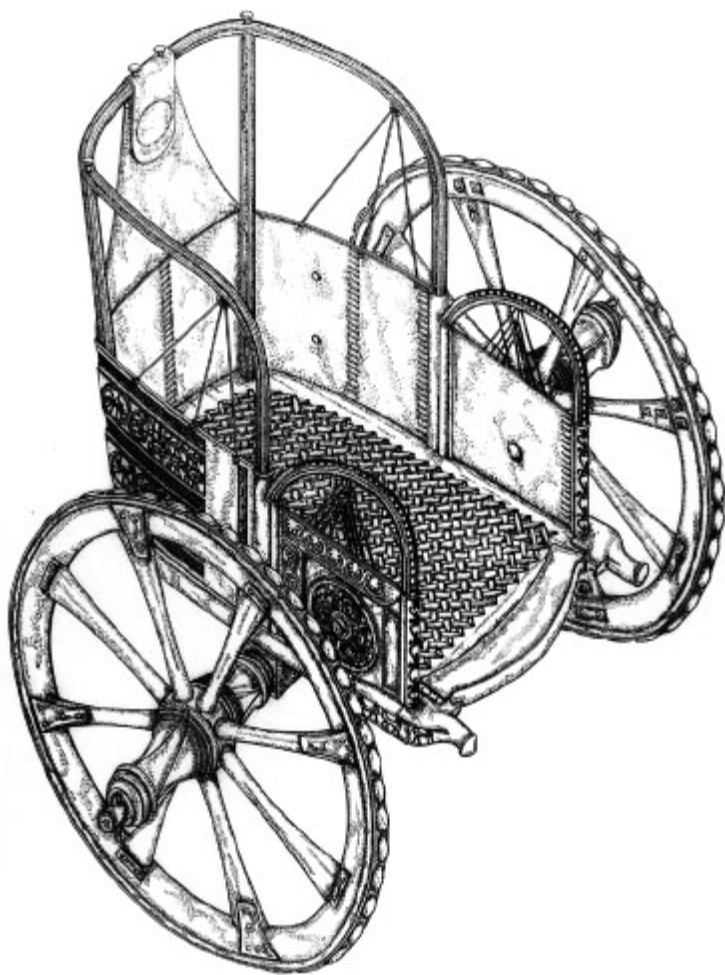


Fig. 24.2: Reconstruction of the fast chariot from Populonia, Tumulo dei Carri

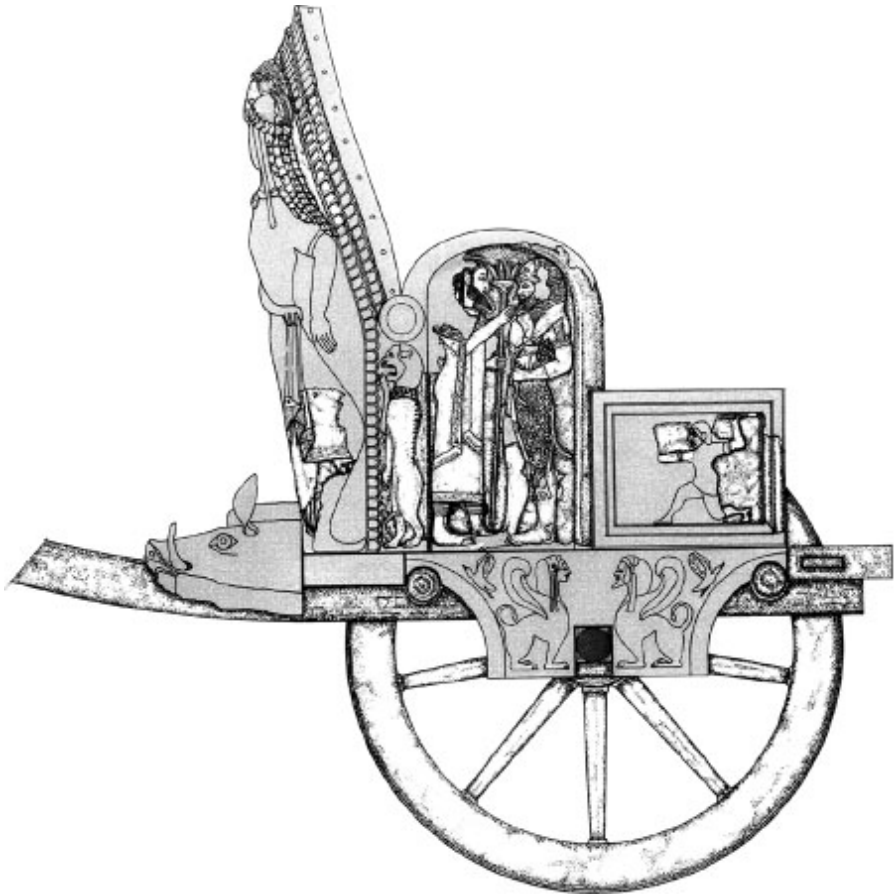


Fig. 24.3: Reconstruction of parade Chariot I from Castel San Mariano (Emiliozzi)

Structural differences between fast and parade chariots underlie the different uses. On the fast chariot-type, the passenger area is created by stretching leather around the lower and central parts of the railings, so as to leave the curved branches free to act as a handhold for mounting the vehicle. Straps fan down from the tops of the curves to keep the upper edge of the leather covering taut. Proof that this system was used is provided by cases where the covering is kept taut by metal frames and the leather straps are replaced by small metal rods (Fig. 24.5).¹²⁵⁶

In contrast, on parade chariots from the sixth century, which were designed to move at a walking pace, the railings do not serve as handrails. All charioteer needed to do to keep his balance was to hold the reins, while the second passenger kept his balance by holding onto the charioteer's shoulder, as can be observed in many scenes of chariot processions.¹²⁵⁷ The side rails could thus be completely enclosed in leather and sometimes completely covered with metal decoration, as observed on the Monteleone di Spoleto and

Castel San Mariano parade chariots (560–550 and 530–520 respectively). The front rails of these vehicles, whether covered only in leather or decorated with additional elements, are shaped like an inverted U and rise consistently to a height of about 80–82 cm above the front curve of the U-shaped floor frames. The design of the side rails is innovative, narrowing toward the front rail and rising to about two thirds of its height. In version A, a small rectangular panel is sometimes inserted as if to fill the space that the rails previously occupied behind the axle; this is a nonfunctional addition and on the most sumptuous examples is covered with bronze revetment. We cannot be sure whether there was a general redesign of parade chariots, given that in the sixth century the same features appear in racing chariots represented in competition, in both Etruscan and Latin iconography. This innovation may have resulted from technology introduced by wheelwrights at the beginning of the sixth century to satisfy the demands of a new elite, for whom the ideological bond between possessing a chariot and its military function had weakened. The transitional stage between the fast and parade chariots seems to have been represented by the Dutuit chariot from Capua.¹²⁵⁸



Fig. 24.4: The parade chariot from Rome, Via Appia Antica, as reconstructed in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (Emiliozzi)

In Etruscan-Italic fast chariots the floor frame is always fixed directly onto the axle and draft pole, as in the examples from the ancient Mediterranean area. Reconstructions of chariots from Vulci and Populonia show that these three parts are joined so as to create a rigid traction structure and that the vehicle could only be ridden thanks to a floor of woven leather strips that served to absorb shocks while the vehicle was in motion. This reconstruction is based on a fragment of the wooden floor frame of the Vulci chariot, which shows the holes for the ancient woven leather flooring.¹²⁵⁹ By contrast, Etruscan parade chariots had a wooden shock-absorption system placed between the floor frame and the axle. The reconstruction of this type of system is based on analysis of the external bronze sheets covering the chariots from Castro, Castel San Mariano, Monteleone di Spoleto, and the Barsanti Collection (Fig. 24.6).¹²⁶⁰ This system seems to have been introduced when there was a rigid floor, probably made of wooden slats, rather than a woven leather floor. The vehicles could move but they could not go fast, as demonstrated by the fact that the wheels of three chariots equipped with this type of shock-absorbing system are completely or partially covered with bronze sheeting. Thus, these vehicles were built only for ceremonial use.



Fig. 24.5: Metal roads fanning down from the side rail of the fast chariot from Populonia

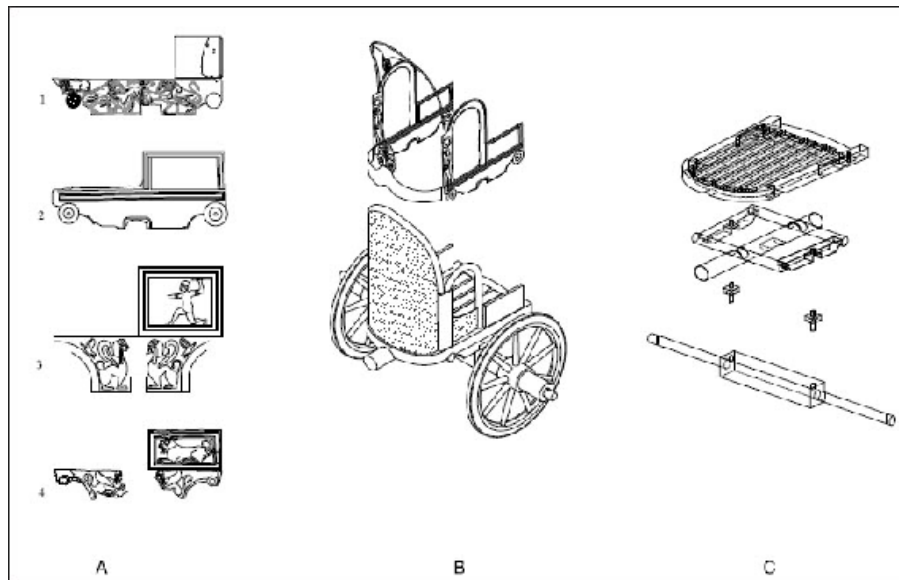


Fig. 24.6: Sixth-century parade chariots. (A) Bronze decoration on the rear side panels and shock-absorption systems of the chariots from (1) Monteleone, (2) Castro, and (3) Castel San Mariano (chariot I); (4) the chariot remains from the Barsanti collection. (B) The chariot from Castro. (C) Reconstruction of the shock-absorption system in the substructure between the chassis and the axle of the Monteleone chariot (after Emiliozzi 2011)

The wheels of Etruscan-Italic chariots generally have six or more spokes, and only in very rare cases have four, as in Greek vehicles. The most striking example is the chariot from Regolini-Galassi tomb of Caere. The wooden rim of the wheel (the felly) is in most cases composed of two layers, with the outer layer made from segments of wooden planks and the inner layer from a single bent branch. Metal clamps always hold the joints, and the nailed iron tire contributes even further to keeping the composition stable.

The traction system of Etruscan-Italic chariots from throughout the entire first millennium is consistent, as seen in clay and metal models, depictions, and some actual pieces. There were two horses under a neck yoke which was connected to the vehicle by means of a central draft pole.

In Etruscan iconography, chariots are often shown with a body shape very different from those analyzed here, but to date it has been difficult to recognize them among the remains of the vehicles found in the tombs. Moreover, chariots similar to those of mainland Greece and Magna Graecia sometimes appear depicted together with chariots of the Etruscan-Italic type.¹²⁶¹

1.2Carts

In the 1980s an idea developed that differentiated the remains of chariots from those of vehicles equipped with a trident-shaped metal finial (improperly called “rein guides”).¹²⁶² The 1989 discovery of the tomb of the “Princess” or “Queen” of Sirolo at the necropolis of Numana near Ancona, has led to the identification of this “trident” as a finial for the Y-shaped draft pole of a cart.¹²⁶³ The reconstruction of this vehicle, made both graphically and in a 1:4 scale model, has led to the establishment of the idea that all remains that include trident-shaped metal finials denote the presence of a cart (Fig. 24.7).

These finds are distributed in Etruria, in Latium vetus, in Faliscan territory and in the Picenum.¹²⁶⁴ Since the cart from Sirolo was equipped with wheels that rotate on a fixed axle like those found on chariots, we believe that it had a double function, both ceremonial and utilitarian, for the fast transport of people and baggage. For this reason, the seat is placed at the front of the floor, while the back was reserved for baggage. This type of cart was not embellished with bronze sheets, so it is possible that these carts served their rich landowners as transportation between town and their country estates.¹²⁶⁵

In some examples, the trident-shaped pole finial is found together with a pair of U-shaped metal brackets. The function of these brackets was to hold in place the axle that spun together with the wheel, revolving under a central grooved beam beneath the chassis. Examples of U-shaped brackets come from Acqua Acetosa Laurentina near Rome, Veii, Narce, Vetulonia, Casale Marittimo, Fabriano, Verucchio (Fig. 24.8).¹²⁶⁶ In some occurrences where these brackets have been found, metal disks that covered the hub heads were also found, sometimes together with metal axle caps. These parts allow us to establish a rectangular cross-section for the axle-arm. This rectangular shape distinguishes the (slow-moving) revolving axle from the (fast-moving) fixed axle, which is equipped with cylindrical axle arms. The virtual reconstruction of the cart from Eretum (620–600) shows how this mechanism works.¹²⁶⁷

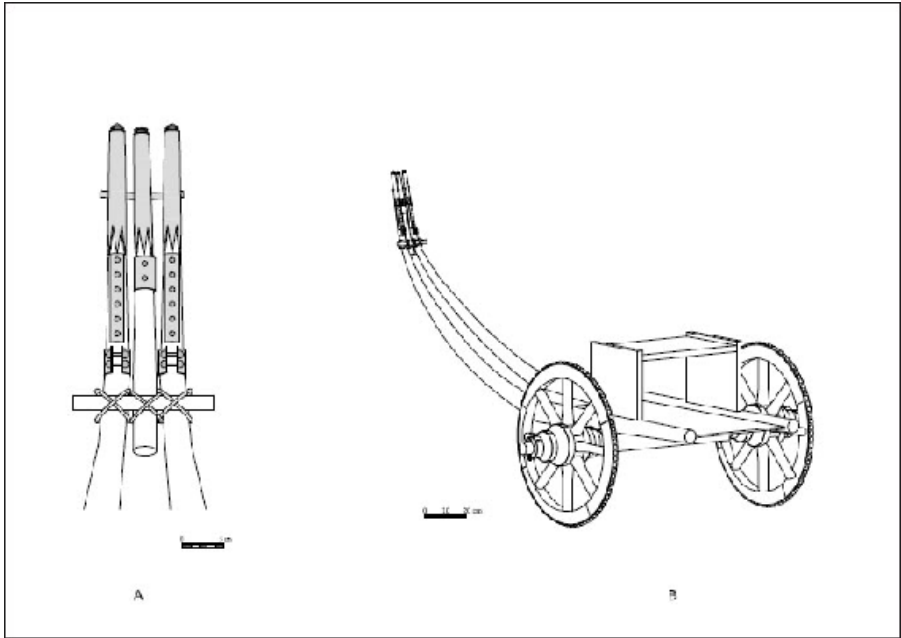


Fig. 24.7: The cart from Trevignano Romano, Tomba dei Flabelli. (A) detail of the trident-shaped finial. (B) Proposed reconstruction. (Emiliozzi)

The draft poles of these carts are not always Y-shaped but are sometimes centrally positioned under the floor, as on chariots. The masterpiece of this category is the cart of Eretum mentioned above. The cart from the Tumulo dei Carri of Populonia (675–650) was made exclusively for ceremonies, because its wheels were fully covered with bronze.¹²⁶⁸ Another cart from Castel San Mariano (ca. 560) is also ceremonial because its entire body is covered in embossed and engraved bronze sheets.¹²⁶⁹

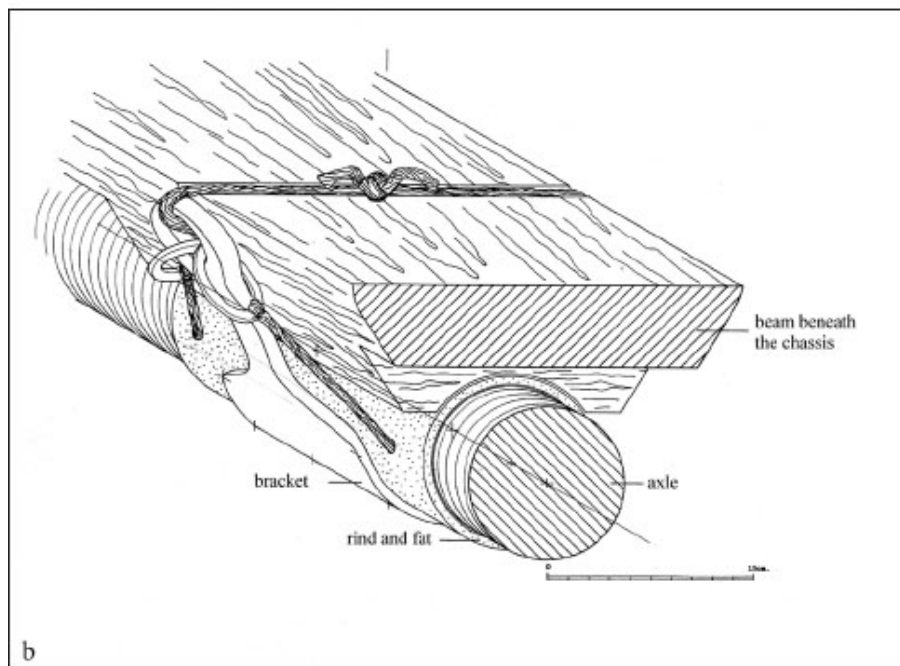
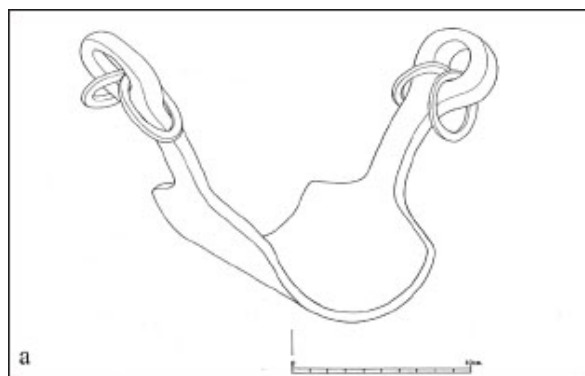


Fig. 24.8: The iron brackets from Casale Marittimo, Casa Nocera necropolis, tomb A: (a) One bracket; (b) the axle revolving under the grooved beam beneath the chassis (Emiliozzi)

The wheels of carts are built like those of chariots, but in general have a larger diameter. The hubs are generally shorter than on chariots, given that a vehicle pulled by mules or asses is slower than one pulled by horses, and has more stability when going into corners. The shorter length of the hubs goes along with the greater width of the cart body, which is wide enough to accommodate two people sitting side by side, and sometimes even four sitting back to the back.¹²⁷⁰ As a result, the wheel track—or gauge—equals that of the chariots.

2Roads

In Etruria, remains of land transport vehicles go back to the early first millennium in the form of models, and to the second half of the eighth century in the form of actual vehicles, as already stated, while evidence of the roads on which they traveled is known to us only from the late seventh century. The paths of these roads are inferred by combined analysis of different kinds of sources, such as geomorphology and hydrography in relation to the settlements and cemeteries¹²⁷¹ and the late written sources, which are sometimes useful as far back as the Archaic period.¹²⁷²

From within certain settlements, remains of pavements have emerged, mostly related to courts, courtyards, and squares which functioned in monumental houses or buildings. Remains of actual roadbeds have also occasionally been found. In southern Etruria there are occurrences in Veii, San Giovenale, Acquarossa, Tarquinii, Regisvillae, Rusellae,¹²⁷³ and Volsinii/Orvieto.¹²⁷⁴ In Po valley Etruria there are occurrences at Marzabotto, Casalecchio di Reno, Felsina/Bologna, Spina, Mantua, and some minor settlements at Correggio, S. Ilario d'Enza, and Castelnuovo Monti in Reggio Emilia.¹²⁷⁵ In the Etruscan town of Acquarossa, the remains of streets from the end of the seventh century are among the most ancient, with borders and pavement 1.5–2 m wide. Evidence of road maintenance during the first half of the sixth century testifies to the practice of improving the road surface, a practice that appears elsewhere as well, such as at Veii and Caere. During this period, the roads reach 3–4 m in width. During the second half of the century the use of well-paved city streets is generalized and, while still retaining the width of 2–2.8 m, they can also reach 4.4 (Acquarossa, Fig. 24.9) and even 9 m as at Volsinii/Orvieto. The fullest development of the Etruscan road-building technique is documented in the fifth century, both in southern Etruria—as at Tarquinia and Regisvillae—and especially in Po valley Etrurian centers.¹²⁷⁶

Remains of inter-city roadways have also been preserved, either as “*vie cave*” (see below), or as roadbeds used until the Roman empire, where the archaic pavement appears in underlying layers of the later basalt or limestone blocks that have protected them. The roads that come to us thanks to segments unearthed in southern Etruria, for example, cover short distances between the cities and the smaller centers, such as from Veii to Monte Sant'Angelo at Baccano (Roman *Vacanae*), to Nepi (Etruscan *Nepet*), to Lucus Feroniae, to the course of Tiber River, and to Rome. We also know of some roads from big cities like Caere that radiate out into the surrounding countryside. The most important of these, which linked Caere to the port of Pyrgi, was 12km long; its careful construction is attested as early as the second half of the seventh century. At the beginning of the fifth century, at its apex, it was more than 10 m wide and the wear of the old roadway was filled with a mix of pebbles, gravel and sand.¹²⁷⁷ Other roads linked this metropolis to Tarquinii, Veii, and

Rome.¹²⁷⁸ Obviously, these shorter roads combined to form long-distance highways, but never under a single, national jurisdiction until the Roman conquest.



Fig. 24.9: Acquarossa near Viterbo, a segment of a road in the area F (from Östenberg 1975, 193)

These roads from the archaic period normally maintained their natural-soil roadbeds, which were leveled and compacted simply by beating the earth. In the case of level routes carved across the tufa, the originally shallow depth of the road could sink to a few meters below ground level. When the route went through hilly volcanic landscapes, trenches were cut in the tufa, sometimes resulting in very deep gorges called *vie cave*, which are found in great number in southern Etruria, at Veii and the adjacent Faliscan area, at Caere, Norchia, Castel d'Asso, and Volsinii/Orvieto. They have also been found in the Fiora River Valley (southern Tuscany) at Pitigliano, Sorano and Sovana (Fig. 24.10).¹²⁷⁹ Many of them are still in use today, and it is difficult to date their chronological phases.

The wear on the road surface was due mainly to the passage of vehicles with wheels encircled by iron tires, which over time caused deep ruts and compromised the integrity of vehicles using the road. The surfaces required continuous maintenance, and instead of importing slabs of stone to resurface

the roadway, the Etruscans recut and re-leveled stretches as they deteriorated. From the fifth century on, the Etruscans began to restore the surface of these dirt roads with layers of debris and stone chips compacted and contained between edging stones, adding means of water drainage.

Some segments of archaic Etruscan roadbeds are wide enough only for a single wheeled vehicle and not for a second one approaching from the opposite direction. Since the roads were only 1.5 to 2 m wide, vehicles needing to pass each other could take advantage of enlarged roadside shoulders installed at more or less regular intervals. There were also wider roads of 4 m, which were suitable for simultaneous transit of two vehicles.¹²⁸⁰ In some cases, widths of 5.5–6.7 m have been measured where well-preserved sections of road show five to six pairs of parallel chariot wheels ruts. These ruts, which are always mentioned in studies of ancient roads, have not been systematically measured in relation to chronological periods. Some well-preserved examples are 1.10–1.30 m apart, from groove to groove.¹²⁸¹ The width of 1.30 m is not found in the gauge of the few princely vehicles with iron rims found in situ or even reconstructed with their original measurements. In these cases—dating from seventh and sixth centuries—it was possible to determine gauges that vary from a maximum size of 1.19m (Populonia chariot cited above), in intermediate steps of 1.00 and 0.93m, down to a likely minimum of about 0.87–0.88 m. However, these variables are reported in vehicles that come down to us because they were buried in the graves of high-ranking persons, while nothing is known about the utility wagons for the transportation of goods and people in everyday life. Since it is not plausible that there were different rules for utility vehicles and for princely ones, the variables suggest that at least through the Archaic period, roads were built without regard for the gauge of the wheels of vehicles.

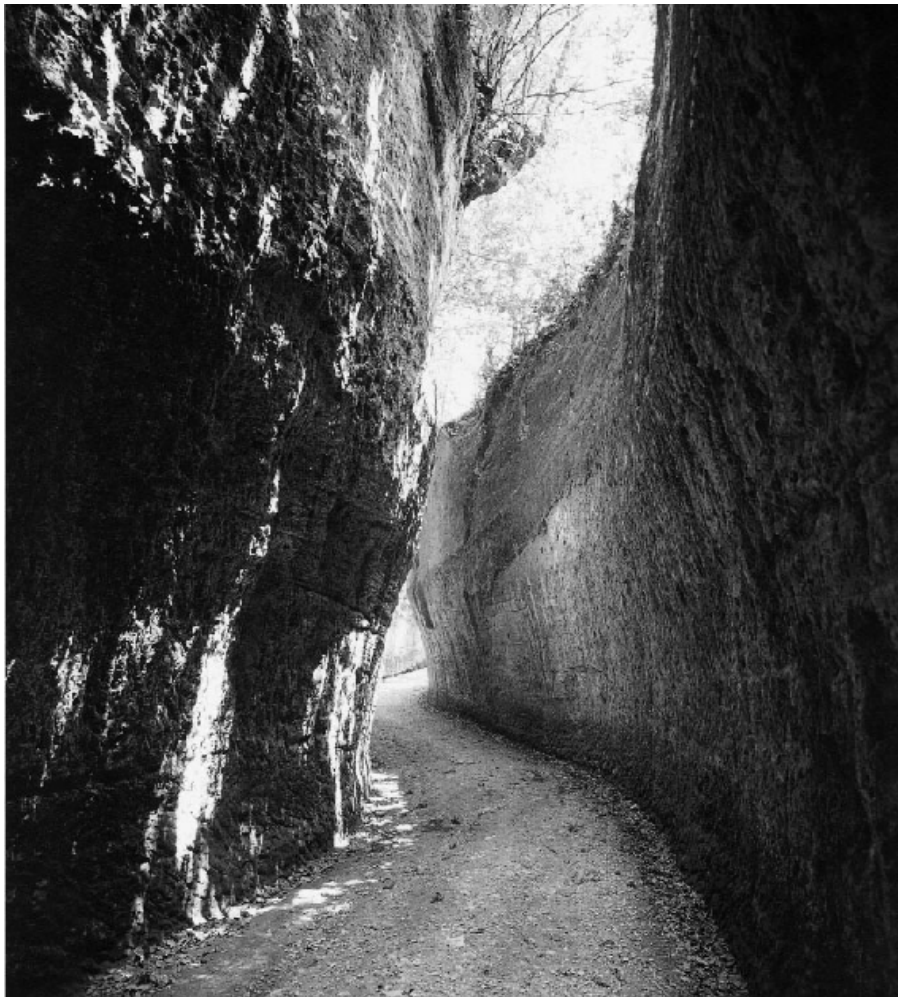


Fig. 24.10: View of an Etruscan *via cava* near Sovana, in Fiora River Valley (photo Emiliozzi)

2.1 Bridges

As for bridges arching over the rivers, very few remains are preserved, especially from the Archaic period. Many of them were built with wooden planks and obviously did not survive. Among the more elaborate ones, built mainly of wood supported by stone foundation piers, there is the bridge over the Fiora River at Castello dell'Abbadia, near Vulci. Its foundations are Etruscan, but the arches are Roman and its topmost part is medieval. Another example can be found at San Giovenale in inner southern Etruria, where two massive bridge supports of tufa blocks (20 m apart) were constructed on either side of the Pietrisco stream; remains of a stone construction in the river bed

suggests that the bridge was made mostly of wood and was supported by stone pillars.¹²⁸² An alternative method for bypassing a stream in a rocky landscape was to channel the flow of water through a tunnel dug under one of its banks, draining the riverbed. This structure is known as a *ponte sodo* and is evidenced by the bridges named Ponte Sodo and Arco del Pino in the territory of Veii, and by Ponte Vivo and Ponte Coperto near Caere.¹²⁸³

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Andrea Zifferero

25 Mines and Metal Working

Abstract: *Etruria mineraria* offers the most interesting range of metallic ores south of the Alps. Large quantities of useful ores, such as copper mixed with lead sulfide and even iron oxide, are found in the Colline Metallifere and in high concentrations on the island of Elba, and in Latium in the area of Monti della Tolfa. Pits, shafts, and galleries were excavated in the Prehistoric (Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age), Protohistoric (Final Bronze Age and Iron Age), and Etruscan periods to obtain metals (mainly copper and silver from sulfides, but also antimonite and tin) from polymetallic ore, and non-metallic products (for example cinnabar from Monte Amiata and alum from open-air alunite quarries). This chapter discusses the distribution of ore and offers a basic overview of techniques used by Protohistoric and Etruscan miners, which were developed further in Roman and Medieval times. Three mining districts are reviewed: the Monti di Campiglia area (Livorno), the Colline Metallifere around Massa Marittima (Grosseto), and the Monti della Tolfa area (Rome), which each present a different level of archaeological investigation and provide a technical and metallurgical framework for the processing of ore and its relationship to settlement systems. Archaeological evidence from mines and metallurgical sites is also used to examine the political influence of some centers in *Etruria mineraria*, namely Populonia and Vetulonia, on mining areas. Special attention is paid to work in progress on Etruscan mining and metallurgical processes for the production of copper and iron from ore using advanced smelting techniques with different types of furnaces for polymetallic sulfides and iron ores. The result is a picture of Etruscan mining and metallurgy that would continue until the expansion of Roman control into the Monti di Campiglia and Populonia districts, with the production of copper and silver from local mines and of iron from Elba apparently ending during the first century BCE, although new surveys in the Colline Metallifere area suggest that limited production of copper, perhaps silver, and certainly iron from local gossan deposits may have continued until the second century CE; some metallurgical sites remained active until the fourth century CE, leading to the field of Early Medieval mining and metallurgy.

Keywords: *Etruria mineraria*; mining landscape; mining archaeology; metallurgy; smelting activities

1 Distribution of ore deposits in Etruria

Etruria offers the most interesting range of metallic ores south of the Alps. Large quantities of useful ores, such as copper mixed with lead sulfide and even iron oxide, are found in the Colline Metallifere and in high concentrations on the island of Elba, and in Latium in the area of Monti della Tolfa (Fig. 25.1).¹²⁸⁴

In central Tuscany, the large area between the Cecina and Bruna Rivers has been called *Etruria mineraria* due to the extensive presence of copper and iron. The abundant production of and trade in metals here between the Final

Bronze Age and the Roman conquest at the beginning of the third century BCE has been connected to the development of Populonia and Vetulonia.¹²⁸⁵ In the Colline Metallifere, copper and lead sulfides have accumulated in contact with thick layers of massive limestone, principally in the Monti di Campiglia area (Livorno), where caves formed by karst processes made it easier for ancient miners to identify and work veins. Some minor ores, characterized by copper sulfides, are also present in the Val di Cecina (Volterra), the Val di Merse area (Siena), and in the Monti Rognosi (Arezzo); there are also some significant sulfide deposits beyond the Arno River valley, in the Alpi Apuane, which faces ancient Liguria.¹²⁸⁶

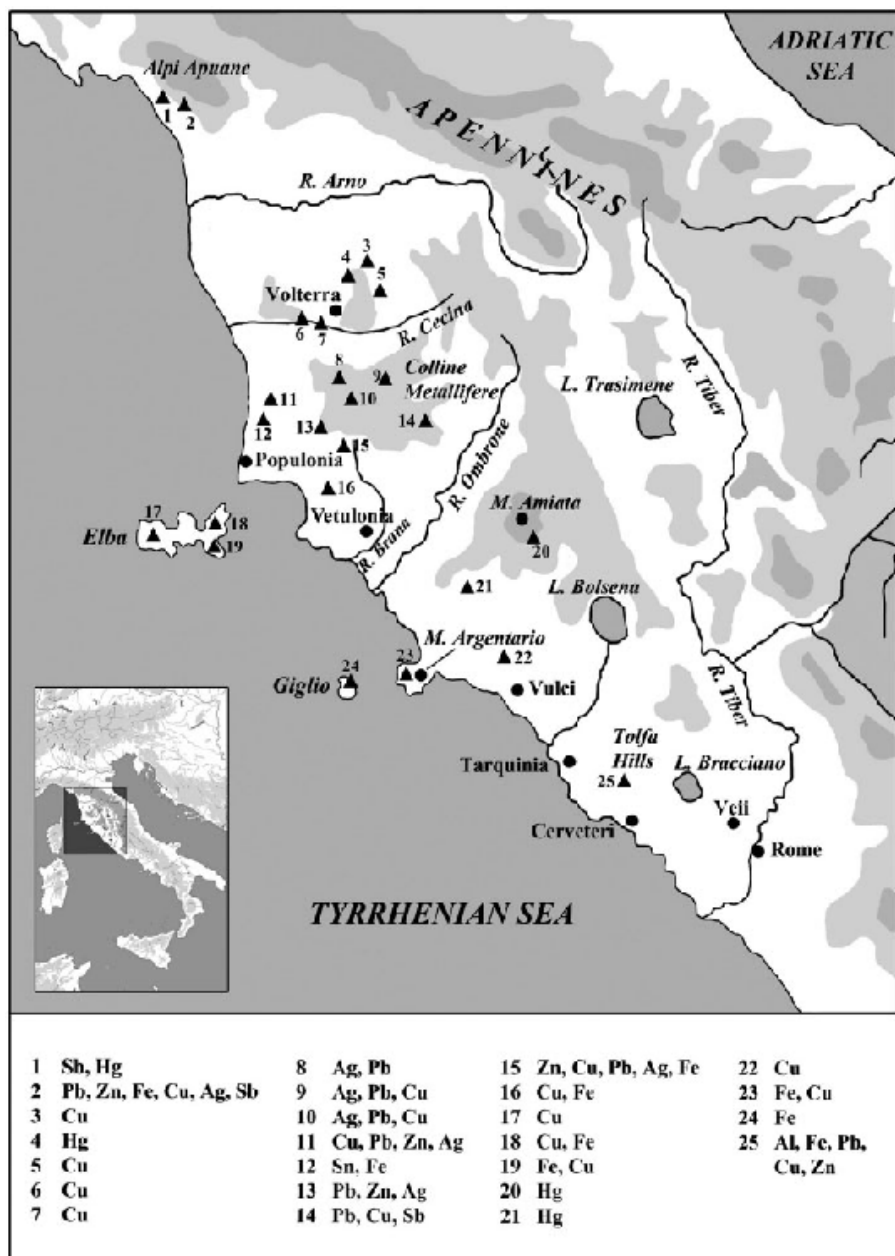


Fig. 25.1.: Distribution of metallic and non-metallic ore in ancient Etruria (Tuscany and Latium): the area between the Cecina and Bruna Rivers is identified as *Etruria mineraria*

In southern Tuscany, sulfide ores located along the Fiora River valley were valuable ancient sources of antimonite, a mineral used as early as the Chalcolithic period and Early Bronze Age for making ornaments, while the high concentrations of cinnabar on the southern and eastern slopes of Monte

Amiata have been worked since the Chalcolithic period.¹²⁸⁷ The most important metallic and non-metallic deposits lie in the Monti della Tolfa, a mountain range in northern Latium that was thickly populated in the Final Bronze Age by a dense network of Proto-Villanovan settlements and cemeteries. Ores here consist of massive deposits of alunite, a non-metalliferous aluminum disulphate, which was used in antiquity to dye cloth various colors, tan hides, and protect timber from fires. Less important bodies of iron hydroxides, usually gossan deposits generated by the oxidation of deeper veins of copper and lead sulfides, are likely to have been worked in the Prehistoric, Etruscan, and Roman periods, and certainly during Medieval times.¹²⁸⁸

2The mining landscape of Etruria: research on mines and contemporary enhancement

The massive concentration of metallic ores in Etruria has produced a complex landscape consisting of mines surrounded by waste products and the remains of smelting plants, which were often located near mine entrances. Mining activity extends from the Chalcolithic period to the second half of the twentieth century. Certain phases are marked by particular intensity, like the late Protohistoric and the Etruscan periods, which was followed by less activity in Roman times, and a resurgence in the Middle Ages when local feudal powers controlled extraction and reduction activities and *Comuni* used their public authority to control long-distance trade in precious minting metals, such as copper and silver, as well as blooms of rough iron.¹²⁸⁹ The Renaissance was another intense period of mining and metallurgy, in which some previously Etruscan districts, such as the Monti di Campiglia, were mined for copper and lead sulfides using new forms of open air extraction developed under the Medici. Methods of open air quarrying continued to evolve in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as did metallurgy, particularly with improvements in methods of acquiring copper and lead from polymetallic sulfides.¹²⁹⁰ In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the development of natural sciences such as geology and mineralogy witnessed the introduction of new driving shafts and galleries in mining areas, which often led to the rediscovery and recording of evidence for Protohistoric mining activity and tools made of stone and bone; the resultant field of *archeologia mineraria*, or mining archaeology, provided a new perspective on the history of mining activities in the region (Fig. 25.2).¹²⁹¹

The foundation of the *Istituto di Studi Etruschi* in 1925 was an important step in the research and analysis of ancient Etruscan mining. In the Fascist period, an impressive bulk of iron slag in the suburban area of Populonia was recovered and reused, enabling Antonio Minto to begin a new phase of

research marked by collaboration between mineralogists, botanists, and archaeologists.¹²⁹² After a pause following World War II, during the 1980s, Riccardo Francovich launched a program of mining and metallurgical research at Rocca San Silvestro in the Monti di Campiglia district. This Medieval village had been ruled by local aristocrats who controlled the extraction and smelting of local deposits of skarn—mixed sulfides containing copper and lead—to provide copper and silver for the Pisa mint. Full excavation of the site led to a systematic survey of the zone, including exploration and excavation of the mines, analysis of deposits of extracted minerals, and finally excavation of deposits of slag.¹²⁹³ Similar interests have driven a number of projects intended to recognize and enhance the scientific and historical aspects of particular areas in the Colline Metallifere, such as the *Parco Archeominerario di San Silvestro* (Campiglia Marittima) and the *Parco Nazionale Tecnologico e Archeologico delle Colline Metallifere Grossetane* (Monterotondo Marittimo, Montieri, Massa Marittima, Roccastrada, Follonica, Scarlino, and Gavorrano).¹²⁹⁴

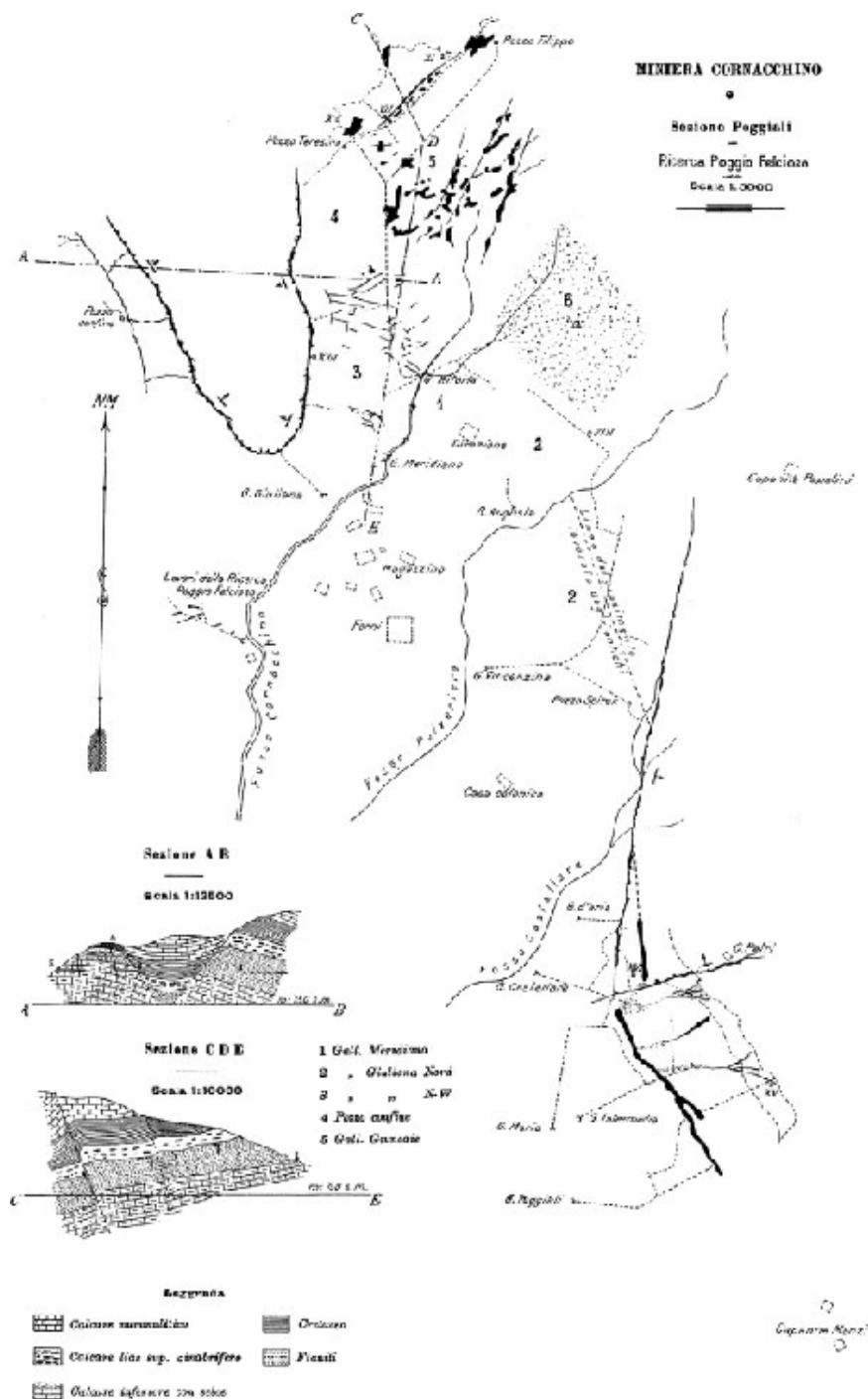


Fig. 25.2: Plan of the Miniera del Cornacchino at Monte Amiata (Castell'Azzara, Grosseto), active between 1872 and 1921 for the extraction of mercury. The position of Prehistoric galleries for the extraction of cinnabar is marked on the right side of the sketch as *linea del giacimento lavorato dagli antichi* (after De Castro 1914)

3The Monti di Campiglia (Livorno) mining and metallurgical district

Internal mine surveys and the development of a comprehensive chronological framework have produced an understanding of extraction works in the Monti di Campiglia district in the Prehistoric (Chalcolithic), Protohistoric (Late Iron Age, mainly eighth century), Etruscan (Archaic, Late Archaic, and Hellenistic phases), and Roman periods. Evidence of mining in these phases is found principally in the core of the basin, at Monte Spinosa, Monte Rombolo, and the Colle I Manienti in the west; in the area of Poggio all'Aione to the east; and in the areas of Romitorio and Monte Coronato in the north. There are also traces of activity around Monte Valerio, where the limonitic masses contain tin (cassiterite).¹²⁹⁵

The first task in ancient mining was to identify the surface of a vein. In natural caves, hollowed out by karst waters, miners could reach sulfide deposits that had accumulated close to the massive limestone. It may also have been possible to recognize altered gossan deposits (typically amorphous red-ocher stains) that were produced by meteoric waters and signaled the presence of a sulfide vein below. Once located, excavations typically followed the irregular course of the vein.

In karst caves a prospector could more easily detect the depth and consistency of the vein or skarn mass; Etruscan and Roman (and probably Iron Age) shafts are usually less than 1 m in diameter, and galleries were quite narrow, between 0.7 and 0.8 m wide, and with a length varying between half a meter and several meters. Remains in the area of Poggio all'Aione indicate that these mines could reach depths of over 100 m with galleries more than 800 m long (Fig. 25.3).

To save work, miners generally began by excavating the oxidized portion of the gossan and then followed the vein underground, leaving empty voids ("cultivation rooms"), where the ore was most concentrated. There are no signs of fire, suggesting that excavations were entirely manual, and traces of iron picks on the vein are chaotic and uneven. Irregularly shaped holes in the walls of shafts and galleries suggest the use of oil lamps, and additional small rectangular incisions, measuring 0.10×0.10×0.05 m, indicate the presence of wooden stairs or platforms. The wooden frames that protect galleries in Renaissance and modern mines were absent in their Etruscan, Roman, and Medieval counterparts. Other discarded material, however, is abundant, and is thought to have been the byproduct of a sorting process that saw only the richest ores taken to the surface in leather sacks or wooden buckets. It is possible that excavations of this material may yield finds such as domestic pottery, amphorae, lamps, and blunt picks that are essential for dating related

mining activities (Fig. 25.4).

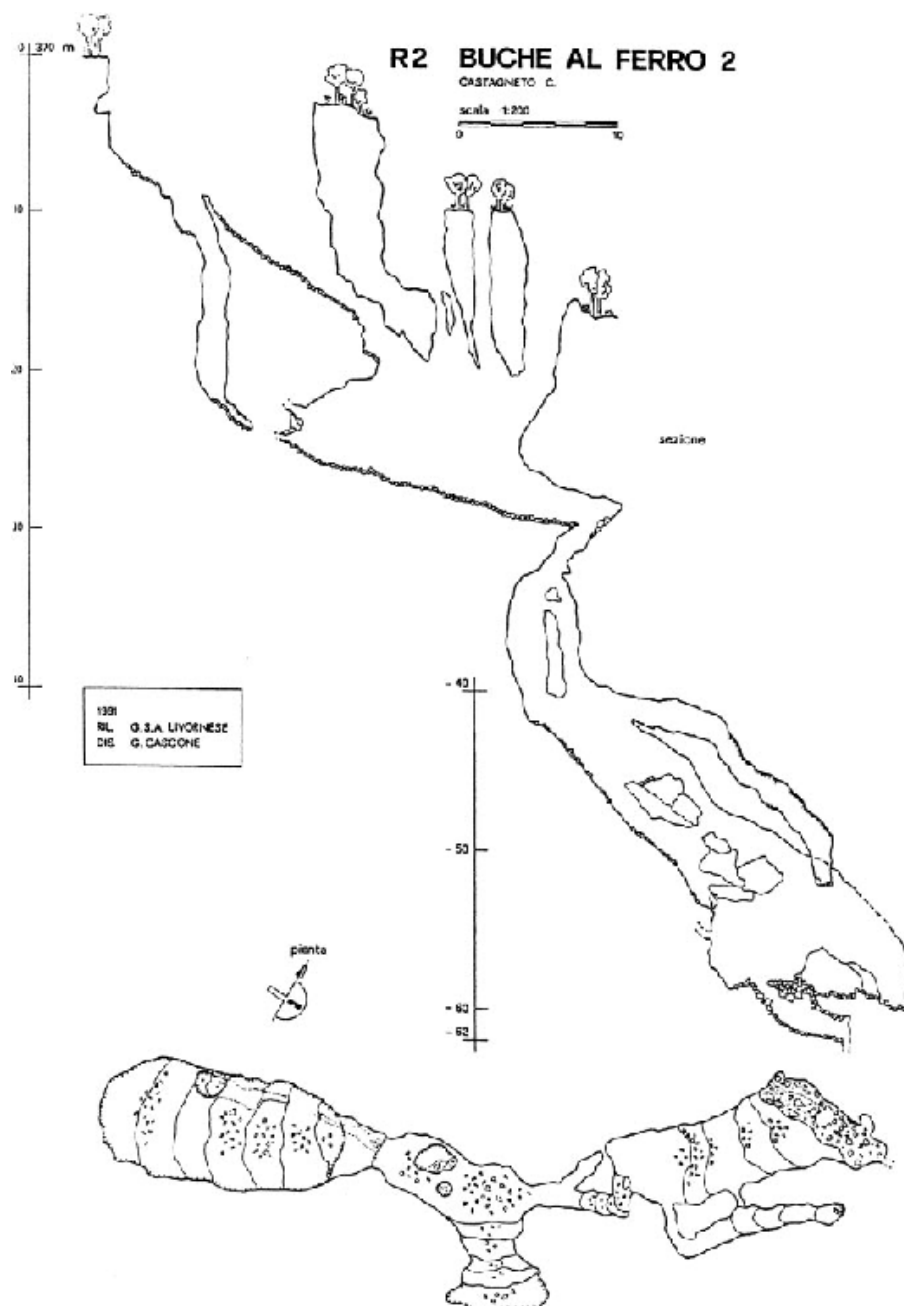


Fig. 25.3: Plan and section of the Etruscan mine Buche al Ferro 2 (Castagneto Carducci, Livorno), showing a complex system of pits, shafts, and cultivation rooms for the extraction of polymetallic sulfide ore (courtesy A. Casini and G. Cascone; drawing by G. Cascone)

In the Monti di Campiglia, sites of metallurgical activity appear to have been concentrated at the Fosso di Capattoli, in the valley of Temperino, and in the Podere I Cancellini area, on the eastern side of Monte Calvi.¹²⁹⁶ In Etruscan, Roman, and Medieval times, these activities typically took place on plains with plentiful wood and water, and generated a considerable amount of slag that is now part of the archaeological landscape, sometimes located a considerable distance from the mine. The primary goal in the Protohistoric and Etruscan periods was the extraction of sulfides; the presence of cassiterite in the iron-oxide hydrates at Monte Valerio also suggests the pursuit of tin, although recent investigations of the existing limited shafts and galleries suggests that this was a Roman endeavor.¹²⁹⁷



Fig. 25.4: Cultivation room at the bottom of the Etruscan mine Burian-Fohn (San Vincenzo, Livorno), with discarded material from the excavation of the skarn masses (courtesy A. Casini)

4Evidence for metallurgical activities at Golfo di Baratti (Livorno) and along the Golfo di Follonica (Grosseto)

Mining activities in the Monti di Campiglia must be understood in the context of the broader archaeological and historical framework of Populonia and its hinterland. There is evidence that this settlement controlled the exploitation of

sulfide deposits beginning in the ninth century through a complex network of fortified hilltops dating back to the Iron Age, such as one at Colle I Manienti, which were active until the Hellenistic period.¹²⁹⁸ New data (confirmed by radiocarbon analyses) on smelting processes involving chalcopyrite along the shore of the Golfo di Baratti have revealed that this metallurgical activity is contemporary with close contact between Populonia and Sardinia, and it is thus possible that the confidence and experience of Nuragic miners and metallurgists in working polymetallic ores influenced Etruscan smelting of local skarn.¹²⁹⁹

The smelting of polymetallic sulfides from Campiglia preceded the mining of hematite at Elba: iron reduction processes appear to have occurred after the mid eighth century and promoted an intense long-distance trade in Etruscan iron (see [chapter 26](#), Corretti). Reduction by local metallurgical workshops left immense heaps of slag (calculated to exceed 40,000 m³) all around the suburban area of Populonia: surveys and excavations of portions of the Golfo di Baratti coastline have recently identified areas of metallurgical activity that contain remains of the smelting of non-ferrous ore. Comparison between fragments of crude ore and the mineralogical features of the slag make it highly probable that the ore came from the Monti di Campiglia mines. Slag-cakes suggest a multistage copper smelting process, using tapping, low-shaft furnaces built with sandstone blocks bound by clay mixed with straw, and tuyeres for introducing air into the furnace. The recovery of many partial furnace remains in these coastal deposits may reflect the short life of the plants. Along the shoreline the lowest layers are rich in copper slag, confirming the antiquity of copper production, which can be dated to the ninth and eighth centuries by radiocarbon analysis of their charcoal content.¹³⁰⁰ Superimposed wider layers provide evidence of iron smelting stretching from the eighth and seventh centuries to the Roman period. The presence of tapped slag, often with fragments of tap holes and evacuation channels, indicates the use of slag-tapping furnaces with high walls. These were built with sandstone linings covered with clay, and air was again introduced during the smelting process through tuyeres in the walls; silicate slag was tapped through an opening at the base of the furnace ([Fig. 25.5](#)). Excavation of a limited portion of the coastline has uncovered the remains of two furnaces that were partially dug into the ground. With an aboveground height of approximately 30 cm and an internal diameter of between 20 and 30 cm, their walls were constructed by arranging sandstone and clay bricks or tiles in a horseshoe shape. The furnaces and slag suggest that this plant was used as a smithing area with ironworks, and was active between the fifth and second centuries. The crude and partially roasted or smelted ore from deposits here suggests an origin in the Rio Marina (Elba) iron mines.¹³⁰¹

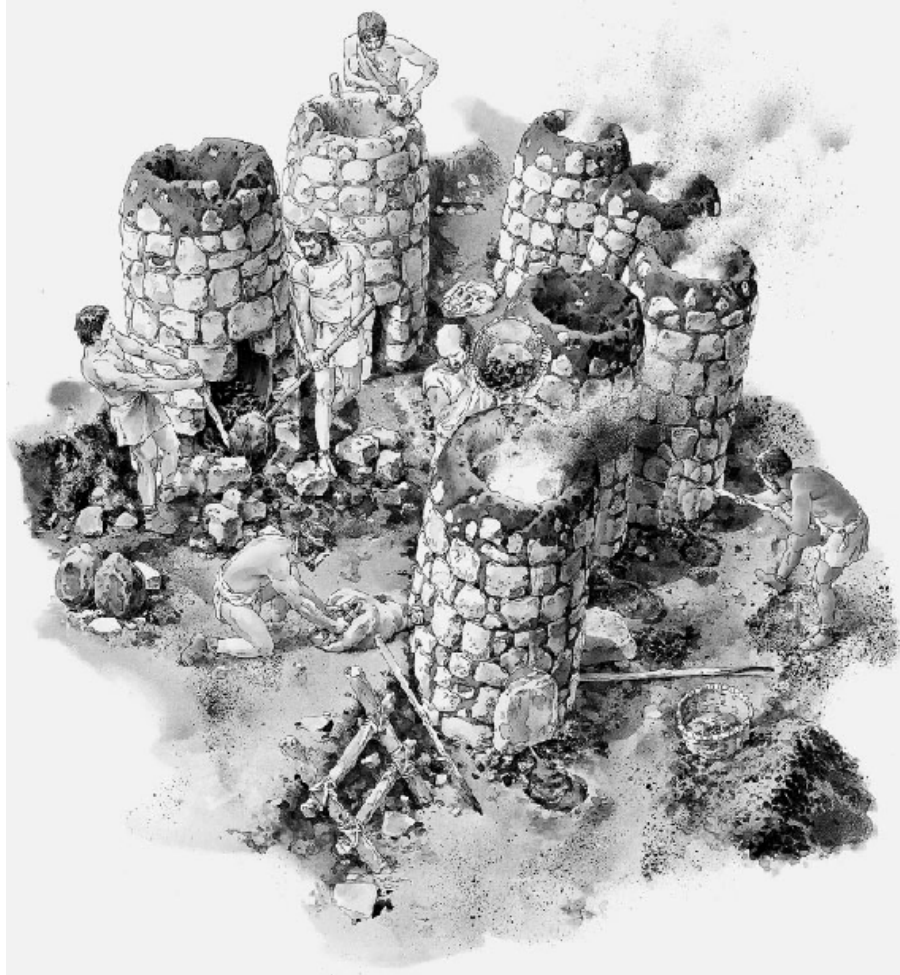


Fig. 25.5: Hypothetical reconstruction of Etruscan iron furnaces in the Golfo di Baratti (Populonia) area, showing the different steps of iron ore smelting, including the spilling of silicate slag and the final recovery of iron blooms through the demolition of the plant (courtesy Studio Inklank, Florence)

Finds at Rondelli (Follonica) have furthermore provided new knowledge of Archaic and Classical iron-smelting plants along the coast facing Elba. Twenty-one smelting furnaces have been discovered here. They consist of round pits, between 70 and 80 cm in diameter and between 30 and 40 cm deep, with revetments of clay mixed with straw. The clay coverings are often considerably burned. Clay-brick walls had a short life, requiring rebuilding with every smelting operation. The pits were used for the repeated collection of silicate slags, some of which have been found inside. The upper part of the furnaces held layers of iron and charcoal. The opening for the tuyere must have been in the lower part of the wall, with air blown inside using leather bellows or sheepskins. The ore at Rondelli is also reminiscent of supplies

5The Colline Metallifere (Grosseto) mining district

Mixed sulfide deposits around Massa Marittima are interesting but little known as yet. The ore here can be roughly classified into massive deposits of pyrite and mixed sulfides, and less consistent seam deposits of quartz and mixed sulfides.¹³⁰³ Minerals excavated and processed during the Protohistoric, Etruscan, Roman, and Medieval periods include zinc sulfides, galena, chalcopyrite and limonite, while a substantial deposit of iron sulfides (pyrite) was worked between 1910 and the 1980s to make sulfuric acid.

The most intense mining activity in the area took place in Etruscan and Medieval times. There are archaeological indications that between the ninth and sixth centuries the sparse settlement system around the Lago dell'Accesa was concentrated near the southern deposits of galena and chalcopyrite at La Speziala and Serrabottini.¹³⁰⁴ Medieval mining, under the control of the *Comune of Massa Metallorum*, has been recorded in the north, with more than 250 known shafts at sites such as Niccioleta, Valle dello Stregaio, Monte Gai, and Val d'Aspra, which all exhibit mining activities beginning in the pre-Roman period. In the western hills, between Poggio Bruscoline and Monte Arsentì, traces of mining activity confirm the mention of pits in Medieval documents, and metallurgical waste. To the southwest, between Podere Altini and La Speziala, there are both pre-Roman shafts and more regular Medieval pits, the latter often encased with stones, with cuts in the walls for platforms and winches. In the east, between Poggio al Montone and La Castellaccia, there are shafts that are up to 0.9 m in diameter and 40 m in depth (Fig. 25.6).

with regular courses of roughly hewn stones. Although many have been filled in, some have been explored and surveyed, with initial on-site inspections indicating that the vein was worked using vertical and parallel shafts from the surface.¹³⁰⁷

The Etruscan presence around Lago dell'Accesa consists of small, separated Iron Age (late ninth and eighth centuries) cemeteries at Fosso di Sodacavalli and at Campo Nuovo, which have not yet been associated with settlements. The origins of the local community more properly lie in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, when it is possible to recognize groups of houses apparently occupied by people connected with mining activities in the Serrabottini area. Giovannangelo Camporeale, who has dug at Macchia del Monte, has determined that metallurgical activity occurred near the shafts, and has proposed that the inhabitants of this quarter were high-status people with links to Vetulonia, approximately fifteen kilometers away. Pieces of sulfide minerals found in the walls of houses suggest a moderate level of sulfide reduction at the site, and the additional presence of iron slag makes smithing plants highly probable, especially in Sector C.¹³⁰⁸

A detailed picture of the organization of mining and metallurgical activities in the territory of Vetulonia has yet to be drawn, although surveys along the upper Val di Bruna, around Castel di Pietra (Gavorrano), have revealed the outline of a dense pattern of open sites, with evidence of a direct relationship between local quartz seams rich in polymetallic sulfides and smelting activities to extract copper, and perhaps silver, in the mid seventh and sixth centuries and again in the fourth, when this district appears to have come under the control of Populonia. This change in political control can be linked to the network of fortified hilltops in the Scarlino, Vetulonia and the Sassofortino areas, which was aimed at securing long-term control of ores in the Val di Pecora and Val di Bruna.¹³⁰⁹

6The Monti della Tolfa (Roma) mining district

A third district worthy of mention is Monti della Tolfa (Allumiere and Tolfa), in northern Latium. Although our level of knowledge of mining in this area could be improved, it is clear that the massive quantity of alunite deposits here was subject to extensive open-air mining in the Renaissance, when quarries were controlled by the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, the office in charge of the mining and trade activities of the Holy See and that mining continued until the invention of artificial alunite in the eighteenth century.

The impressive extant remains of quarries in the Monti della Tolfa district await proper archaeological investigation. Surveys in the 1980s, however, shed light on Medieval mining and metallurgy, which focused on the exploitation of copper and lead sulfides with presumably concurrent activities

to obtain iron from gossan deposits.¹³¹⁰ In 2010, several ancient stone hammers were discovered in the waste material of a seventeenth-century copper and lead sulfide mine at Poggio Malinverno, indicating the occurrence of mining activity between the Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age. A concentration of Proto-Villanovan sites in the alunitic and polymetallic mining area, along with the presence of hoards at Tolfa and Coste del Marano, give the general impression that there was a reasonable level of mining and metallurgical activity in the Final Bronze Age, followed by a period in which the Etruscan relationship with metallic and non-metallic ores is still unclear.¹³¹¹ From the eighth century on, the local settlement system, which consisted of centers on tufa plateaus and open sites, was more concerned with agriculture and cattle breeding than with the exploitation of local ores. An absence of fortified hilltops (like the Monte La Tolfaccia hilltop, abandoned in the mid seventh century), as well as a lack of open sites and mineral waste near the seams, makes the working of ore highly doubtful; the recent discovery of iron slag inside the walled coastal center of La Castellina del Marangone (Santa Marinella) is insufficient to indicate hard mining in the Monti della Tolfa district, as some of the ore is hematite from Elba mines.¹³¹²

Very recent discoveries have suggested that mining activity in *Etruria mineraria* ceased between the second half of the second century BCE and the first decades of the first century CE. The metallurgical site at San Bennato (Rio Marina) on Elba was abandoned at the beginning of the first century BCE; the metallurgical workshops along the coast of the Golfo di Baratti and the Golfo di Follonica (Poggetti Butelli and Prato Ranieri) did not survive beyond the middle Republic; and the relationships between settlements, mining areas and metallurgical sites in the Monti di Campiglia seem to have ended in the first century BCE.¹³¹³ Most local Italian mining appears to have been reorganized in response to the mass production activities in the Empire's western provinces, which were rich in sulfide ores, such as *Baetica* and *Hispania Tarraconensis*. Recent surveys in the Colline Metallifere demonstrate persistent mining and metallurgical activity—albeit on a different scale—between the end of the first century BCE and the second century CE, which was aimed at obtaining copper, possibly silver, and certainly iron from local gossan deposits. These surveys also bring to light records of smelting processes at individual sites like Ficarella (Monterotondo Marittimo), which stretch to the fourth century CE and offer local foundations for Early Medieval mining and metallurgical activities from the fifth to the tenth centuries.¹³¹⁴

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26The mines on the island of Elba

Abstract: The metal resources of the island of Elba have always been a relevant factor in the history of the surrounding communities, down to recent times. Copper outcrops, though present on the island, were too small to support a significant output, while the iron mines in eastern Elba were renowned for their plenty and continued to be worked until 1981, supplying the entire Tyrrhenian Sea area and beyond with iron. Control, exploitation, and trade of Elban iron influenced local settlements and the environment and, on a wider scale, the economy and international politics. Most archaeological evidence on the ancient mines was lost during modern exploitation. Chronological, technical, and quantitative information on iron production on Elba can no longer be retrieved by direct observation. It is therefore necessary to turn to indirect evidence. The appearance of Elban iron ore (when a reliable attribution is possible) in dated contexts yields chronological hints, together with the establishment of iron workshops at Populonia and the surrounding areas. A structured and continuous exploitation seems traceable only to the late seventh century, possibly in connection with foreign (Greek? Phoenician?) initiatives. The hypothesis of Populonian control of the mines from the beginning is sensible but lacks positive evidence, as does the suggestion of pan-Etruscan (mainly Caeretan) management. The “industrial building” at Populonia implies a continuous input of Elban ore from the sixth century. Sixth–fifth century materials on Elba indicate a shift of settlement toward the mining zone. After the Syracusan incursions in 453–452 a system of hilltop fortresses was established probably by Populonia to protect the mines and the related settlements. Romanization beginning in the early third century provoked a dramatic change in the area’s iron industry. An impressive amount of smelting activity (which caused increased exploitation of the Elba mines, possibly using slaves) covered the shores of Elba and the mainland with slag heaps amounting on the island to more than 100,000 tons, dating from the late third to the first centuries. The location of the workshops aims at the fullest exploitation of wood resources. Diodorus Siculus gives a vivid picture of this intensive activity, which involved the whole Tyrrhenian area. By the first century, mining and smelting were greatly reduced and limited to local needs. On Elba, ironworking sites gave way to luxurious *villae*. The memory of the glorious times survived in the works of geographers (Pliny the Elder) and poets (Rutilius Namatianus).

Keywords: Elba, copper, iron, mines, smelting

1A geomorphological sketch

In a schematic geomorphological description, Elba may be divided into three zones. On the west, the huge granite spur of Monte Capanne, which rises 1,019 m above sea level, is covered with extensive forests and contains several granite quarries, some of which were active in Roman and medieval times. The center of the island (from Marina di Campo to Portoferraio) lies between two isthmuses and is formed by a system of low rises and hills with

alluvial plains. The eastern zone stretches from Capo Vita on the north to Monte Calamita on the south and is divided in two by the isthmus of Mola. It consists of a range of steep, rocky cliffs where almost all the iron deposits on the island occur. A reconstruction of the geological evolution through a sequence of five units (“Trevisan’s complexes”) was proposed in the 1950s and has recently been discussed and updated.¹³¹⁵

2 Mines and metals

We deal here only with metals exploited in the ancient world, which for Elba means copper and iron.¹³¹⁶ A general reappraisal of mineral deposits on the island was published in 1991¹³¹⁷ and is still the main reference.¹³¹⁸

Copper exists on Elba as native metal, oxide, carbonate, and sulfide. Small cupriferous veins occur all over the island, but Elba bears no major copper resources. Suggestions by nineteenth century mining engineers¹³¹⁹ to reopen an “ancient” copper mine at Santa Lucia had no actual consequences. In fact, no copper has been excavated on the island in modern times. From west to east, copper is found at Pomonte Ogliastra– Punta Massellone, Le Tombe – Fetovaia, Acquacalda, Monte Perone, Santa Lucia – Colle Reciso – Monte Orello, Volterraio, Monte Calamita, and Cima del Monte.¹³²⁰ Other records of veins of native copper or chalcopyrite mention Maciarellino¹³²¹ and several sites around Pomonte (Buca del Rame [“Copper’s Cave”], San Bartolomeo).

Iron is found as oxides (hematite and magnetite), sulfides (pyrite), and hydroxides (limonite, goethite) and occurs almost exclusively in the eastern part of the island (Fig. 26.1a). A peculiar clay (*bolo*) was also collected in the iron mines and was used as a medicine;¹³²² healthful effects were credited to a mineral spring below the iron mountain at Rio Marina.¹³²³

Beginning in 1853, several iron mines were opened or re-opened from Rio Albano to Monte Calamita;¹³²⁴ before that, only the high-quality hematite deposits of Rio Albano and Rio Marina had been exploited.¹³²⁵

3 History of research

Ancient authors (e.g. *Mir. ausc.* 93) already realized that mineral exploitation on the island had a long and complex history, but reliable evidence of ancient mining on Elba began to be collected and discussed only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³²⁶ True historical interest grew beside utilitarian aims. In fact, tracing the exploitation of a mine back to remote times legitimated new investment:¹³²⁷ veins of ore exploited by the “ancients” could be followed with modern mining methods, yielding a successful enterprise.¹³²⁸ But while investigations on the mainland actually led to the recognition of

ancient and medieval excavations,¹³²⁹ on Elba ancient workings remained largely unknown, due to uninterrupted activity in the mine of Rio, which was carried out through open-pit digging beginning in the sixteenth century, and later also with gunpowder.¹³³⁰ Old galleries were occasionally brought to light, but none of them were conserved or scientifically documented.¹³³¹ These caves are simply referred to as “ancient”; sometimes an approximate length (1/4 mile) is given.¹³³² The ancient dumps near the mines were also exploited¹³³³ without any archaeological control.¹³³⁴ Other information derives from objects found among the slag heaps occasionally excavated on Elba, again with almost no scientific recording of data.¹³³⁵

The growing importance of the iron mines of Elba in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italy was both economic and symbolic, connecting the future of the new nation to its glorious past.¹³³⁶ In 1938, when all the mineral resources of Italy were put under intense exploitation, a comprehensive volume traced the history of the mines of Elba “since the Etruscans.”¹³³⁷

The recovery of slag at Populonia in the first decades of the twentieth century¹³³⁸ stimulated new multidisciplinary investigation of the mineral resources of ancient Etruria.¹³³⁹ While evidence on the mainland since then has been the object of renewed interest, the iron mines of Elba—which were still active at that time—have received less attention.

The discovery in the 1960s on the island of Ischia of a fragment of hematite¹³⁴⁰ stimulated new interest in ancient metal exploitation in Elba and Etruria. In fact, excavations on Ischia were bringing about the recognition of the role of the Pithekoussan community (which did not comprise Euboeans only) as the starting point of Greek colonization and trade in the West. The evidence from Ischia revealed a connection between the mineral resources of central Italy (including Elba mines) and Greek expansion in the Tyrrhenian Sea.¹³⁴¹ Meetings,¹³⁴² exhibitions,¹³⁴³ and reappraisals¹³⁴⁴ were therefore focused on *Etruria Mineraria*. Excavations at Populonia brought to light a building of the sixth–early third centuries, where Elban iron ore was smelted and worked.¹³⁴⁵ Excavations¹³⁴⁶ and surveys¹³⁴⁷ were also carried out on Elba, extending to the Middle Ages,¹³⁴⁸ which allowed a careful reexamination of archaeological data published in local contributions.¹³⁴⁹

Research carried out in recent decades at and around Populonia by a multi-institutional team has been widening our knowledge of ancient Populonia,¹³⁵⁰ and throwing light on the phase of copper metallurgy that preceded iron exploitation.¹³⁵¹

On Elba, a late Republican (third–first centuries) ironworking site was discovered at Cavo (Rio Marina) in 1999;¹³⁵² a mold of the hearth is displayed in the Antiquarium of Rio nell’Elba, along with slag, ore, and tuyère fragments from other Roman and medieval ironworking sites.

Mineral exploitation and human settlement on the island of Elba from antiquity to the Middle Ages are currently being investigated by a multidisciplinary team (the “Aithale project”).¹³⁵³

4 Scattered remarks on metal exploitation and production on Elba

4.1 Copper

The literary allusion to copper mining occurring in remote times (*Mir. ausc.* 93) is paralleled by the archaeological evidence. In fact, the presence of people of the Eneolithic culture of Rinaldone in the heart of the mining area of Elba (Grotta di San Giuseppe, Rio Marina)¹³⁵⁴ testifies to their precocious interest in the metal resources of the island, with pride of place, of course, going to copper.

Human presence intensified from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, according to several bronze hoards from the island,¹³⁵⁵ which were found in close relationship with copper outcrops (Fig. 26.1a), though the latter are of minor extent.¹³⁵⁶

Bronze objects and burial rites show parallels both with the mainland and with Sardinia and Corsica,¹³⁵⁷ suggesting that people traveling between the islands and the Italian peninsula played a major role in the spread of metallurgical knowledge in Elba.

Even the smallest chalcopyrite outcrop would not escape the expert eye of prospectors acquainted with copper metallurgy in Sardinia or the Campigliese; indeed, analyses on bronze objects from Cima del Monte testify for their Sardinian origin.¹³⁵⁸ The small amount of available metal suggests that copper exploitation on Elba played only a supplementary role beside other activities.¹³⁵⁹

This scheme is reflected in the Pseudo-Aristotelian text *Mir. ausc.* 93.¹³⁶⁰ The chronological sequence starts with copper production for local needs, followed by a considerable pause and, finally, by the *paradoxon* (tale of marvels) of iron exploitation in the same mine. Actually, copper veins do occur on Elba among iron ore deposits (e.g. at Monte Calamita or Rio), though never in large amounts. The Pseudo-Aristotelian idea of a “real” copper mine is therefore influenced by the later, impressive appearance of iron mines and possibly by the abundance of copper in *Etruria Mineraria* as a whole. It has been suggested that Etruria controlled and took advantage of Elba’s copper resources, while iron production was directly managed by Populonia.¹³⁶¹ Self-sufficiency based on Elba’s copper outcrops makes sense only if it referred to the needs of the inhabitants of the island; it seems therefore possible that the heavily abridged Pseudo-Aristotelian paragraph distinguished between a (remote) time when Elban people directly managed the copper on the island, retrieving enough of it to satisfy their needs, and the time of the author of the tale (Timaeus?), when iron mining was the bulk of mineral production on the island, under Populonian rule. Two features should be noted: the long time between the exhaustion of the copper mine and the

reopening of the iron mine; and no mention of the inexhaustibility of iron mines (a major theme in later ancient literature), even though the tale would offer an appropriate context.

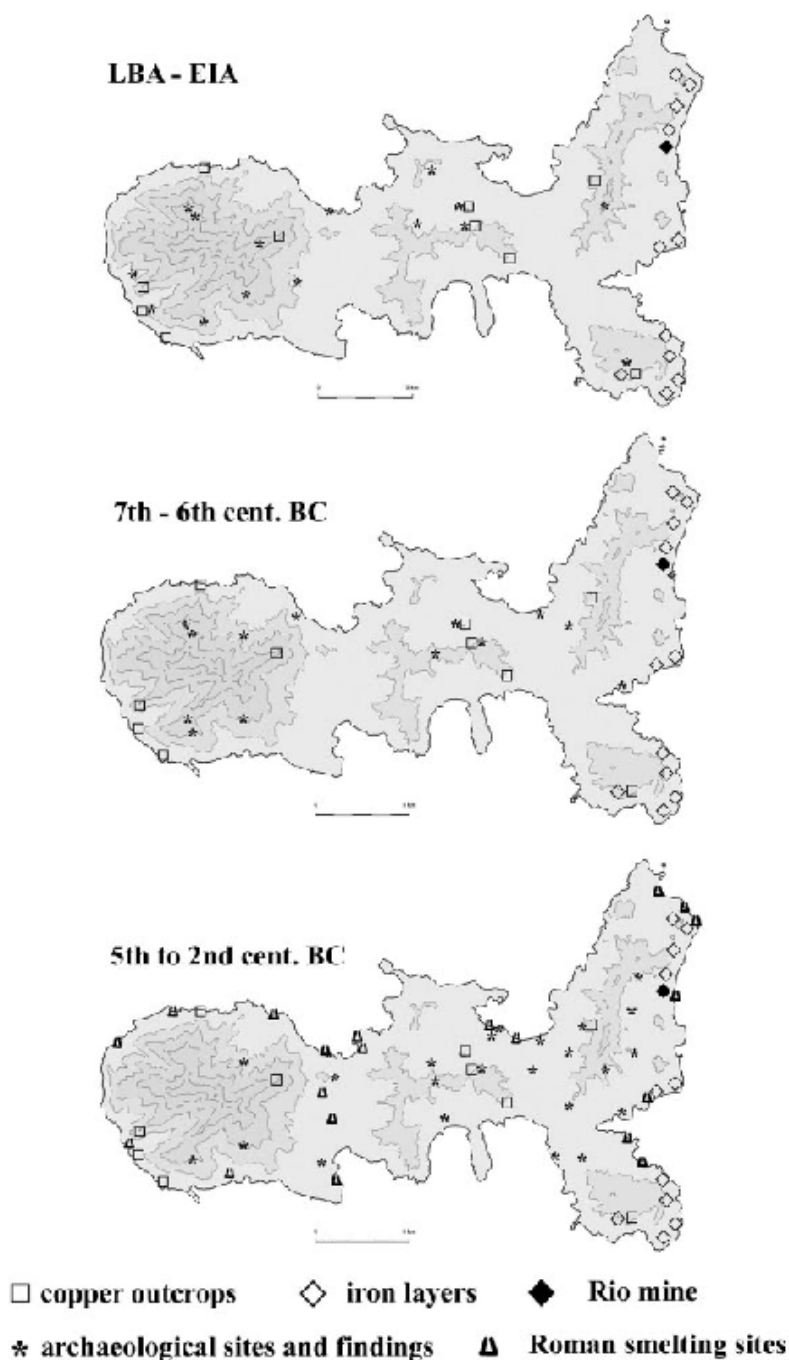


Fig. 26.1: Map of the metal resources on the island of Elba

4.2Iron

4.2.1 The Etruscan period

Since ancient mines and dumps at Rio have been lost in modern exploitation, indirect information is needed to date the initial phases of iron production.

Tracing back the first appearance of (true) Elban hematite in reliable archaeological contexts is a sensible method, though ore provenance should always be controlled through specific analyses. Recent research has discovered that high tin and tungsten contents mark the hematite from Elba, thus yielding a tool for tracing the diffusion of Elban iron ore.¹³⁶² Elban hematite has recently been discovered in reliably Palaeolithic contexts near Livorno and near Lake Bilancino (Florence), of course not for metallurgical use.¹³⁶³ Ore from the lowest levels in the “industrial building” at Populonia dates to the first half of the sixth century.¹³⁶⁴ Hematite from Pisa¹³⁶⁵ and San Piero a Grado¹³⁶⁶ comes from late seventh–early sixth century contexts; a slightly lower chronology is suggested for the iron ore at Rondelli–Follonica.¹³⁶⁷ On Ischia the ore from “Scarico Gosetti” comes from a disturbed context, and the slag found in an eighth-century layer in the necropolis of Lacco Ameno cannot be linked with certainty to Elban ore.¹³⁶⁸

Iron objects from Populonia testify to the spread of iron technology in the area¹³⁶⁹ and to the exploitation of local resources (possibly including the ore deposits of Monte Valerio, on the mainland). Iron was not common in the early phases of the necropolis of Populonia,¹³⁷⁰ but it was used for ornamental purposes (iron inlay in bronze sheet) as late as the middle of the seventh century.¹³⁷¹ Other parts of Italy (e.g. Calabria) were more precocious, adopting iron for utilitarian purposes as early as the ninth century.¹³⁷² The existence of large iron ore deposits on Elba does not seem to have stimulated an autonomous early transition to iron-based metallurgy in the area.¹³⁷³ External influence may therefore be traced through several distinct—possibly interconnected—paths, involving Greek (Euboean-Pithekoussan), Phoenician, and Sardinian prospectors and traders, in the context of a well-developed local copper-based metallurgy.¹³⁷⁴

The stratigraphy of Porto Baratti at Populonia, where slag accumulated for centuries, may enlighten the early phases of iron exploitation. At the bottom of a cliff running along the seaside,¹³⁷⁵ large slag cakes deriving from copper smelting were recorded, dating to the ninth–eighth centuries.¹³⁷⁶ Atop this layer, some iron slag appeared mixed with copper slag, earth, and charcoal, with a C14 chronology from the eighth and seventh centuries. Copper slag disappears, and iron slag becomes more frequent in the upper layers.¹³⁷⁷ These data will be verified through further investigations in other portions of the slag deposit at Porto Baratti.

Even admitting a late-eighth-century date for the “discovery” of the iron

deposits of Rio,¹³⁷⁸ positive evidence of systematic exploitation is consistently later.¹³⁷⁹

The status of the iron mines in these early phases is obscure. Evidence of a structured community on Elba—able to manage the local metal resources—is elusive. Populonia is said to manage the “new” iron mine in *Mir. ausc.* 93;¹³⁸⁰ garment accessories from seventh–sixth century tombs at Madonna del Monte (Monte Capanne, Elba) point to Populonian settlers.¹³⁸¹ However, political control of the island (and of the mines) by Populonia at this early time needs stronger evidence.¹³⁸² It is certain that in the early sixth century, Populonia created an industrial complex for ironworking at Baratti, which presupposes a continuous supply of iron ore.

Several sparse hints thus converge to indicate a Populonian initiative in improving iron production at least as early as the sixth century. This may be due, of course, to internal developments at Populonia that moved the balance of the local economy toward a manufacturing industry, (and iron production at Populonia and elsewhere in Etruria has been recently connected to aristocratic groups since the first half of the sixth century)¹³⁸³, but external influence should not be excluded. It is worth noting that the beginning of regular iron production coincides with the acme of Phocaeen and Ionian *emporia* in the West. This is the time of the first known mention of Elba in Greek sources—by Hecataeus of Miletus. Phocaeans in particular were credited with “opening” the sea routes of the western Mediterranean (Hdt. 1.163), and it is tempting to connect the location of Elban iron mines—almost directly on the sea—to the high grade of Elban hematite (which made the raw ore trade profitable),¹³⁸⁴ and the traces of Ionian (Phocaeen?) influence in the material culture of Archaic Populonia.¹³⁸⁵

We cannot guess at the amount of iron worked.¹³⁸⁶ The quantity of slag dated with certainty to the Archaic period (from Populonia “Edificio Industriale,” Rondelli, and a few other sites in the neighborhood, but not yet Elba)¹³⁸⁷ appears significantly smaller (on the order of hundreds of tons) than the huge heaps from Roman times (hundreds of thousands of tons).¹³⁸⁸ Though small, in the sixth–fifth centuries, several ironworking sites were already spread along the Tyrrhenian Sea. We do not know how much they relied on Elban iron and/or other sources of iron,¹³⁸⁹ and only analyses of ore and slag will give an answer. This is the case, for example, of the iron ore found in a fifth-century context at Genoa and at Aleria (Corsica), which is generally identified as Elban hematite without specific analyses.¹³⁹⁰

There is a shift of the human settlement on Elba towards the eastern, iron-mining area in the sixth and fifth centuries (Fig. 26.1b–c). An Archaic bronze statuette of an offerer,¹³⁹¹ together with some of the Classical tombs so far discovered on Elba, attest to a moderate local wealth, possibly connected to iron mines.¹³⁹² From the second half of the fifth century, a system of hilltop fortresses was established on the island, probably under Populonian control¹³⁹³ and mainly in the most populous, central-eastern part of the island.

This suggests an increased importance of iron exploitation, which became a strategic resource in a wider Tyrrhenian area. At Populonia, smelting and refining activities were carried out in the “industrial quarter” from the sixth to the early third centuries¹³⁹⁴ and near the Baratti shore, where recent excavations have brought to light smithing forges dating from the fourth to the second centuries.¹³⁹⁵

The iron mines of Elba may have been the real target of the double naval expedition by Syracuse in 453–452 (Diod. Sic. 11.88.4–5), though Diodorus refers only to the repression of Etruscan piracy.¹³⁹⁶ The number of ships (sixty) and the distance from Sicily long remained unparalleled in Syracusan history. This highlights the importance attributed by the Sicilian *polis* to the direct control of Elba and its iron mines, a resource almost totally lacking in Sicily. A further expedition under Dionysius the Elder in 384 supports this view. The anecdote of the Sicilian merchant (in Arist. *Pol.* 1259a)—the first documented attempt at an iron monopoly, under Dionysius the Elder—gives the figure of fifty talents to indicate the value of the iron purchased. This number has been seen as the amount of iron annually bought by Syracuse,¹³⁹⁷ thus giving a figure for the annual output of the main source of iron ore, the Elba mines. This statement should be reexamined, however. Traces of Syracusans on Elba are scanty but suggestive: the *Portus Longus* (*Peutinger Table* 2.4–5)—Porto Longone, later Porto Azzurro—mirrors Greek place names in northeastern Sicily;¹³⁹⁸ the myth of the Argonauts on Elba has also been connected with Corinthian (i.e., Syracusan) traditions;¹³⁹⁹ the “*Hellenes hoi ten neson oikountes...*” mentioned by *Mir. ausc.* 105 (Timaeus?) were perhaps the descendants of the Syracusan garrison.¹⁴⁰⁰

4.2.2 The Roman period

Traces of a change in the iron industry at Populonia after the Roman conquest (early third century) may be seen in the abandonment of the “industrial quarter” at Baratti¹⁴⁰¹ and in the establishment of several large ironworking sites on the Tyrrhenian coast¹⁴⁰² and on Elba. Since these slag heaps were almost totally destroyed during slag-retrieval operations in the 1930s and later,¹⁴⁰³ only an approximate date (early second–early first century) can be given for this massive ironworking phase.¹⁴⁰⁴

More than 100,000 tons of slag were recovered on Elba;¹⁴⁰⁵ on the mainland, the ironworking site at Poggetti Butelli near Follonica is estimated to have held around 500,000 tons, while the amount of slag at Populonia is debated but seems to be consistently larger.¹⁴⁰⁶

This means that iron ore excavation on Elba underwent a dramatic increase under Roman rule, possibly through greater use of slave manpower. A clear explanation for this change continues to elude us, although it seems likely that Populonian control of the Elba mines weakened,¹⁴⁰⁷ and private enterprises (*publicani*) made free use of the mineral and forest resources of the island and

the mainland. Possibly, one of these entrepreneurs was that Aulus Vettius who scratched his name inside a third century BCE black glazed bowl that was found in the sea at Cavo, near the iron mines and in front of an ironworking site.¹⁴⁰⁸

Tomb assemblages in the Hellenistic-Roman cemeteries of Elba suggest that both slaves and freedmen were employed in the mines and related jobs.¹⁴⁰⁹ New ironworking sites were created up and down Elba's coast (Fig. 26.1c),¹⁴¹⁰ even at the western end.¹⁴¹¹ These factories were located on the sea, near an anchorage for ore transport facilities. They relied on water from small streams flowing nearby, and usually had a valley behind them that furnished charcoal for metallurgical furnaces. Roof tiles, amphorae, and ceramics found among the slag during the surveys and the excavation at San Bennato and San Giovanni¹⁴¹² hint at permanent settlements.

The location of these ironworking sites aimed at the fullest exploitation of the island's forests. In fact, the only factor limiting the amount of iron that could be produced was the quantity of available wood and charcoal. Woods in the area were severely damaged by this large-scale manufacture, which impressed the ancient writers. Diodorus Siculus (5.13.1–2) devotes the entire chapter on Elba to the ironworking process, describing the large amount of iron available and exploited, the crushing and smelting of ore, the technical properties of the furnaces, and the fact that the metallurgical treatment was limited to smelting, producing unrefined iron in the form of large “sponges.” A complex network of factories and trading points that spread across the Tyrrhenian Sea but was centered on Puteoli (Pozzuoli), brought Elban iron—in the form of finished objects—almost everywhere. This system distributed the environmental¹⁴¹³ and economic problems connected with charcoal production to a wider area, since every step of the ironworking process (from smelting to refining to forging and shaping) was located in a different place.

The establishment of this operational chain dates at least to the Second Punic War, when Scipio (in 205) asked his Etruscan allies for the raw materials to build and arm a fleet for his expedition to Africa. Populonia gave iron, while weapons and implements—possibly made of the very same iron—were presented by Arretium (Livy 28.45.15–16).¹⁴¹⁴

Analyses of slag from Roman ironworking sites on Elba confirm that the metallurgical treatment of iron ore was limited to smelting.¹⁴¹⁵ At Populonia, coastal excavation has brought to light some refining forges dating to the fourth–beginning of the second centuries, while a huge accumulation of smelting slag occurs immediately after.¹⁴¹⁶ The impact of mining and metallurgy on the Italian environment, the fear of further slave rebellions after Spartacus, and attention to sparing the resources of Italy for future needs moved the Senate to promulgate a *senatusconsultum*¹⁴¹⁷ in the first century forbidding mineral exploitation in Italy. At the same time, several authors mention the iron mines of Elba for the *paradoxon* of their inexhaustibility. Elba was Italian soil, but Strabo (5.2.6) saw active Elban iron mines (though

ironworking on the island had ceased), with the ore laded directly from the mine and brought to Populonia for smelting. Elban iron mines were not definitively closed, possibly because iron had a special status for strategic reasons, or because they really were supposed to be nearly inexhaustible.¹⁴¹⁸

4.2.3 Epilogue

We do not know how long the Elban iron mines remained active after Strabo's observation. Excavations at Baratti-Populonia clearly show an end to large-scale metallurgical activity by the middle of the first century¹⁴¹⁹ and a transition to a modest production system based on *villae* that was aimed at local needs.¹⁴²⁰ The routes of the iron trade—at least those that led to the Roman army—no longer crossed the waters of Elba, but followed the Rhône toward the German *limes*.¹⁴²¹ It is suggestive that steel implements used in Vetulonia were purchased in Noricum in the first century CE.¹⁴²² Though Virgil (*Aen.* 10.173), Silius Italicus (6.613–16), and Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.81, 34.142) still mention the iron mines, they refer to past ages, or use a literary *topos* associating Elba with *ferri metalla* even though these were no longer being worked. Rutilius Namatianus (1.351–66) praises the poor, honest, and fertile iron of Elba as the symbol of an old world that had collapsed under the blows of the barbarians or had been weakened by the Christians. The mines had entered legend.

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Fiorenzo Catalli

27Coins and mints

Abstract: The production of coins in Etruria is linked to the individual city-state, following a model imported from Greek civilization. The Greek model is the Syracusan, for both typology and weight, and was the basis for the oldest coin production in the areas of Vulci and Populonia between the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century bce, and then continued at irregular times and rhythms. The bronze Italic and Latin coins of a calibrated weight, with denominations in duodecimal divisions, on the other hand, served as the model for the mints of Etruscan centers, from Volterra to Tarquinia and perhaps Arezzo-Cortona-Chiusi in periods when Roman coinage became familiar.

Keywords: Populonia, Vulci, Tarquinia, Volterra, Arezzo

Introduction

In Etruria, the production of coinage developed within individual city-states, following the Greek model. The use of coins in commercial exchange certainly came about later than in the Greek world, but a century earlier than in the Roman world. Nonetheless, as regards Etruscan coins, we must ascertain the quantity and the continuity of production across the different periods.

The earliest experiments with coinage are found in the economic and cultural environments of Populonia and Vulci. As for Populonia, the historical and archaeological evidence agree that it was fully involved in the maritime traffic on the Tyrrhenian Sea in the mid sixth century BCE, thanks to its hegemonic position in the exploitation of metalliferous resources not only on the island of Elba but also in the hinterland of Campiglia Marittima.

Vulci's commercial role—which developed throughout the sixth century and during much of the fifth—must be stressed as a center of receipt and transshipment of luxury goods toward neighboring Etruscan centers and those of more inland Etruria. The Vulci area is assigned four different series of silver coins with the legends *Thezi* and *Thezle* (produced on a base weighing 5.80 g), showing a winged Gorgon on the run, a sphinx, and a hippocamp, for a production dated—not very confidently—to the first half of the fifth century. The names in the legends, rather than being derived from names of cities, could be derived from the gentilics of persons responsible for the quality of the production and representing the issuing authority—that is, the city-state—*itself*. In Etruscan coinage some standard weights have been used ([Table 1](#)).

Table 1.: Standard weights used by Etruscan cities

Standard weight	Theoretical weight	Value	Series	Chronology
Asia Minor	g 5,80	unit and two units	Thezi-Thezie	First half 5th cent. BCE
Euboean-attic	g 8,7	From 1 to 10 units	Gorgon's head X	Half 5th cent. BCE
Euboean-attic	g 17,44	unit, 2/3 and 1/4	Wild boar, Chimera, Sea lion, Lion's head	5th cent. BCE
Euboean-attic	g 17,44	from 1 to 20 units	Gorgon's head, XX	First half 3rd cent. BCE
Roman libra	g 293,26	duodecimal	Tarquinius	Late 4th-early 3rd cent. BCE
Roman libra	g 206,66	duodecimal	Heavy series of the wheel and heavy series of the sacrifice	First half 3rd cent. BCE
Roman libra	g 151,60	duodecimal	Volterra and light series of the wheel	First half 3rd cent. BCE

1Populonia

In the case of Populonia, the first experiment with coinage consisted of small denominations in silver (supposed weight of 0.69 g), which were found, together with a small idol and bars of the same metal, in a hoard near the walls of Volterra in 1868. Of the sixty-five coins found, a small number have recently been judged to be the product of the Greek city of Massalia and a large number a product of Populonia itself, confirming the existence of active commercial traffic with the entire Etruscan Tyrrhenian coast from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century.¹⁴²³

After a period of inactivity that lasted a couple of decades, Populonia turned to striking other coins in silver, some of which are linked to the old base weight of 5.80g, while others were produced on a new base weight derived from the Euboean-Attic stater (= tetradrachm) of 17.44 g, a standard spread through southern Italy by the Greek colonies on Sicily. To the first group are assigned two series of various values featuring either a lion's head or a lion with a sea monster's tail ([Colour plate 1](#)); to the second, other series featuring wild boar ([Colour plate 2](#)) and chimera ([Colour plate 3](#)). All the series have one blank side that bears no mark at all.

Limited production restricted to high values and a restricted area of

circulation are thus the characteristics of the first experiments with money in the Etruscan cities, similar to what had happened in the Greek cities of Greece itself and the colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily, which had provided the very idea of money.¹⁴²⁴ This production cannot be justified by the needs of domestic or international commerce, in comparison with the territory of each city-state. For this early period, a few scholars have suggested that the production of coins was dictated by a policy of acquisition and payment within gentile groups rather than within a governmental authority.

The oldest Etruscan public coinage, again linked to Populonia, seems to be represented by a series of various values in silver and gold, among which is the example with the Gorgon's head and a denomination marked as X (Colour plate 4). An example of this series in silver has been found near Como in an archaeological stratum securely dated to the third quarter of the fifth century (450–425).¹⁴²⁵

The dating confirms earlier intuitions derived from notes on historical events in the city. Intensive metallurgical activity in Populonia, in fact, really intensified in the fifth and fourth centuries such that in the middle of the fourth century, Populonia had established a monopoly on the production and export of iron from the island of Elba.¹⁴²⁶ The development of an internal market with the associated expenses and payments might have favored recourse to money, which by this time was not limited only to high values but provides examples of low values in reasonable quantity.

A series in gold consisting of three denominations valued 50, 25, and 12.5 features the design of a lion's head with gaping jaws (Colour plate 5). With a nearly perfect correspondence of weights and values, this series corresponds with a gold series from Syracuse from the period of the tyrant Dionysius I (405–367), which would provide a contemporary date for the Etruscan pieces.¹⁴²⁷ Other values in gold of various designs, featuring male and female heads, the Gorgon head, and the hippocamp, seem to be part of the same system linked to the Populonian environment.

After an interval of time that we are not yet in a position to specify, Populonia again began to produce silver and bronze coins with a group of issues numerically more consistent and design articulated more logically. The most common value (more than 1,000 examples of some forty different coins) is the silver stater with the Gorgon's head, with a makeup quite similar to the preceding but marked with the value XX (Colour plate 6). The reverse shows various designs that are often accompanied by a legend with the name in the form *Pupluna* or *Puplana*. The precise correspondence of the weights with the older series, but with a different sign of value, suggests devaluation by halving the value of the denomination, the motivation of which remains unknown.

There are two other silver series with the same signs of value. The first features a beautiful helmeted three-quarters head of Athena, with the legend *Pupluna* on the reverse, and the second, a full-face head of Hercle-Heracles

capped by a lion skin and either a club or no design on the reverse (**Colour plate 7**). At least the head of Menrva-Athena finds an exact typological and chronological comparison with a similar type, which appears on the tetradrachm of the mint of Syracuse, signed in the die by Eucleidas and assigned to the last years of the fifth century.¹⁴²⁸

This phase of production in Populonia is characterized by a wider and lively circulation of coins. Indubitable evidence is a few hoards found in the territory directly dependent on the city, which is closely connected with the ever-greater involvement of money in the social and economic life of Populonia. Confirming this, in the area of the same mint, are some series minted in bronze featuring the legend *Pupluna* or *Pufluna*, with the head of a god and each god's respective symbols (Menrva-Athena, owl; Turms-Hermes, caduceus; Hercle-Heracles, bow, arrows, and club; Sethlans-Hephaestus, hammer and tongs). These also reflect the reduction in weight and various chronological periods, though they are never very far from the middle of the third century.

A dozen series minted in bronze are characterized by reverses with punched figures (**Colour plate 8**), a peculiarity that places the series in a group by itself but still within the field of Etruscan—and although the date of circulation is yet to be confirmed, more precisely Populonian—coinage. Such comparison of design and weight appears to show parallelism between some denominations of this Etruscan production (various distinct denominations of the signs of value are distinguished, from 1 to 100 unit) (**Colour plate 9**) with similarities to the Syracusan coinage of the time of Timoleon (345–335), a comparison that might suggest a possible absolute chronology.

2Tarquinia and Volterra

In line with the Italic tradition of cast bronze coinage,¹⁴²⁹ some other Etruscan centers issued cast series of exact weight in various values, assigned according to the duodecimal division of the pound. It seems right to attribute an anepigraphic series—which survives by way of a small number of examples—to the city of Tarquinia, on the basis of its discovery in the territory and from the clear comparison between the designs of the coins (wild boar's head and the letter Alpha), and the subjects of the wall painting of the Tomba dei Pinie (Giglioli Tomb) at Tarquinia, which dates to the last decades of the fourth century—in any case, no later than 300 (**Colour plate 40**). The progenitor, Vel Pinies, might have held the post of magistrate (his magistral insignia are depicted hanging on the walls of this tomb) responsible for the issue. This is entirely in line with the historical fortunes of the city, which after an exceptional dominance over a vast territory, saw a phase of slow but steady decline beginning in the middle of the fourth century, brought about by

Rome's ever-increasing interference. To be specific, the armed conflict with Rome took place in the mid and late fourth century (351–308), until the definitive capitulation of the Etruscan city in 281, the same year when Tarquinia saw part of its territory confiscated (see [chapter 37](#) Marcone).

Volterra's coinage can be placed a few decades later. It was divided into three different series, with denominations from the dupondius to the ounce, and documented by a over 600 examples that have survived. All the denominations with their respective indications of value show a youthful two-faced head (*Culsans* in Etruscan) and the legend in Etruscan letters *Velathri*. This minting must coincide with the period of great development of the city's artisanry, which was closely connected both with the growth of the urban population and the extension of the territory, which was politically and culturally dependent on the city.¹⁴³⁰

The association with other classes of materials and the discovery of Volterranean coinage document its presence for the entire third century, but production might have ceased during the First Punic War. The data in our possession document the persistence of such examples in a family's possession even during the chronological period in which Roman coinage was already in use in markets throughout Etruria.

3Other cities

Other series of coins cast in bronze were produced in centers in interior northern Etruria (Arezzo, Cortona, and Chiusi) based on two different pounds, 151.60 g and 204.66 g, the lighter of which is the same as that used in the Volterra mint ([Colour plate 10](#)).

The first five series features a wheel on the obverse, and either the same type of wheel or a battle-axe, a krater, an anchor, or an amphora on the reverse. Two other series feature the design of an ancient wheel on the obverse, like that which appears on a silver series of one unit attributed to Populonia and either the same ancient wheel or three crescents on the reverse. The last series has another common design for the obverse and one for the reverse: an augur's head facing forward with the typical cap, axe, and hammer, instruments used in the propitiatory sacrifice ([Colour plate 11](#)). Both the anchor series and the battle-axe series would seem to complement two other series in bronze but struck with weights and marks of value identifying them as an ounce, a half-ounce, and a quarter-ounce. Any attempts to attribute an individual series to a specific center on the basis of letters of a particular alphabet have not yet yielded the hoped-for results, but the areas of greatest interest remain the Elsa Valley and the Chiana Valley.

For the best definitions of these cast bronze series, it is indispensable to refer to what some of the cities and communities of central Italy (Ariminum,

Firmum, Hatria, Vestini, Luceria, Venusia, Ausculum, Tuder, Iguvium, and Rome itself) underwent to verify relations of dependency or provenience of the weight units used from time to time and reconstructed by calculating the theoretical weight for each series.¹⁴³¹

As for the two different pounds identified in the study of each example's weight, it seems more logical to believe that they were two pounds of Etruscan origin, and that one might be derived from the other by reduction, rather than imagining an exclusively Roman provenience in a general view of the dependence of all Etruscan and Italic coin production on the Roman model.

It is clear enough for the production of money coined in gold, silver, and bronze, that influences are to be sought in the Greek environment of Magna Graecia and, above all, of Sicily, from which the very idea of money arrived. As for the production of coins cast in bronze, the same is also true of other Italic centers in deference to the Italic, Etruscan, and Latin practice of using bronze-copper as a medium of exchange in unshaped chunks or in the form of ingots or finished products, including coins that in multiples could reach a weight of several hundred grams.

In the group of coins with the legend *Vatl*, attributed to the mint at *Vatluna-Vetulonia*, the series featuring a man's head on one side with the reverse either blank or with a caduceus, which seems to be the oldest that has been found, can be compared stylistically with the depictions that appear on Etruscan red-figure ceramics of the Clusium-Volterrae Group, from the end of the fourth century. There is also a denomination with half the value in a varied series with a male head capped by a conical helmet, and on the reverse, an oar or a rudder. Another series also has two denominations—*sestante* and *uncia*—each with the same design: a male head capped with the remains of a sea monster on the obverse, and, on the reverse, a trident flanked by two dolphins. The findspots of coins with the legend *Vatl* mainly identify a Tyrrhenian circulation, in the territories of Populonia and Vetulonia, in the service of an internal market equipped with limited possibilities of expansion. Vetulonia's entire experience with money is confined to between the end of the fourth and the first half of the third century.¹⁴³²

Three series of coins show a legend *Peithesa*, which is not possible to match to any name of an ancient center, but rather to a gentilic *Peithe-*, which is found throughout the territory of Chiusi. The series have the same reverse, an owl standing with closed wings, and different obverses, a head of *Turms-Hermes*, *Menrva-Athena*, or *Aplu-Apollo*.

Two other series that are anepigraphic, but definitely from the Etruscan sphere, feature designs of the head of a black African accompanied by an elephant (Colour plate 12) and a male head accompanied by a running fox-like dog (Colour plate 13). For all these series, the findspots permit them to be attributed to northern inland Etruria during a period that extends to as late as the end of the third century.

Among our uncertainties, there are some scarce examples with the Etruscan legends *Curt*, *Metl*, or *Vercnas* which, as for *Peithesa*, cannot be referred to names of cities but which, while they should not be regarded as the actual names of the subjects depicted, can be matched to names of gentiles of persons, perhaps those responsible for their monetary production.

Finally, the 1985 find of a hoard of eight coins near Lucca has reopened the debate on the possible existence of a mint at Lucca itself, to which to attribute production, certainly limited, of coins displaying the hippocamp. The town of Pisa could also have operated a mint, albeit briefly, whose activity might coincide with the first decades of the third century,¹⁴³³ during which the other major nearby mints—Volterra and especially Populonia—produce well-evidenced coins with the respective Etruscan names.

The choice of some designs in the dies used for Etruscan coins has attracted the attention of scholars who have sought derivations and explanations of the various cases.

The lion's-head type with gaping jaws and lolling tongue found in the gold series attributed to Populonia seems to find its most direct comparison with the series of silver tetradrachms of the Sicilian mint of Leontinoi. These series are dated to begin in 466 and persist throughout the fifth century. The Etruscan series is definitely more recent but could still go back to the last part of the fifth century.

The three-quarters head of Menvra-Athena of the Etruscan silver series finds an undeniable comparison with the similar type, a model signed by the engraver Eukleidas, which appears in the silver drachma of the mint of Syracuse during the period of the tyrant Dionysius I (405–367). In this case too, the Etruscan issue is certainly more recent by several decades.

A further connection with the Greek environment of Sicily is well in evidence in the structure of the bronze series, consisting of various values from 1 to 100 unit and characterized by the fact that the designs of the reverse are normally incused (formed by punching). The style of some types (the hippocamp, the eagle and serpent, the helmeted head of Minerva, the bearded man's head), the incusing technique, the presence of signs of value, and some comparison in terms of weight have convinced scholars to seek parallels with the Sicilian Greek environment of the time of Timoleon.¹⁴³⁴

In the opinion of some scholars, the male and female heads on the silver series of ten units from Populonia's mint would find comparisons with the similar heads on Campanian coinage, of Neapolis in particular, a product dated to the late fourth century from the types of Etruscan coins which could be derived.

Certainly derived from Greek models is the Gorgon Medusa, the only one of the three sisters to be mortal, whose terrifying head, after having been cut off by Perseus, became the distinctive element of the shield of Athena. Another Gorgon is shown winged and full-length on a different series with the legend *Thezle*, obviously a combination of the other series with the legend

Thezi from the environment of Vulci.¹⁴³⁵

The curious pairing of a black African's head and an Indian elephant on a bronze series has been explained by the presence of Hannibal in Italy and, therefore, by a derivation from external and foreign design models, that is, the rest of the Etruscan, Italic, and Roman coinage.¹⁴³⁶

An indigenous type, distinct from the bearded Janus, is undoubtedly the head with two young faces of the bronze series from Volterra's mint, which finds its best comparison in the full-length bronze figurine of the god found at Cortona, identified by an inscription on the left thigh as *Culsans*.¹⁴³⁷

Another native type is the man's head capped with the remains of a sea monster that distinguishes the series with two values, sestante and oncia, from the mint of Vetulonia. Once the old hypothesis is abandoned of his identification with Heracles or Palaemon-Portunus, he is to be identified with a local divinity or eponymous hero, closely related to the city's maritime activity. It is very likely the same eponymous hero who, representing the *Vetulonienses* is portrayed on a relief dated to the Roman imperial age, probably helmeted and provided with an oar. Another series that also probably comes from Vetulonia consists of two values—uncia and half-uncia—on which the half-uncia features a man's head capped with a conical helmet on the obverse, and an oar on the reverse.¹⁴³⁸

The man's head capped with the remains of a probable wolf, accompanied by a running fox-like dog, a small bronze series, also seems to be a local type from a mint doubtfully from the Chiana Valley.¹⁴³⁹

A hoard discovered in 1985 at Romito di Pozzuolo, near Lucca, contained three examples featuring a hippocamp and five featuring a goose looking backwards. The association with other archaeological materials suggests a latest possible dating to 270, given their issue and possible attribution to the local mint of Lucca.¹⁴⁴⁰ The possible presence of a mint at Lucca in the Etruscan period seems to be confirmed by another coin also belonging to the hippocamp series. This was found at Bora dei Frati in 1988, in the territory of Pietrasanta (Lucca), during excavations conducted in the area of a settlement that has yielded materials dating to the end of the fourth and beginning of the third century, but for this particular coin, a dating around the mid third century is confirmed.

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Adriano Maggiani

28Weights and balances

Abstract: Studying the bronze weights discovered in Etruria makes it likely that there was a unit of weight equal to 143,5 g (or 287 g), which can be called the “Etruscan pound,” upon which Etruscan coinage was based. The weight system used in Rome, however, was based on a “pound” of 326.16 g. In Etruria, both types of balance used in antiquity, the *libra* and the *statera*, are attested.

Keywords: *Libra*, *statera*, *aequipondium*, weights, balances

1Catalogue

In Etruria, both types of balance used in antiquity, the *libra* and the *statera*, are attested. The former is also documented on the basis of various depictions, but the latter is preserved only in the form of a few components of the instrument, namely, weights.

Type I. *Libra*

- 1.Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, inv. no. 169. Stele from Felsina. Second half of the fifth century. Weighing of wool in the presence of the *materfamilias*.¹⁴⁴¹
- 2.Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, inv. no. 9829. Mirror from the *Kranzspiegelgruppe*. On the reverse, *Aplu* and *Turms*. *Turms* is holding the *libra* to weigh the *kēres* (fates?) of *Achle* (Achilles) and *Evas* (Ajax). Third century (Fig. 28.1).¹⁴⁴²
- 3.Private collection. Conical weight in the form of an acorn(?) for a *libra*(?), with dedicatory inscription. Ht. 3.90 cm; diam. 3.95 cm; 143.9 g. Third century (Fig. 28.2).¹⁴⁴³

Type I A. *Libra* with weights

- 1.Current location unknown (lost?). Krater (*kelebe*) from Montediano (Bolsena). (A) Apollo and Heracles (or Hyacinth?). (B) *Turms* observes *Palmithe* (inscription: *Talnithe*), who holds a *libra* in his right hand, with two roundish objects (stones?) placed on its pans.¹⁴⁴⁴

Tipo II. *Statera*¹⁴⁴⁵

- 1.Chianciano, Museo Civico Archeologico delle Acque. Counterpoise in the form of a two-faced woman. From Chanciano, I Fucoli. Ht. 6.8 cm; 265 g. Late fourth – third century BCE.¹⁴⁴⁶

2. Chianciano, Museo Civico Archeologico delle Acque. Counterpoise with two faces: on one side, a Silenus; on the other, a Maenad. From Chianciano, I Fucoli. Ht. 8 cm; 576 g. Late fourth – third century.¹⁴⁴⁷
3. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. no. 121561. Egg-shaped weight, with dedicatory inscription. From Caere, sanctuary in the Sant'Antonio neighborhood. Ht. 10 cm; 750 g. (Fig. 28.3).¹⁴⁴⁸

The tiny catalogue presented above records the certain existence of the *libra* at least from the fifth century (I.1) and its continued use into the first half of the third century, dated on the basis of the palaeography of the probable weight (I.3) and the style of the mirror with the depiction of one (I.2). The weights (II.1–3), on the other hand, seem to document the existence of the *statera* beginning in the late fourth century; this is a period surprisingly earlier than is usually thought.¹⁴⁴⁹ That they actually belonged to steelyards seems to be proved by their considerable dimensions; counterpoises like those found in Etruria seem to exclude their use with a two-pan balance.¹⁴⁵⁰

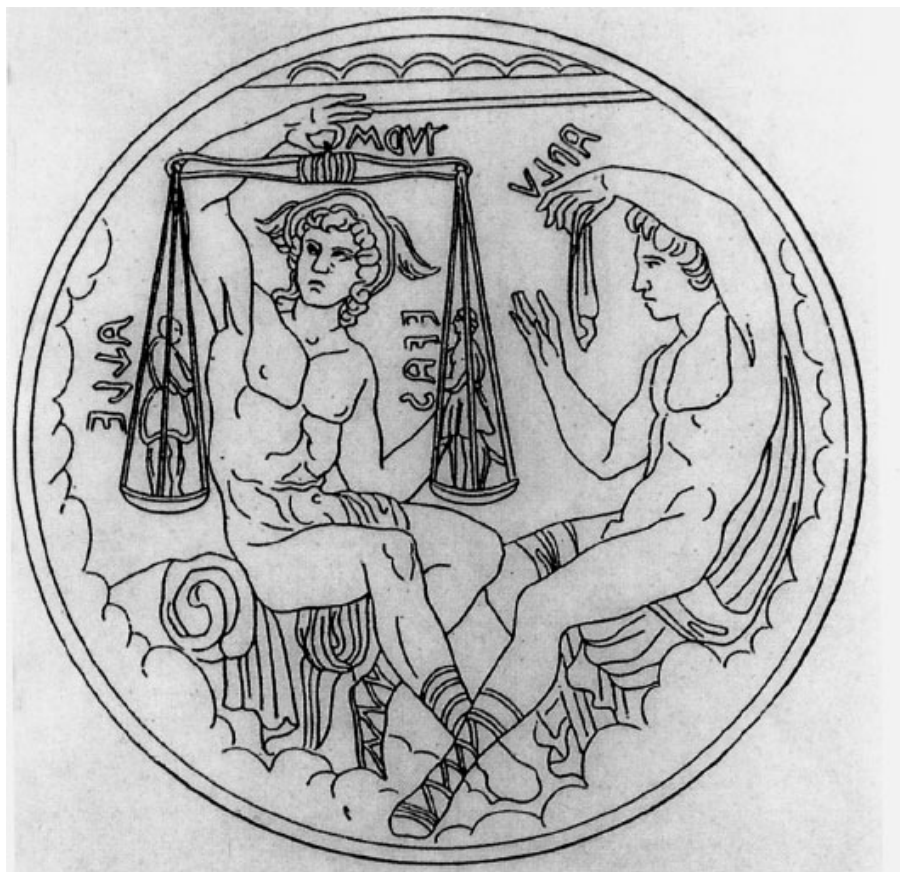


Fig. 28.1: Mirror. Madrid, Museo arqueologico Nacional, inv. no. 9829 (from Blázquez 1960)

In fact, even with the *libra*, small counterweights could be used to equalize the weights of the two pans of the balance. Examples are known from the Late Republican or Proto-Imperial period, from Pompeii and elsewhere.¹⁴⁵¹ The balance depicted on the krater from Montediano (I A.1) confirms its existence, moving the date in this case to the Early Hellenism. The interpretation of this piece of evidence, however, remains ambiguous. Does it indicate that the steelyard had its origin in the *libra*, through the development of the system of counterpoises, or else that it was the result of interaction between the older weighing system and the revolutionary balance with just one arm?¹⁴⁵²



Fig. 28.2: Weight in privat collection (from Bonfante 1993)

2The weight system

The facts about weights inferable from the likely *libra* weight appear to be very important. The example in a private collection (I.3) weighs 143.9 g, but the two weights from Chiusi weigh respectively 265 and 576 g; the one from Caere, 750 g. These facts definitely rule out the system of weights in use at Rome, which is based on a pound of 327.45 g (or better, of 326.16 g).

A relationship can be assumed with a degree of certainty between the two weights from Chianciano, since they come from a single context and they exhibit the strongest typological and stylistic affinity. If we take into account the fact that the smaller piece is heavily worn, resulting in a considerable loss of metal a weight can be reconstructed for this piece close to 288 g, a weight that in theory would put it in a 1 to 2 relationship with the larger weight. The definition of this embryonic sequence of weights appears extremely significant in light of the small conical object (I.3) that is tentatively identified as a weight for the *libra*: its weight, ca. 144 g, turns out to be exactly half the weight determined theoretically for the lighter of the two *pondera* from Chiusi. The palaeography of the dedicatory inscription points to the region between Vulci, Tarquinia, and Orvieto for the provenience of the donor (and thus perhaps also of the object). This considerably broadens the area of diffusion of the specific system of weights, which also seems to have involved some of the city-states of central-southern Etruria.



Fig. 28.3: Weight from Caere (from Cristofani 1996)

Contact with the series of weights from Caere (750 g) proves to be more problematic. But if we take the lowest value as the basis of the system, that of example I.3 rounded off to around 145 g, the Caere weight comes out to five units plus a remainder of 25 g, which appears excessive given that these are objects of controlled weight, perhaps even reference standards kept in sanctuaries, a very unsatisfactory circumstance. But the example from Caere, unlike those from Chiusi, which have a single suspension hole, has a second ring coarsely attached to the main one. If we estimate the weight of the second ring (which is not found in the other examples) at 25 g and subtract it from the total weight (750 g), we arrive at ca. 725 g, which corresponds exactly to quintuple the base measure. This sequence emerges:

Weight in private	= 1	= 144 g
collection (1.3)		

Weight from Chianciano = 2	= 288 g
(II.1)	
Weight from Chianciano = 4	= 576 g
II.2)	
Weight from Caere (II.3) = 5	= 725 g
	(+ 25 g)

Or, if we take the base to be 290 g,	
I.3 =	0.5
II.1 =	1
II.2 =	2
II.3 =	2.5

Although we should perhaps wait for documentary confirmation, nonetheless this result appears very attractive. In fact on a base of 145 g (or 290 g), which we might call the “Etruscan pound,” is conceived a series of Etruscan bronze coinage (see [chapter 27](#). Catalli), from both Volterra and much of central Etruria, and even some from Tarquinia. Deepening research has made it possible to construct a table gathering the weights in stone and metal attested in Etruria ([Fig. 28.4](#)).¹⁴⁵³

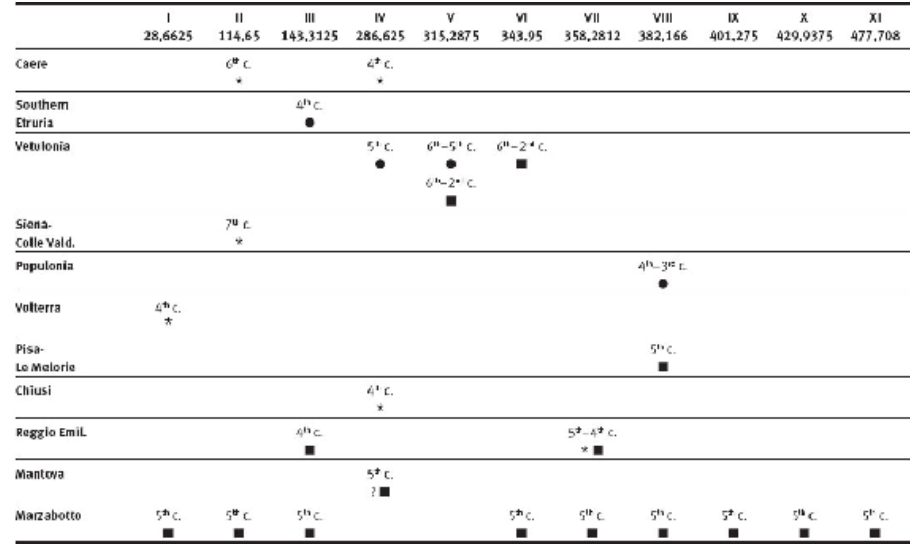


Fig. 28.4: Weights from Etruria (from Maggiani 2007, 147); all chronological indications are BCE, * Bronze Weights ● Lead Weights ■ Stone Weights.

3The inventor of the balance: *Turms* or*Talnithe*?

According to Greek tradition, Palamedes, one of the heroes who participated on the Greek side in the Trojan War, was celebrated for his intelligence and genius. Many inventions are attributed to him, both for play (e.g. dice and *pezzo/latrunculi*), and for culture generally (e.g. writing).¹⁴⁵⁴ The figure of this unlucky hero won great success in Etruria, given that he is often depicted on seals and mirror backs, often in scenes of oracular prophecy.¹⁴⁵⁵ In particular, the gorgeous vase attributed to the Montediano Painter (I A.I.) shows him holding a two-pan balance, a *libra*. Palamedes holds it with his left hand, by a hook located at the center of the horizontal arm; the two pans are just about in equilibrium. The inscription that runs along the fold of the cloak (*Talnithe*, the more frequent form of *Palmithe*, which in turn is the normal Etruscan reflex of the Greek *Palamedes*) leaves no doubt as to the identity of the figure.

Near him is a nude man, with a broad hat abandoned on his shoulders. He stands on his right leg, with his left leg bent and his foot on a rock, holding the herald's staff, the *kerykeion*, in his right hand, while his left hand is at his brow. This is unequivocally *Turms* (Greek *Hermes*, Latin *Mercurius*), intent on observing the activity carried out by the youth before him. The association of the two figures is highly significant. As has been emphasized, the Greek tradition associates both of them with the invention and use of the balance.

In fact, quite early on—at least from the late sixth century, as shown by the depictions on Attic black-figure ceramics—*Hermes* had taken over the role played in Homer by Zeus of weighing the *kēres* of Achilles and Memnon before the fatal duel.¹⁴⁵⁶ His association with that instrument is due to his identification with the Egyptian god Thoth.¹⁴⁵⁷

Another tradition, which probably originated in the late fifth century, attributes the invention to Palamedes instead. As Martin Spannagel has observed, this tradition flourished in the bosom of the Sophists (the most extensive enumeration of the *euremata* [inventions] of Palamedes is in fact in Gorgias), who were particularly interested in promoting the role of progress in *technai* in human society. But we certainly cannot disregard the fact that at the same time, Euripides attributed the invention of weights (which is tantamount to saying the balance) to a goddess: Isotes, i.e. Equality.¹⁴⁵⁸

The Etruscan painter, if not entirely dependent on a Greek model, appears to have tried to compare these different traditions and seems, if the pose of *Turms* is one of amazement and admiration,¹⁴⁵⁹ to favor the tradition that extols the role of the hero.

The scene on the vase is, in fact, normally interpreted as Palamedes displaying his new invention, the balance, whose use *Turms* is then learning from him. Frankly, this seems very peculiar. Much more appropriate as the *protos euretēs* of an instrument so fundamental to commercial activity would seem to be a god who, in Greece, Rome, and certainly also in Etruria, presided over the sphere of exchange and commerce and to whom one tradition—albeit a rather isolated one—explicitly attributes the invention of weights and

measures (Diod. Sic. 5.75.2). It therefore cannot be excluded that the scene can be read differently than it usually has been. It could actually be interpreted as the moment when the *libra* was bestowed on Palamedes by the god. Comparison with the depiction on a well-known mirror from Tuscania¹⁴⁶⁰ could support this idea. Rather than a competition between haruspices, as has been supposed, I would prefer to recognize the climactic moment of the *paideia* of a youth, *Pava Tarchies*, who under the careful watch of *Avle Tarchunus* and *Ucernei*, enters a sacred space (*rathlth*) indicated by the presence of a *Veltune* and a god with the characteristics of Apollo (*Rath?*). On the krater, *Turms* does not really seem to be drawn with an attitude of astonishment. Resting solidly on his herald's staff, with his left foot on a rock, his hat hanging behind his shoulders, and his hand held to his forehead in a gesture that expresses a "suspension of time,"¹⁴⁶¹ the god examines his mortal imitator (his disciple?) in the act of receiving the new instrument.

If there remains some doubt about the actual pedigree of the invention of the balance (*Turms* the divine inventor and *Palamedes* / *Talnithe* the human *euretēs?*), certainly the god is most frequently associated in the depictions with the weighing instrument and is certainly the patron of the instrument, in his role as protector of commercial activity. It is indeed *Turms* who, on a well-known mirror with a scene of *psychostasia* (weighing of souls; I.2), raises the *libra*, with the *kēres* of Achilles and Ajax, to compare their destiny. And it is *Mercurius* who on a Praenestine *cista* displays the balance as one of his attributes.¹⁴⁶²

An extraordinary object was recently discovered that demonstrates that this was his specific sphere of action in Etruria, as in Praeneste and Rome. This is not a *libra*, but a steelyard, a more developed instrument that exploits the principle of the lever. It was discovered beneath the sanctuary during excavations in the southeastern sector of the Caere plateau, an extensive sacred area that contains two temples, one of them certainly dedicated to *Hercle*.¹⁴⁶³

Actually, only the counterpoise of the steelyard is preserved, the oval *aequipondium* (II.3). This discovery is exceptional because a long inscription covers the object's surface, unfortunately not easily read because of deep abrasions. Before dealing with the content of the text, it is appropriate to recall that this is not a unique type of object recovered from Etruria. In fact, not many years ago, two similar pieces were found at Chianciano in a cluster of objects that are unquestionably the furnishings of a sanctuary. These are two weights (II.1–2) with two-faced depictions, which stylistically can again be placed in the fourth century.¹⁴⁶⁴

From an iconographic point of view, the two pieces from Chianciano do not seem to make a positive contribution to the question dealt with here. As it happens, while the double female face (II.1) is too vague to lead to any specific identification, the other (II.2) is perfectly familiar, with the contrasting faces of Satyr and Maenad. The presence of these beings, and

through them the intrusion of the Dionysiac world into this particular technical space did not find immediate reflection in the sphere of competence of the god *Fufluns*.

Since all evidence points to material coming from a sanctuary in which the Dionysiac component must have been important (cf. e.g. the large krater depicted on the preserved portion of the clay pediment),¹⁴⁶⁵ we might think that here too—as in Rome—it was a matter of official weights, placed under the protection of the titular god of the sanctuary, a god who, although he did not have direct jurisdiction over commerce, was nonetheless very close to the classes that engaged in trade.

4The inscribed *pondera*

Incised on the conical weight I.3 is the following dedicatory text: *ecn: turce: laris: thefries: espial: atial: cathas*.

Despite the linguistic difficulties it presents, there is no doubt that it is an epigraph of dedication to *Catha*, a goddess in many ways close to *Fufluns* (*Dionysos* in Greek, Latin *Liber* in Rome).

The text inscribed on the weight from Caere (II.3) occupies ten lines. We quote the transcription by the first editor, Mauro Cristofani, with a suggested new reading of the second, sixth and the last line: *Raths turmsal / vel uchs luvchmsal / thusti thui methlmth / mu [- -] s x mse / macuni Hercles / alpan tece II C / e VII CC / lc.penthe.vel/ lape zilci lath / ale nulathesi*.

The first line has the names of the gods *Turms* and *Rath*. There follow a personal name—presumably the dedicator (Vel Uchs)—and a mention of the divine name *Hercle*, perhaps the patron of a sacred space in which the offerings were dedicated. The following part is very obscure. We can recognize some signs, perhaps to be identified as numerals (IIC= 2,5?). It closes with a formula to be read *zilci lathale nulathesi*, “in the magistrature (*zilc*) of Larth Nulathe.”

The conclusions to be drawn from so complicated a text, which certainly deserves a careful reexamination (which at this point is not possible to carry out), cannot be but extremely provisional and problematic.

One certain element, however, is that the inscription identifies the weight as the sacred property of *Turms*. This must eliminate any doubt about the true jurisdiction, even in Etruria, of the god over this chief instrument of commercial transactions by the late fourth century.

If Cristofani’s interpretation of the central part of the inscription has hit the nail on the head, it records a dedication by two people, *L(ar)c(e) Penthe* and *Vel Lape*, in the urban sanctuary of *Hercle*. We may then ask whether these two names instead have something to do with the signs, probably numerals, in line 7. If these numbers are an indication of weight, it is difficult to escape the

suggestion, to make a comparison with the Roman model. At Rome steelyards and *pondera* often carry inscriptions recording that the instruments were, at a time specified by the consular date, under the authority of the *aediles* (and later of the *praefectus urbi*), subjected to verification with the certified standard of the state authority. Standard weights were deposited in specific places, especially sanctuaries, such as the temples of Jupiter Capitoline or the Dioscuri.¹⁴⁶⁶

In fact, the mention of the sanctuary of *Hercle*, the presence of several persons, the indication of the weight, and the conclusion that the transaction took place “in the zilcship of *La(r)th Nulathe*” all constitute elements that bear a very strong resemblance to the Latin inscriptions of this type.

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Margarita Gleba

29Textiles and Dress

Abstract: An understanding of the development of textile production in Etruria is crucial to any attempt to set textile technology in its social and economic context and to place textile production among other crafts, such as metal and pottery manufacture, in order to ensure a more balanced assessment of the Etruscan economy. Among the various sources of evidence available for the study of Etruscan textiles is archaeological material, consisting of textiles and tools, as well as iconographic sources. The extant textiles illustrate that the Etruscans were familiar with complex spinning, weaving, and dyeing techniques. The great quantity of surviving implements associated with textile manufacture, such as spindle whorls, loom weights, and spools, can be used to study the organization of textile production in Etruria. Iconographic sources provide important documentation of textile production processes and information about the appearance and function of Etruscan textiles. The accuracy of the latter is confirmed by the surviving textiles, in particular the almost complete garments recovered at Verucchio.

Keywords: textile, dress, textile tools, Verucchio

Introduction

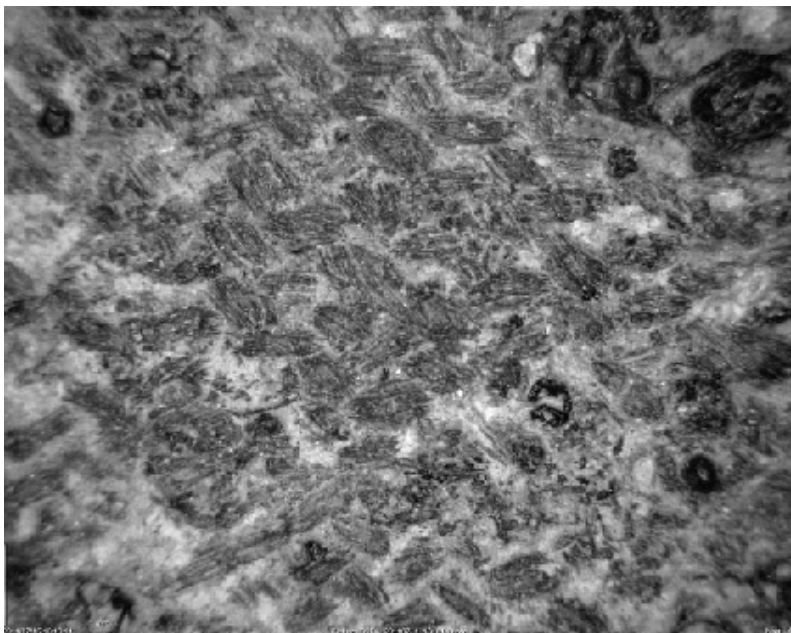
Throughout antiquity, textile manufacture was practiced on all levels of society and was one of the most labor-intensive of all occupations.¹⁴⁶⁷ As such, it was an industry of great cultural and social importance, which should be factored into any balanced assessment of the ancient economy. Textiles were used for a variety of purposes in Etruscan society and textile production was an integral part of local and regional economies and local, regional and long-distance exchange. The social significance of textile production was expressed in Etruscan funerary ritual through the inclusion of textile implements among the burial goods, as well as in religious activities through the deposition of textile tools in votive deposits. Among the various sources that provide evidence for the study of textile production in Etruria, archaeological material is the most direct as it documents the productive activities through tools, installations, raw materials and finished products. With the help of other, secondary sources of information, namely the iconographic material and later written sources, it is then possible to reconstruct the sequence of production processes involved in textile manufacture.

1Precious fragments: Textile preservation

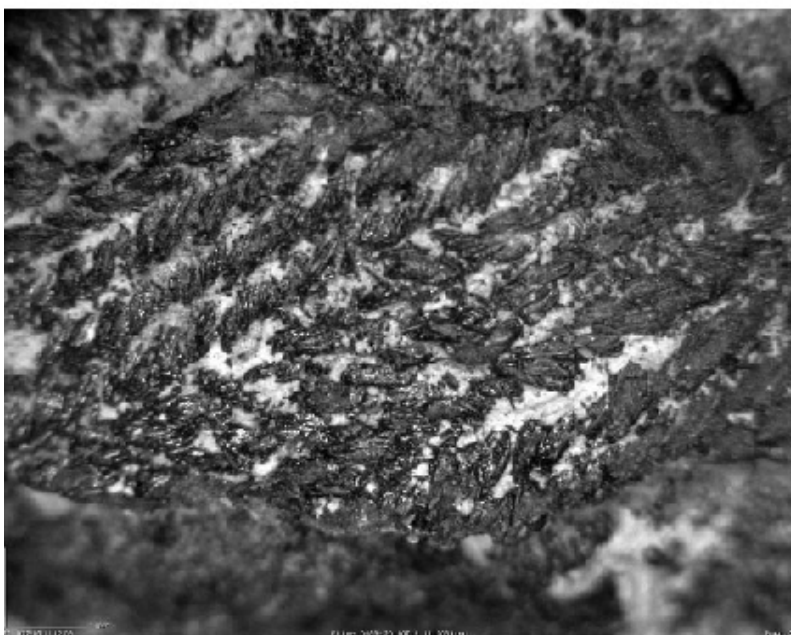
The belief that textiles hardly ever survive in archaeological contexts of Italy has tended to discourage discussions of textile production in broader studies of production and exchange in Etruria. Textiles, however, survive much more frequently than is commonly believed.

Like any organic material, textile preservation requires special conditions to prohibit their destruction by microorganisms, but many of them can be found on the Apennine peninsula. One of the largest surviving groups consists of linen textile fragments found in various Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in the north of the peninsula, where they have been preserved by the alkaline conditions of the Alpine lakes.¹⁴⁶⁸ Textile fragments made of wool, on the other hand, have been recovered from Iron Age burials, where they were conserved in waterlogged and/or acidic environments. A few Iron Age articles of clothing were recovered from the Alpine glaciers, preserved practically unaltered in the permafrost.¹⁴⁶⁹ Carbonized or charred textiles survive as a result of exposure to fire, as at Pompeii.¹⁴⁷⁰ The vast majority of textiles in Italy, however, have been preserved in association with metal objects as mineralized formations in which metal corrosion products form positive or negative casts fibers retaining their external morphology and size almost unchanged. Even when consisting of minute traces, these traces can provide a considerable amount of information about ancient textiles.

Etruscan textiles are, in fact, preserved mostly as such mineralized traces (Fig. 29.1).¹⁴⁷¹ Occasionally, textile fragments surviving in their organic form have been found, for example in an eighth century BCE cenotaph at Sasso di Furbara near Cerveteri¹⁴⁷² and in the Orientalizing tombs of Casale Marittimo.¹⁴⁷³ Exceptional finds have been made at the site of Verucchio, where the only nearly complete Villanovan garments have been excavated.¹⁴⁷⁴



a



b

Fig. 29.1: Mineralized textiles from Poggio Aguzzo, Murlo, seventh century BCE: (a) on an iron knife from Tomb 4; (b) on an iron spear counterweight from Tomb 1 (Photo: M. Gleba) **488** Margarita Gleba

2Textile function

2.1Garments

The Etruscans used textiles for a variety of purposes. Clothing is the most obvious and, without doubt, primary textile function and numerous iconographic sources, such as the tomb paintings of Tarquinia, illustrate the variety and splendor of Etruscan garments. In her seminal *Etruscan Dress*, Larissa Bonfante has extensively studied Etruscan clothing depicted on figurines, statues, vases and tomb paintings.¹⁴⁷⁵ Typical male dress, at least through the sixth century BCE, was the loincloth, observed for example on the bronze figurines from Brolio (Fig. 71.7a),¹⁴⁷⁶ and reflecting the Italic “modesty.”¹⁴⁷⁷ Both sexes were represented wearing rectangular and semicircular mantles (*tebennae*) and tunics of various lengths, pointed hats and pointed shoes. The fashions changed over time and reflected internal developments of dress as well as external influences. During the sixth century, Greek and Oriental fashions influenced Etruscan dress to some extent. This is evident in the adoption of short chiton for men, well illustrated in the painted terra cotta plaques from Cerveteri,¹⁴⁷⁸ and in the use of elaborate lotus palmette decoration painted on stone statue from Polledrara, Vulci.¹⁴⁷⁹ By the fourth century BCE, Etruscan garments have clear connection—in form or meaning—with Roman costumes. Thus, the figured mantle worn by Vel Saties in the Tomba François at Vulci—not a *toga picta* but a *himation*—has the same meaning as the Roman triumphal garment.¹⁴⁸⁰ The first century BCE statue of Aulus Metellus is clad in a tunic with vertical stripes or *clavi*, which signified a high social standing in Roman society.¹⁴⁸¹

Of the surviving Etruscan textiles, most are garments as well. The spectacular finds of Verucchio provided for the first time direct archaeological evidence for what some of the Etruscan garments looked like. One of the richest is Tomb 89, the so-called *Tomba del Trono*, a chieftain’s burial from around 700 BCE.¹⁴⁸² In addition to numerous small fragments surviving on the funerary pyre, it contained two semicircular mantles, a garment with two curved edges and a small nearly square textile with stitched hems on all four sides.¹⁴⁸³ The large semicircular mantles decorated with a decorative tablet-woven border running all around the edges and originally measuring

approximately 270 by ninety centimeters were dyed and preserved traces of further decoration with amber buttons and other appliqués in the form of stitching holes (Fig. 29.2). The mantles from Tomb 89 are the earliest *tebennae* known and, as such, are the predecessors of the Roman toga. Unlike the latter, the Verucchio mantle would have covered only parts of the wearer’s back while the long ends could be wound around the arms as depicted in iconographic sources. A later and longer version of the *tebenna* can be observed on the first century BCE statue of Aulus Metellus.¹⁴⁸⁴ Another

garment found in Tomb 89 had four semicircular edges, decorated with tablet-woven borders. Two of the opposing curved sides may have served as sleeves. Garments of this type are possibly depicted on the later wall paintings in Tarquinia. The Romans acknowledged the Etruscan origin of their *tunica*.¹⁴⁸⁵

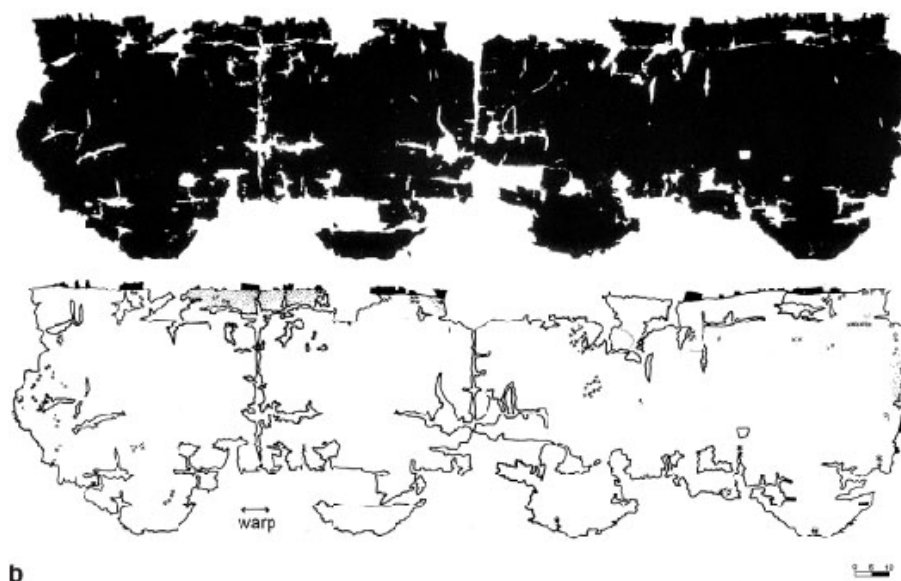


Fig. 29.2: Mantles from Tomb 89, Verucchio, late 8th century: (a) mantle 1; (b) mantle 2 (© Cologne University of Applied Sciences)

Tomb B/1971 at Verucchio, dated around the same time as Tomb 89, provided evidence of another type of male garment, a large rectangular garment with straight side edges and rounded lower edges (Fig. 29.3).¹⁴⁸⁶ A similar garment of this type was found in the same tomb or Tomb 85. A remarkable feature in both of these garments is the presence of regular pleats in two directions. Elaborate pleating is a common feature of garments depicted in Etruscan iconography, e.g. on the Apollo of Veii, which until now has been regarded as a decorative element or artistic convention.

Another distinctive Etruscan textile and dress element illustrated by the iconographic sources and encountered in the Verucchio finds is the decorative border present on both male and female mantles and other garments. Both Verucchio mantles have elaborate borders featuring a triangle motif and three horizontal lines made by the tablet-weaving technique.¹⁴⁸⁷ Even more elaborate are the tablet weaves found in the eighth century BCE cenotaph at Sasso di Furbara.¹⁴⁸⁸ Tablet weaving involves passing threads through holes in the corners of (usually) square tablets, which, when rotated forward or back, force the threads to form different sheds. By rotating cards in different combinations, it is possible to achieve numerous patterns. This method is suitable for weaving narrow bands, such as belts, heading bands for the warp of a warp-weighted loom, or decorative borders for the base textile. Such tablet-woven borders are technically complex, extremely labor-intensive, and time consuming. Such textiles must have served as indicators of social rank or as “ceremonial” clothes, with the border being the distinguishing element characterized by technique, pattern and color.¹⁴⁸⁹ In fact, the toga, the Roman descendant of the Verucchio mantles, retained the border as the status symbol, in this case dyed purple.

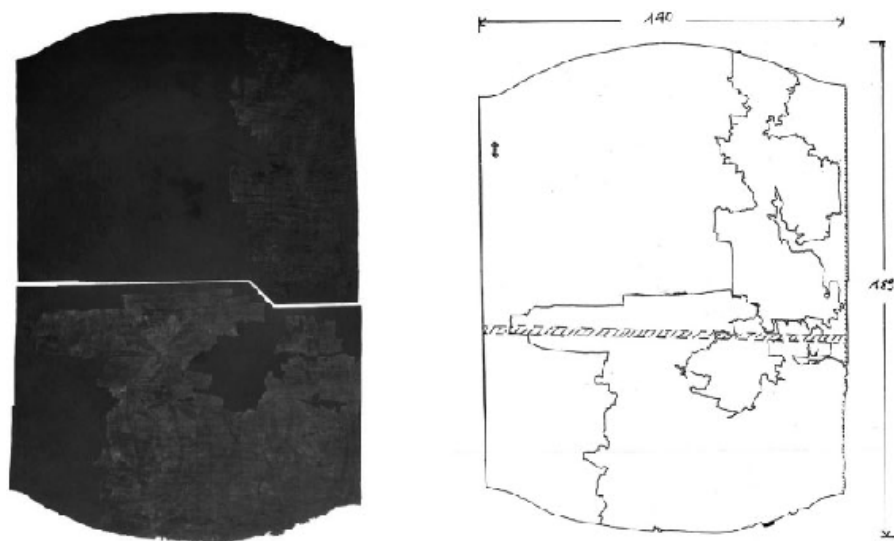


Fig. 29.3: Garment from Tomb B/1971, Verucchio, late 8th century (dimensions in centimeters) (© Cologne University of Applied Sciences)

It is all the more significant that purple was likely the color of the borders of the Verucchio mantles as well. Dye analyses of the textiles of Verucchio provided for the first time direct evidence for the colors of Etruscan textiles.¹⁴⁹⁰ Thus, Verucchio Mantle 1 was dyed red with madder, while the fibers of its border were most likely treated with madder and woad resulting in a purple hue. Mantle 2, on the other hand, was dyed red-orange with madder and a yellow dye, while its border was also dyed with woad, creating a purple-red effect. The garment from Tomb B/1971 was dyed blue with woad. Dye analyses thus demonstrate that several different dyes were used to add color to the Verucchio textiles, while their combination in some textiles shows an understanding of a complex, multiple-stage dyeing process.

A glimpse of the female garments is provided by the yet to be analyzed textiles discovered in Tomb 26/1969 at Verucchio, which are woven in diamond twill binding and have a checkered pattern.¹⁴⁹¹ Such checkered textile designs are frequently depicted on Etruscan monuments¹⁴⁹² but only with the discovery of the actual textiles their complexity and sophistication is becoming apparent.

The textiles discovered at Verucchio thus demonstrate not only that the garments we know from iconography reflect the reality of Etruscan dress in terms of shape, color and decoration but also that these garments date to a considerably earlier period.

While less spectacular, mineralized textile traces on metal articles of personal decoration such as bracelets, belts, and, most commonly, fibulae also provide information about Etruscan clothing. Thus, when traces of different weave type are found on the same fibula, as for example in some of the finds from Tarquinia Le Rose (Fig. 29.4),¹⁴⁹³ a conjecture may be made that the deceased was wearing several layers of garments. If a number of textile traces are present in a burial, it may be possible to reconstruct how the garment was located based on their distribution and position. Even if textiles do not survive, their presence may be indicated through other evidence, such as the presence of fibulae and other decorative ornaments. In some instances, reconstructions of garments are possible based on the position of surviving decorative elements in relation to the skeleton, sarcophagus, or trench, as in the case of some female costumes for the burials at Verucchio.¹⁴⁹⁴

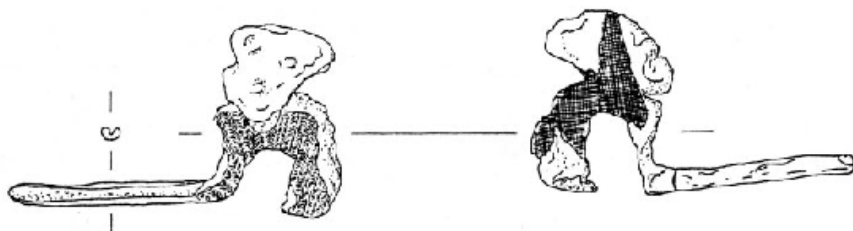


Fig. 29.4: Textile traces on a fibula from Tomb XLIV, Tarquinia Le Rose, early 7th century; the drawings show two sides of the same fibula, preserving different textiles

Ongoing analysis of numerous mineralized textile fragments preserved in rich burials demonstrates that Etruscans were familiar with complex textile technologies, which allowed creation of fabrics that would have had a specific appearance. Just like the Verucchio garments, the vast majority of these textiles are made of wool and woven in twill weave. In a twill, the horizontal weft threads pass over and under vertical warps in a regular staggered pattern, each row being stepped to one side of the row above, creating a diagonal effect. The variants include a plain diagonal, warp- or weft-chevron, broken and more complex diamond and dogtooth twills. These twills are often spin or shadow-patterned, i.e. made using alternating groups of threads spun in opposite directions, which would have created a subtle pattern of checks or stripes, visible only up close and in a raking light. The quality of these textiles is also rather homogeneous. Threads have diameters of less than half a millimeter and thread counts per centimeter are usually twenty to thirty. The textiles are usually balanced, i.e. have a similar number of threads in warp and weft. Last but not least, these twill textiles often have tablet-woven borders.

These technical characteristics find almost exact parallels in Central Europe, where Hallstatt elite consumed very similar textiles: there is an almost infinite variety of dyed and patterned twills, many of the twills are spin patterned, and many complex tablet weaves have been found.¹⁴⁹⁵ In contrast, the contemporaneous extant textiles found in Greece are tabbies or weft-faced tabbies,¹⁴⁹⁶ tabby being the simplest textile structure attainable with two systems on a loom, with vertical warp and horizontal weft threads alternating one over one in each direction—a textile culture more closely related to the Near East.

Occasionally, textile remains are found on the inside of armor, suggesting that they may have belonged to lining or a garment worn under the metal, as in the case of the Tomba del Guerriero at Tarquinia dated to the end of the eighth century BCE.¹⁴⁹⁷ Furthermore, iconographic evidence suggests that textile fibers were used for particular kind of linen amour, depicted in the Amazon Sarcophagus, Tomba François and Tomba dell'Orco II.¹⁴⁹⁸

In some cases, the dead were provided with very sumptuous dresses. The garments found in the burials of Verucchio, as well as the Polledrara Tomb at Vulci were decorated with thousands of amber, glass or *faïence* beads and appliqués.¹⁴⁹⁹ Whether such garments would have been worn before their deposition in burials is a debatable issue. Still, the majority of clothing articles found in graves could have been, and most likely were, used in life. Confirmation comes again from the Verucchio garments, which have wear marks and, hence, must have been used by the deceased in life.¹⁵⁰⁰

2.2 Wrappings

The vast majority of extant Etruscan textiles come from burial contexts, thus demonstrating that they constituted a very important part of broader mortuary practices. Thus, one use of textiles in burial ritual was to wrap the cremated remains of the buried individual. Many scholars connect this practice to a ritual described by Homer for the burials of Hector and Patroklos (*Il.* 24.796 and 23.254), which is believed to have been adopted by the elites throughout the Mediterranean during the Iron Age.¹⁵⁰¹ This “Homeric” ritual then spread quickly among the Etruscan elites, as attested for example by the finds at Casale Marittimo, where a bronze cinerary urn found in Tomb A contained textile remains that probably served as wrapping for cremated bones.¹⁵⁰² In Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, a cloth was found inside a bronze and silver box (*larnax*), which contained cremated bones.¹⁵⁰³ The custom survived into later times as well. Travertine urns in the second–first century BCE Strozziacapponi cemetery of Perugia contained mineralized textile remains in which cremated remains were wrapped.¹⁵⁰⁴

Italy, however, had a well-developed “wrapping” tradition of its own, as attested by the grave finds dated as early as the ninth century BCE.¹⁵⁰⁵ The cinerary urns at Bologna and in particular the ossuaries in the burials of Verucchio were wrapped in textiles that were then fastened with fibulae and decorated with other accessories, as if wearing a garment.¹⁵⁰⁶ These textiles have been interpreted as clothing for the urns, and thus as representing the deceased.¹⁵⁰⁷ It has also been suggested that biconical urns—containers of cremated remains typical for the Villanovan period and frequently covered with bronze or ceramic helmets—represent the deceased, and that their incised geometric patterns, which are similar to woven motifs, are intended to represent a garment.¹⁵⁰⁸ “Canopic” urns typical for the region of Chiusi may strongly support this theory. The tradition was probably much more widespread. While textiles do not usually survive, the position of various small decorative objects, such as fibulae, around the urn, may indicate presence of a cloth, which was fastened with them, as is the case of several cinerary urns at Tarquinia.¹⁵⁰⁹

Occasionally, finds indicate a combination of wrapping the cremated remains with “dressing” of the ossuary. Thus, in the Orientalizing “princely” Morelli tumulus at Chianciano Terme, an anthropomorphic cinerary urn found in the southern cella of the tomb was wrapped with a textile that was fixed around the neck of the urn with a fibula.¹⁵¹⁰ The iron fibula preserved the mineralized traces of the textile. Inside the ossuary, traces of another fabric were identified, which likely contained the cremated remains.

Textile traces indicate that, apart from cinerary containers, certain metal objects came into close contact with textiles because they were intentionally wrapped or enclosed in fabric.¹⁵¹¹ Knives, weapons, stryils, spits, and mirrors are among the most common objects to bear textile traces. In some cases, the traces are clear enough to reconstruct the direction of a cloth band wrapping a particular object. The deposition of thus “enclothed” objects in

urns excludes the possibility of accidental contact with textiles. It is unclear whether this phenomenon has a ritual significance in funerary context or represents a regular practice of safekeeping of precious metal objects. However, the finds indicate that wrapping was common not only throughout Italy, but also in Hallstatt societies (modern-day France, southern Germany and Austria), suggesting that it had a wider, pan-European significance.

2.3 Furnishings, utilitarian fabrics, ship sails and books

Besides garments, there are frequent representations in Etruscan tomb paintings of colorful bed covers, cushions, tablecloths and other utilitarian textiles.¹⁵¹² Although to date no direct evidence for wall hangings in Etruria comes in the form of textile remains, a clear indication of their existence is given by the ceiling and wall paintings in the tombs of Tarquinia. Checkers and small flowers on the ceilings are unquestionably textile patterns, the entire tombs representing tents or pavilions with roofs made of cloth, best exemplified in the Tomb of the Hunter.¹⁵¹³

A unique ancient use of textiles in Etruria was for books. Called *libri lintei* by the Romans, they were made of linen and used for recording religious rituals. Fragments of one such book, the so-called Zagreb mummy wrappings were preserved in Egypt.¹⁵¹⁴ Evidence for their use also exists in Etruscan art and Latin literature. Production of textiles for these ritual objects must have been strictly controlled and adhered to specific regulations.

Another important use of textile fibers—especially flax and hemp—was for sails and ship rigging. Etruscans were notorious throughout the Mediterranean as sailors and—according to their enemies—as pirates. Their ship building technology was among the most sophisticated for their era, including the use of the earliest foresail.¹⁵¹⁵ No Etruscan sail fragment has survived but it should be kept in mind that manufacture of large textile quantities, as in the case of sail production or army supplies, required considerable resources, organization and planning.

3 Textile production

In order to create a textile, raw material has to be transformed in a series of processes that include raw material acquisition and preparation, spinning, weaving, dyeing and finishing. Each stage of this transformation leaves its mark on the final product, which can be recovered through textile analysis. Resources for making textiles include plant and animal products used for fibers and dyes, as well as those used in various stages of textile making, such

as washing or fulling. In this way, agriculture, animal husbandry, exploitation of environmental resources, and landscape use are closely linked to textile production.

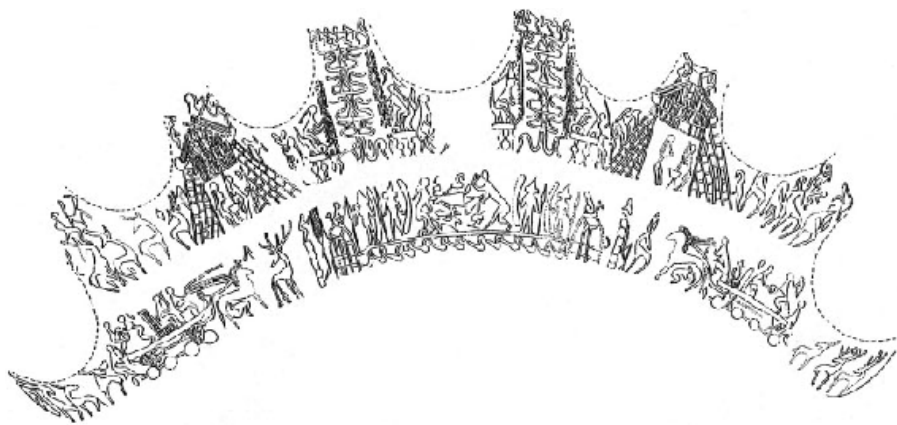


Fig. 29.5: Scenes from the Throne of Verucchio depicting women spinning and weaving, Tomb 89, Verucchio, late 8th century (after von Eles 2002, fig. 127)

Procurement of raw materials is the first step of any production process. Two fiber groups, divided on the basis of their origin into plant and animal, were used for making textiles in Etruria. The principal plant fiber was flax. The major animal fiber was sheep wool. Wool was sorted according to color and fiber quality. Flax required much more complex processing to extract fibers from plants, which involved retting in dew or water.

Once the fiber mass has been obtained and prepared, it can be converted into a yarn and woven into a fabric. Several Etruscan iconographic documents illustrate these stages of textile manufacture, underlining the economic and social importance of the craft for the Etruscan society. An important scene related to textile production appears on the wooden cylindrical throne found in Tomb 89 at Verucchio (Fig. 29.5). While interpretations of the intricately carved scenes vary,¹⁵¹⁶ most scholars agree that spinning and weaving are among the activities depicted.

Another important object comes from the area of Bologna and is one of the most important and detailed representations of textile production in the ancient world, a bronze rattle or *tintinnabulum* found in Tomb 5 of Bologna's Arsenale Militare necropolis, dated to the late seventh century BCE (Fig. 29.6).¹⁵¹⁷ It is a flat, bell-shaped object, made of two bronze sheets connected at the edges and decorated in a *repoussé* technique. Each side of the *tintinnabulum* is divided into two sections, allowing space for four scenes depicting various stages of textile manufacture. The bottom scene of side A depicts two women seated in throne-like chairs, reminiscent of the Verucchio throne. In their left hands, each woman holds a distaff, and with their right hand, each pulls a strand of fiber from the basket in the center; they are

dressing the distaffs for spinning. The top scene of side A shows a woman performing the task of spinning. She is standing in profile, holding a dressed distaff in her extended left hand, while a drop-spindle hangs from her right hand. Side B of the *tintinnabulum* shows activities associated with weaving. The bottom scene represents the weaving of the starting border necessary for the warp-weighted loom, while the last scene provides a rendering of an unusual two-storied warp-weighted loom.



Fig. 29.6: *Tintinnabulum* from Bologna, Arsenale Militare, Tomba degli Ori, bronze, late 7th century: (a) side A, with scenes of dressing the distaffs (*bottom*) and spinning (*top*); (b) side B, with scenes of warping (*bottom*) and weaving (*top*) (© Bologna Museo Civico Archeologico)

Both of these iconographic documents illustrate that textile production processes are associated with particular tools. Unlike the textiles themselves, textile implements are ubiquitous on Etruscan archaeological sites. The great number of implements associated with textile manufacture can be used to study the craft and its technological and economic aspects. Spinning and weaving implements constitute the single most important and plentiful type of evidence for the assessment of the scale of production and the technology of this industry in Etruria. Furthermore, many textile tools have been found in burial and votive contexts, providing another interpretative framework.¹⁵¹⁸



Fig. 29.7: Ceramic spindle whorls, Poggio Civitate di Murlo, 7th –6th century (courtesy of Anthony Tuck)

Spinning activity is well attested archaeologically in both burial and settlement contexts in Etruria.¹⁵¹⁹ A long spindle, with its whorl still on the elaborately decorated wooden shaft, was recovered from the underwater village of Gran Carro in Lake Bolsena, dated to the early ninth century BCE.¹⁵²⁰ In addition to the rare surviving wooden and bone items, there are examples made of metal, all of which were found in burial contexts. One example is a set of a bronze spindle with a bronze biconical whorl and a bronze distaff from the eighth-century BCE Benacci-Caprara Tomb 56 in Bologna.¹⁵²¹

Since most spindles in antiquity were made of wood, often the only evidence for their use consists of the less perishable spindle whorls. The vast majority of spindle whorls in Italy are made of fired clay (Fig. 29.7), but whorls made of luxury materials like glass and amber have also been found in Etruscan burial contexts. Spindle whorls, have often been found in large numbers at practically every Etruscan settlement site. The majority of sites yield a variety of whorl shapes, although a specific type often predominates, suggesting either that it was traditional at the site, or that the site specialized in a certain quality of yarn and, consequently, a certain type of textile.

Weaving in Etruria was accomplished on a vertical warp-weighted loom. Occasionally, charred remains of the wooden beams are preserved in association with loom weights, which allows speculation about their probable position. For example, at the fourth-third century BCE building at La Piana, some of the charred wood timbers, found together with an accumulation of loom weights near the north wall in one of the rooms of the house, probably were remains of a loom frame.¹⁵²²

The most common evidence of the warp-weighted loom, however, consists of loom weights, which were made of fired clay and therefore survive well in the archaeological contexts, allowing us to trace the presence and sometimes even location of a warp-weighted loom on sites (Fig. 29.8).¹⁵²³ The trapezoidal or truncated pyramidal shape seems to have been prevalent in

Etruria, although ring-shaped loom weights were common in northern areas. Occasionally loom weights are found *in situ*, having fallen to the ground when the warp to which they were originally attached was destroyed or deliberately cut, as for example at Acquarossa.¹⁵²⁴ Such finds provide important information about the location and size of the loom.



Fig. 29.8: Terracotta loom weights, Poggio Civitate di Murlo, 7th –6th century (courtesy of Anthony Tuck)

Tablet weaving in Etruria is attested by tablets, metal clasps, bone spacers with pegs, and particularly by terracotta spools (Fig. 29.9).¹⁵²⁵ The latter were probably used as weights in tablet weaving.¹⁵²⁶ Finally, the evidence of sewing activities consists of numerous finds of bronze and bone needles.

4Conclusion

Surviving evidence illustrates the abundance and variety of textiles and their uses in Etruria. Garments, furnishings, utilitarian fabrics, sails, and even books were made of textiles. Different functions required different properties, which in turn demanded different choices and careful planning at various stages of textile production. A sophisticated technology with the capacity to produce highly complex and labor-intensive textiles developed in Italy by the Villanovan period and reached its peak during the Orientalizing and Archaic periods. The abundance of textile tools on settlements and in burials from the Villanovan period onwards demonstrates that textile production was one of the main economic activities and sources of wealth for the Etruscans. During the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, there was a significant increase in the scale of textile production, indicated by the large number and standardization of tools. Frequently, textile implements are concentrated in specific areas where the production of other goods, like ceramic or metal, has been

documented, suggesting a household or even workshop mode of manufacture and the existence of at least part-time specialist craftspeople. Cloth was likely produced for commercial purposes and textile trade in Etruria has been tied to salt, amber, slaves and other commodities.¹⁵²⁷ Textile trade seems to be indicated indirectly by the spread of Etruscan fashion to central Europe as attested in the Situla Art.¹⁵²⁸ While there is no evidence that textile production in Etruria ever reached an industrial scale of organization before the Roman period, there is strong indication of a manufacture mode, which greatly exceeded in quantity the simple subsistence-based household production.



Fig. 29.9: Ceramic spools, Poggio Civitate di Murlo, 7th–6th century (courtesy of Anthony Tuck)

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Emiliano Li Castro

30Musical instruments

Abstract: The great importance of music in Etruscan civilization is attested by several ancient Greek and Latin authors, who place a strong emphasis on the aerophones such as *auloi*, conches, horns, and trumpets of various kinds—namely the Latin *cornu*, *lituus*, and *tuba*. This assertion has been confirmed in recent times by various scholars, who also take into account the large number of musical instruments and the wide range of iconographic evidence that have been found at Etruscan sites, which span from the beginning of the seventh century to the first century BCE. While the only specimens that survive are, of course, those made of nonperishable materials like metal or clay, the iconographic evidence—such as the tomb paintings and other kinds of representations—clearly show that almost all of the musical instruments that were widespread in the Mediterranean at the time were also used in Etruria on many different occasions, including public and private ceremonies, rituals, and daily life. Tantalizing glimpses of the earlier presence of perishable instruments—such as wooden pipes and string instruments—are provided by the surviving parts made of ivory or bone, including a few pipes, joints between pipe and reed, and plectra. One notable feature in the Etruscan context seems to be the complete lack of membranophones—in particular the frame drum—which had still not appeared by the turn of the fifth century, and by which time all of the other musical instruments were already firmly established in the area.

Keywords: Aerophones, Chordophones, Idiophones, Membranophones

Introduction

This chapter presents the four main groups into which the original Sachs-Hornbostel system classified musical instruments,¹⁵²⁹ here presented as three of their families in decreasing order of the relevance of the Etruscan evidence.¹⁵³⁰

1Wind instruments (aerophones)

1.1Pipes

Several ancient Greek and Latin literary sources point out the close relationship between the Etruscans and the world of sound tools, particularly instruments belonging to the “aerophone” family of wind instruments. The most common of these is the double-tube reed aerophone (Fig. 30.1.1), known

in Greek as the *aulos* and in Latin as the (plural) *tibiae*. With regard to its Etruscan name, it can be observed that the Latins applied the term *subulo* to the Etruscan player of this instrument, indicating that the Etruscan word *suplu* refers to the player of this instrument, if not to the instrument itself.¹⁵³¹

Aristotle (fr. 608 Rose)¹⁵³² was surprised to find the Etruscans boxing, lashing their servants, or, according to a further detail provided by Alcimus of Sicily (Ath. 12.518c = *FGrH* 2.560 F 3), kneading their bread while listening to the sound of the *aulos*; while Aelian (*NA* 12.46) maintained that the Etruscans even used the double pipe¹⁵³³ when hunting wild boar and deer. Athenaeus (13.607f) remarks on the custom of sneering at Polystratus the Athenian, a pupil of Theophrastus who often used to put on the garments of female double pipe players, by calling him “the Etruscan”; and according to Ovid (*Ars Am.* 1.111), the first Etruscan who took part in the events of Rome was a musician playing the *tibiae* during the “Rape of the Sabine Women.”¹⁵³⁴ The Romans usually employed Etruscan double pipe players for their ceremonies, of which the music was a vital component. As Livy (9.30) certifies, the *tibicines* were considered essential by the Romans during their rites. The prestige of the Etruscan players is confirmed by Ennius (*Saturae* 65), who when referring to this type of musician did not use the Latin term *tibicen*, but the Etruscan *subulo*; and by Virgil (*G.* 2.193–94), who made a pointed reference to an Etruscan player who was intent on blowing his ivory instrument at the altar, in front of trays of steaming entrails (*inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras, lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta*).

As for the materials from which the *tibiae* were made, Pliny the Elder provides some specific information (*HN* 16.172): the Etruscan double pipes played on ritual occasions were made of boxwood, while the instruments played for entertaining were made of lotus wood, donkey bone, or silver. Due to the perishable nature of the wood, only rare

examples have survived. Eleven fragments of pipes—ten of boxwood and one of ivory—were recovered from the ship wrecked around 600 BCE at the Bay of Campese, in the Isola del Giglio,¹⁵³⁵ and a further fragment of pipe, with four holes and made of bone, has been found in the area of Chianciano.¹⁵³⁶ A few joints between pipe and reed are also known.¹⁵³⁷

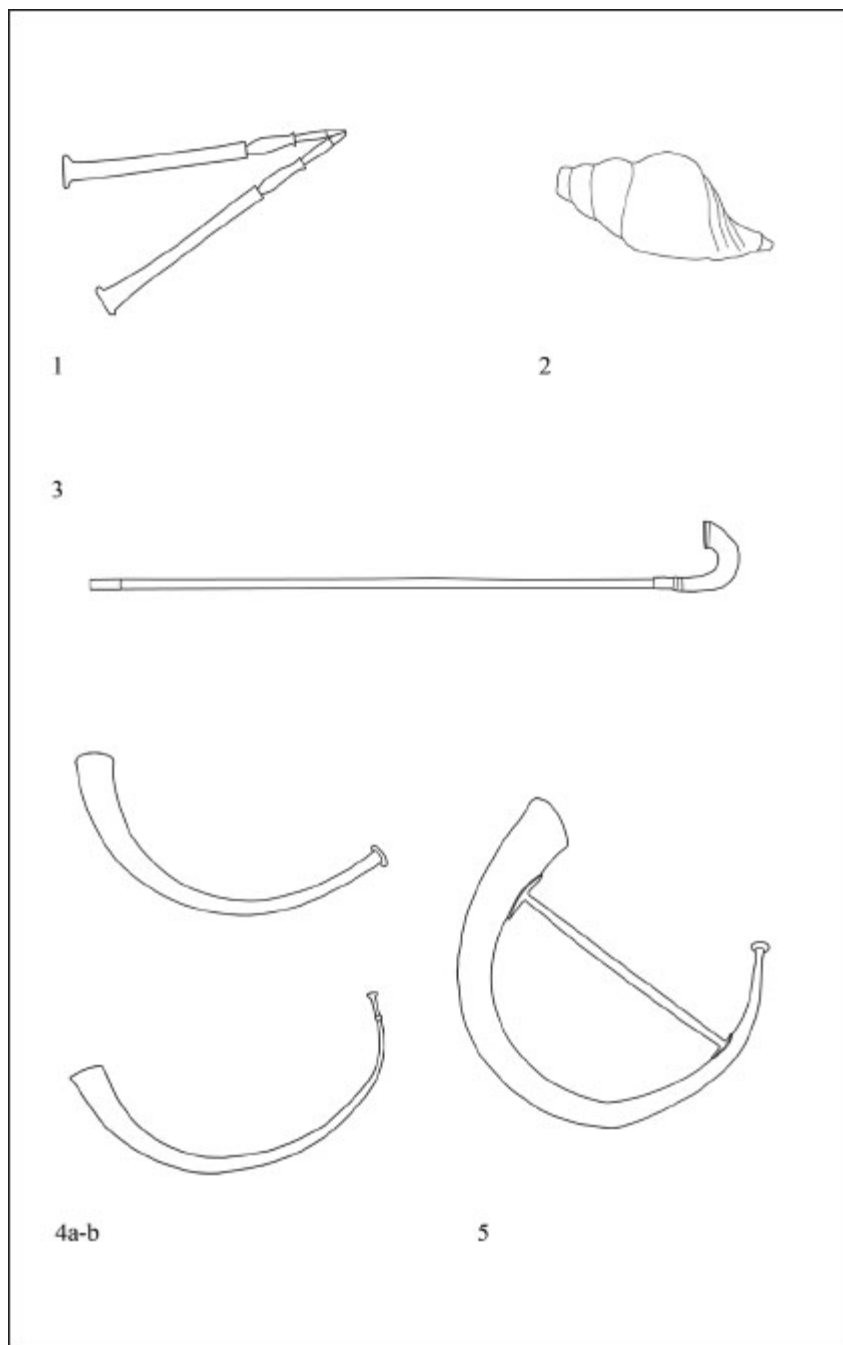


Fig. 30.1: Aerophones (nos. 1–5): No. 1 Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia. No. 2 Conch-trumpet from Tomb 1 at Poggio dell'Impiccato, Tarquinia. No. 3 *Lituus* from the Pian di Civita, Tarquinia. No. 4 (a) *Cornu* from the Tumulo dei Carri, Populonia; (b) *cornu*, from Tarquinia or Tuscania, in the British Museum. No. 5 *Corno Castellani*, Tarquinia

The large volume of iconography related to music produced by the Etruscans provides further information as well as confirmation as to how instruments were used. For one example, musicians and dancers are represented in tomb paintings with surprising frequency. About 180 of the painted tombs contain representations of figured subjects, almost 80% of them in Tarquinia; depictions of at least 129 musical instruments survive from fifty-two tombs, dating from 520 to the end of the third century.¹⁵³⁸ The double pipe is by far the most frequently represented instrument, with sixty-seven examples. Another survey, of a large number of archaic funerary urns from Chiusi decorated with incised relief, produced parallel results, identifying forty-two instruments on thirty-eight urns, spanning from the first half of the sixth century to the middle of the fifth.¹⁵³⁹ On urns too, the double pipe is the most frequently represented instrument, with twenty-two examples. The Etruscan tomb paintings confirm some of the statements from the literary sources, such as the presence of double pipe players at boxing and fighting games or, as in the painting at Golini Tomb I in Orvieto (second half of the fourth century), showing Alcimus's detail of this instrument being played during the kneading of bread.

The reed, an important part of the instrument with great influence on its sound properties and playing techniques, is unfortunately the most fragile part, so no Etruscan reeds have been found archaeologically. In addition, in almost all extant depictions, the musicians are shown playing but the reeds cannot be seen, as the mouthpieces are depicted inside the mouths of the performers. In only one painting—on the left wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses in Tarquinia (530–520 BCE)—is the instrument depicted not being played, but the depiction is too sketchy and the preservation of the painting too poor to enable definitive conclusions. Consequently, whether the reed is double or single—one of the main factors that affects the timbre of the instrument—cannot be determined. Nevertheless, since this ancient double pipe was certainly a reed instrument, as demonstrated by the iconographic evidence, which always depicts players with their cheeks distended,¹⁵⁴⁰ the current practice, however common, of referring to it as “double flute” is a mistake, incorrect from an organological point of view.

1.2 Trumpets

Another group of aerophones, very well attested in ancient literary sources, includes all sorts of trumpets, from those fashioned from a conch (Fig. 30.1.2) to those made of copper or bronze.¹⁵⁴¹ In the ancient sources, the trumpet is usually presented as an Etruscan invention. It is frequently represented in iconography and is common in the archaeological record. These long Etruscan trumpets¹⁵⁴² were designated by the Romans with three terms for their different shapes: *tuba*, *lituus* (Fig. 30.1.3), and *cornu* (Fig. 30.1.4). The *tuba* is

a straight tube that gradually expands from the mouthpiece to the end of the bell. The *lituus* is a straight tube that expands only at the end with a bell curved backward. The *cornu* is a wholly curved tube that gradually expands from the mouthpiece to the end of the bell, and is sometimes equipped with a supporting bar that allows the player to better handle the instrument when carrying and playing it, and also to increase its rigidity (Fig. 30.1.5).

These types of musical instruments were among the main symbols of rank employed in Etruscan ceremonies, and all ancient sources considered them to be an Etruscan invention.¹⁵⁴³ The *Tyrsēnike salpinx* “Etruscan trumpet” is mentioned in classical Greek tragedies by Aeschylus (*Eum.* 566–69), Sophocles (*Aj.* 17), and Euripides (*Heracl.* 830–31; *Rhes.* 989; *Phoen.* 1377–78). Much other ancient lexicographic, scholiastic, and literary evidence has confirmed this same origin, such as Pollux (4.85–86), Athenaeus (4.184a), Hesychius (λ 836 Latte), Virgil (*Aen.* 8.526) and Servius (ad loc.), Tatianus (*Ad Gr.* 2), Statius (*Theb.* 3.648, 6.404, 7.630), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Graec. affect. cur.* 1.19), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.16.74.6, *Paedagogus* 2.4.42.2), Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 3.21.3), and the scholiasts to Aristophanes (*Ran.* 133) and Lycophron (Tzetz. in *Lycophr.* 250). Moreover, while all sources plainly attribute an Etruscan origin to the trumpet by using a general term like Gk. *tyrsēnike salpinx* or Lat. *tyrrhenica tuba*, some of them also refer to the specific circumstances of its invention, or even claim to name the supposed inventor of the instrument or the person responsible for its spread to other populations. Diodorus Siculus (5.40) is very clear when he writes that the trumpet is an Etruscan invention, originally conceived for military purposes. He states that the Tyrrhenians (= Etruscans) contrived this tool, which is extremely useful in war, in order to organize their army. Pausanias (2.21.3) maintains that the inventor was *Tyrsenos*; Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 5.9–13), in his brief narration of the Etruscan migration to Italy, mentions *Tyrrhenos*, the eponymous hero, who led young people from Lydia across the sea to the Latin shores, gave his name to the land, and introduced the trumpet to the people he met—as a musical instrument characteristic of war and as a symbol of the power he would establish in Italy. Hyginus (*Fab.* 274), unlike Silius Italicus, for whom *Tyrrhenos* merely introduced the trumpet to Italy, names him as the inventor of an instrument used to call distant peoples for announcements of important events. According to Hyginus, when one of his comrades died, Tyrrhenos would blow on a hollow conch (*concha pertusa*)—an ancestor of the trumpet-type instruments—to gather the inhabitants of the area and declared that they would bury—not devour—the dead.

As confirmation of the presence of this instrument in pre-Etruscan times, a shell of a gastropod (*Charonia nodifera*) with a truncated apex comes from the rich array of grave goods found in Tarquinia in the cremation burial of an eminent warrior, dated to Iron Age IC or IC/IIA.¹⁵⁴⁴ This specimen was placed near the urn, close to its extant handle, as a symbol of high rank and probable sign of military power. Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 18.4.2) ascribes the

invention of the trumpet to the Tyrrhenian pirates (*praedones*), and he also explains the reason why they needed to do this. Being scattered around the coast (*dispersi circa maritimas oras*), they invented the *tuba* because, by virtue of its penetrating sound, it could be heard even at a long distance. The same text explains that the *tuba* was later used in battle to give orders because its sound could reach where the voice of the herald could not be heard because of the uproar of the fight. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 7.56.201) and Photius (λ 284 Theodoridis) attribute this invention to *Pisaeus* the Tyrrhenian, eponym of the city of Pisa, while according to Lactantius Placidus (ad Stat. *Theb.* 4.224, 6.382) the credit should go to *Maleus*, son of Hercules and Omphale, king of the Etruscans and leader of pirates. The Etruscan trumpets are also mentioned in ancient lists of trumpets written by other scholiasts and in the *Suda*.¹⁵⁴⁵ Aristonicus (165 van der Valk) makes a clear further distinction between the Greek instrument and the Etruscan, specifying the form of the former and reporting that it was invented by Athena; then, in addition to the shape, he also refers to the sound quality of the latter. However, in attributing the invention of the Hellenic trumpet to Athena, he nevertheless demonstrates a link of this instrument to the Etruscans by providing the detail—absent from other sources—that the Greek goddess invented the trumpet for the Tyrrhenians.

The three different types of Etruscan trumpet, although they are not a frequent subject in tomb paintings, are nonetheless represented in at least eighteen examples in Tarquinia,¹⁵⁴⁶ seven in Orvieto,¹⁵⁴⁷ and two in Chiusi;¹⁵⁴⁸ a pair of *cornua* and two *litui* are among the painted stucco reliefs decorating the Tomb of the Reliefs in Caere, dating to the last quarter of the fourth century.¹⁵⁴⁹ Further iconographic evidence can be drawn from the aforementioned repertoire of archaic funerary urns from Chiusi,¹⁵⁵⁰ from two stelae in the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna dating to the second half of the fifth century,¹⁵⁵¹ some late urns from Volterra,¹⁵⁵² painted vases from Etruscan workshops,¹⁵⁵³ bronze objects like the *Situla Benvenuti*¹⁵⁵⁴ (end of the seventh century) and the *Situla Arnoaldi*¹⁵⁵⁵ (fifth century), and other significant finds.¹⁵⁵⁶ The different occasions in which these instruments are shown include mainly funeral processions for prominent people and warfare, confirming the great importance attributed by the Etruscans to the various trumpets as symbols of military, political, or religious power. Even the rites associated with the foundation of an Etruscan city could include the use of a *lituus*.¹⁵⁵⁷ As noted by Cicero (*Div.* 1.30), this musical instrument and the augural rod that is characteristic of the Etruscans are referred to with the same name because of their resemblance. According to John Lydus (*Mens.* 4.73), this ritual instrument was also used by Romulus in the founding of Rome, and a bronze specimen from Tarquinia was retrieved in a votive pit, bent in two places and buried along with an axe and a shield around 675 BCE, probably during such a rite.¹⁵⁵⁸ So far, five other examples of Etruscan *litui* are more or less known, besides the one from Tarquinia: one from Vulci,¹⁵⁵⁹ another from

Cortona,¹⁵⁶⁰ a fragment in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe,¹⁵⁶¹ and two other instruments of unknown origin.¹⁵⁶²

An example of an Etruscan *cornu* without crossbar, dating to the first half of the seventh century, has been found in Populonia,¹⁵⁶³ and two others, which were probably found in Tarquinia or nearby, and some related fragments are in the British Museum.¹⁵⁶⁴ There is also one complete *cornu* with crossbar, the *Corno Castellani*, from Tarquinia,¹⁵⁶⁵ where six crossbar elements and a mouthpiece, likely of bronze,¹⁵⁶⁶ are in the local museum.¹⁵⁶⁷ Note that according to Strabo (5.2.2) trumpets, religious practices, and music were imported to Rome direct from Tarquinia, and Athenaeus (4.184a) also maintains that the *cornu* was invented by the Tyrrhenians.

One last relevant question concerns the mouthpiece of these instruments. While the bronze mouthpieces of all surviving *cornua* are preserved, either open (as on a conch trumpet or horn) or restricted (as on a modern trumpet or trombone), this important part is missing in most of the *litui* that have been recovered.¹⁵⁶⁸ These mouthpieces may have been made of perishable materials such as wood or bone.¹⁵⁶⁹

Finally, some horns can be added to the list of wind instruments from the Etruscan area that are made of ivory or clay.¹⁵⁷⁰ One ivory example is from Palestrina¹⁵⁷¹ and another possible one¹⁵⁷² is from the tomb mentioned above in Populonia.¹⁵⁷³ In addition, at least two clay horns are known: one from Civita Castellana¹⁵⁷⁴ and one from Montereggi.¹⁵⁷⁵

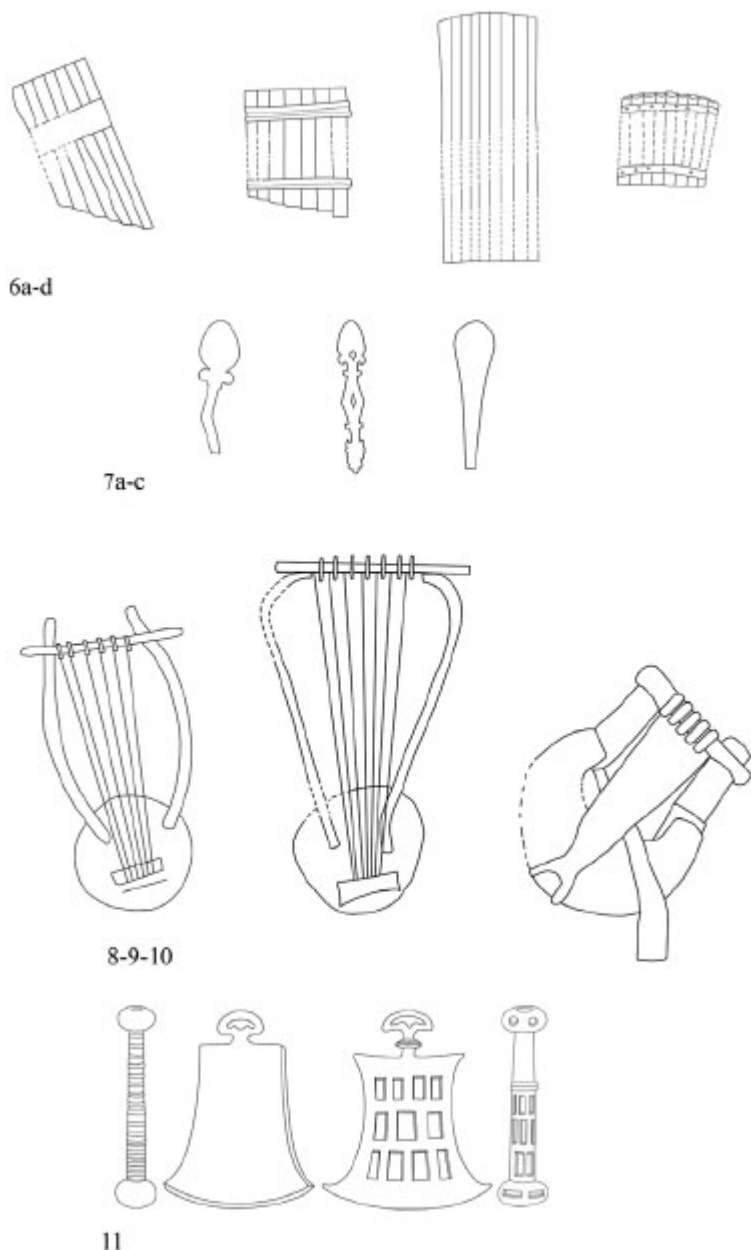


Fig. 30.2: Aerophones (no. 6), plectra (no. 7), chordophones (nos. 8–10) and idiophones (no. 11): No. 6 (a) *Situla* of Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design; (b) urn inv. no. 281, Guarnacci Museum, Volterra; (c) stone base inv. no. 2248, Archaeological National Museum, Chiusi; (d) Bronze inv. no. 470, British Museum, London. No. 7 (a) Plectrum from Caere; (b) plectrum, National Museum of Musical Instruments, Rome; (c) plectrum from Tarquinia. No. 8 Tomb of

1.3 Flutes

The last two aerophones to be included in the archaeological record of Etruscan civilization are the Pan flute or syrinx (Fig. 30.2.6) and the transverse (or side-blown) flute. The former is depicted in the Tomb of the Jugglers in Tarquinia and on some carved urns from Volterra, a stone base from Chiusi, and some bronze objects like the *Situla della Certosa* and the Cortona lamp.¹⁵⁷⁶ The latter is likely represented on one of the aforementioned late urns from Volterra¹⁵⁷⁷ (end of the third century), and certainly on a late sculptural urn (around 100 BCE) from Perugia.¹⁵⁷⁸

2 String instruments (chordophones)

Although the family of wind instruments is by far the most often mentioned in ancient sources, the most represented group in iconography, and seemingly the dominant player in the Etruscan soundscape, string instruments are also widely attested. Remnants of such perishable instruments are not known, or not yet identified, but several plectra, usually made of ivory and displaying elaborate shapes (Fig. 30.2.7), have been discovered in burials from various sites, such as Caere,¹⁵⁷⁹ Tarquinia,¹⁵⁸⁰ and Vulci,¹⁵⁸¹ spanning a period from the first half of the seventh to the first half of the sixth century.¹⁵⁸²

All of the string instruments represented in Etruscan iconography belong to the same family as the Greek *lyra* (Fig. 30.2.8), *barbiton* (Fig. 30.2.9), and *kithara* (Fig. 30.2.10), which are instruments composed of a hollow body—the soundbox—as resonator,¹⁵⁸³ with two arms coupled by a crossbar—the yoke—fixed across their upper part, and provided with strings of equal length.¹⁵⁸⁴ The earliest depiction of an instrument of this kind, a sort of proto-*kithara* (or a *phorminx*)¹⁵⁸⁵ with seven strings and played with a plectrum, appears on one of the oldest painted figural vases found in Etruria. It is an outstanding amphora, probably from Caere and dating to c. 670, and is attributed to a painter fittingly known as the Heptachord Painter (Fig. 16.3).¹⁵⁸⁶ Another odd-shaped chordophone is shown on the aforementioned *Situla della Certosa*¹⁵⁸⁷ along with the syrinx, but the main types depicted so often on tomb paintings,¹⁵⁸⁸ and represented on a great number of objects of Etruscan origin,¹⁵⁸⁹ have the usual features of the Greek models and clearly indicate their extensive adoption. The exception to this rule is the imposing “concert kithara” so often painted on black- and red-figure Attic vases, which

was probably known, but not really used, by the Etruscans.¹⁵⁹⁰

3Percussion instruments (idiophones and membranophones)

The instruments usually included in the percussion family are of two different types—the idiophones, which create sound primarily through the instrument's vibration set in motion by various actions (hitting, shaking, scraping, plucking, rubbing, or moving air),¹⁵⁹¹ and the membranophones, which produce sound primarily through a vibrating stretched membrane, namely drums.

3.1Idiophones

The oldest sounding tools from the pre-Etruscan period are the pear- or gourd-shaped clay rattles, decorated with thin sheets of tin, from the Early Iron Age burial sites of Tarquinia and Verucchio, dated to around 900.¹⁵⁹² Several rattles of similar shape and size, very often decorated, have been discovered at various sites in central Italy;¹⁵⁹³ most of these are made of clay except for one pre-Etruscan bronze specimen from Veii¹⁵⁹⁴ and some other bronze rattles from various Etruscan sites.¹⁵⁹⁵ In addition, some small bronze idiophones, such as bells,¹⁵⁹⁶ *tintinnabula* (Fig. 30.2.11),¹⁵⁹⁷ and other sounding objects,¹⁵⁹⁸ have been found in Etruscan sites but none of these instruments is represented elsewhere or mentioned by ancient sources. The only type of idiophone that is clearly and widely represented in iconography is a sort of large thick castanets which, after the Greek term, the Latins called *crotala*. They are always shown being played by dancers, and are depicted on tomb paintings,¹⁵⁹⁹ carved on Archaic funerary urns from Chiusi,¹⁶⁰⁰ and displayed on various artifacts, particularly on some bronze finials in the shape of dancing statuettes.¹⁶⁰¹ The *crotala* may have been made of perishable material like wood, because no surviving example is yet known.

3.2Membranophones

Notwithstanding the wide diffusion of membranophones all around the Mediterranean area during the same period—particularly the frame drum—called *tympanon* in Greek and *tympanum* in Latin, this class of instruments is the most puzzling and elusive aspect of the Etruscan musical tradition. No evidence of this instrument exists in the archaeological record, not a single

mention is made by Greek or Latin authors, no surviving depictions in tomb paintings exist, and it would appear that the Etruscans seldom depicted frame drums—or any other kind of drum—anywhere else. Few red-figure vases that show a *tympanum* appear to be from Etruscan workshops;¹⁶⁰² other vases from the same period depicting *tympana* are to be found in Tarquinia,¹⁶⁰³ Tuscania,¹⁶⁰⁴ Orvieto,¹⁶⁰⁵ and other Etruscan sites,¹⁶⁰⁶ but all of them were probably produced in the workshops of émigré Faliscan painters, and this population, though geographically close and related to Etruria, is ethnically distinct. If the Etruscans were beating their drums, they indeed have kept that beat secret for a long time.¹⁶⁰⁷

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Marshall Joseph Becker

31 Etruscan gold dental appliances

Abstract: Dental appliances and retention bands, the forerunners of modern dental bridges (pontics), were invented by the Etruscans over 2,500 years ago. The earliest known example, from the ancient site of Satricum in Latium vetus, dates to ca. 650 BCE. Most of the known examples derive from Etruscan archaeological contexts in Italy. Some retention bands and complex bridges appear to be Roman adaptations of Etruscan technology. Etruscan forms went out of use as their culture was dominated and then absorbed by the Romans.

A significant recent discovery is that the Etruscan appliances were worn only by females, suggesting that cosmetics and vanity was the principal “dental” concern of these people. Also newly recognized is the specificity of the Etruscan pontics within the southern Etruscan region. The limited distribution of dental appliances provides a warning regarding attempts to view women’s roles as similar across the widely divergent cultures that were all part of the Classical world. In turn, these specific data make clear the wide variations in gender roles present throughout the ancient world.

Keywords: gold dental appliances, dental pontics, Etruscan women, ancient medicine

Introduction

Ancient literary sources include many references to gold dental appliances. These were well known long before the first actual example was recovered from an archaeological context at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰⁸ Etruscan goldsmithing skills are well documented in numerous outstanding publications,¹⁶⁰⁹ but their primacy in applying these arts to “dentistry” is less well known. More than 2,600 years ago, Etruscan goldworking talents were used to fashion complex cosmetic dental appliances, some of which had therapeutic value as well. Recent discoveries in physical anthropology, archaeology, the ancient literature, and social anthropology enable us to reexamine and understand specific aspects of the lives of southern Etruscan women. In turn, the written accounts and the archaeological record relating to other aspects of Etruscan life can be reviewed and further investigated.

Since 1885, an extensive literature has emerged dealing with the subject of these ancient appliances. Recent evidence indicates that the earliest examples date from the seventh century BCE. Nearly a dozen ancient dental appliances, in an amazing variety of shapes and sizes, are now known.¹⁶¹⁰ All appear fashioned from natural gold, which generally has a high silver content.¹⁶¹¹

While frequently cited by archaeologists, these ancient prostheses tend to be a subject more frequently discussed by dental or medical historians. Since

Victor Deneffe's early effort, we have seen a considerable number of inventories emerge, and Mario Tabanelli attempts a true catalogue.¹⁶¹² Assembling a complete corpus of Etruscan and other ancient dental appliances permits an evaluation of all aspects of this type of ancient technology. Dental as well as other ancient prosthetic devices are reviewed by Lawrence Bliquez, who also presents specific information regarding various dental prostheses and their history.¹⁶¹³ The Bliquez inventory includes many of the best available photographs of these items.¹⁶¹⁴

Very little archaeological data relating to these prostheses is known.¹⁶¹⁵ Descriptions of the prostheses themselves are generally so poor as to foster errors in the literature. These various difficulties can be remedied only by detailed studies of each of the appliances. Don Clawson began careful studies of the limited dental and skeletal materials found in association with these prostheses.¹⁶¹⁶ His efforts, plus a review of the limited archaeological data, have provided new views of this subject.¹⁶¹⁷ Also important in understanding the contexts within which these appliances were made and used is the literary evidence¹⁶¹⁸ and the relationship of practitioners of medicine to those who performed dental extractions.¹⁶¹⁹ Collectively, this evidence provides an indication of how widely available this type of prosthetic device was to the ancient Etruscan elite,¹⁶²⁰ and later to the Romans, reflecting a long history which can be documented archaeologically. The manufacture of dental appliances clearly was a skilled activity of goldsmiths or other craftsmen, rather than the work of barbers or physicians.

1History: The origins of dental appliances

The earliest records of "dental care" appear in Egyptian medical papyri of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BCE.¹⁶²¹ These texts, however, relate only to medical treatments of the mouth and gums; references to dental prostheses are entirely absent. Many Egyptian texts long predate the Hippocratic corpus but are important in understanding the early history of dental medicine. Treatments for oral diseases long predate the development of dental appliances, which first emerge in the Etruscan world in the seventh century.¹⁶²²

Dental prostheses from Near Eastern regions all date to the fifth century or later.¹⁶²³ Vincenzo Guerini suggested that the Egyptians may have decorated teeth with gold after death, but he recognized that they produced no dental prostheses.¹⁶²⁴ The Near Eastern prostheses were all fashioned from gold or silver wire and were intended to stabilize loose teeth. The ancient Near Eastern technique was still being used in European and North American dentistry well into the twentieth century.

François Emptoz's outstanding summary of the evidence reveals that in

1914 Hermann Junker found what was called “wired teeth” in a tomb at Giza dating from 2500 BCE.¹⁶²⁵ Emptoz concluded that these “teeth” were actually an amulet, and I concur. The supposed primacy of Egyptian or Phoenician dental appliances¹⁶²⁶ is nowhere supported by direct evidence. Clawson put it best when he stated that “contrary to the beliefs of various writers,” whom he cites, “detached archaeological specimens of Egyptian prosthetic dentistry do not seem to exist.”¹⁶²⁷

The precise origins of dental appliances predate the sixth century. By 630 BCE, a high- status resident of ancient Satricum was buried wearing a complex and sophisticated gold dental appliance.¹⁶²⁸ This find suggests that skills in the production of dental prostheses extend at least back to the middle of the seventh century. The archaeological evidence spanning the next few hundred years has revealed the general availability of such gold prosthetic devices in Etruria. The number buried in tombs is indicated clearly by the many examples which survive,¹⁶²⁹ as well as a specific reference to them in the ancient Roman literature; in the Law of the Twelve Tables. This law sought to restrict the burial of gold dental appliances with their owners, perhaps to reduce mortuary ostentation but also to discourage tomb looters.

The Etruscans were the first to develop true dental bridges (pontics). These devices generally provided a distinct ring or separated space for each tooth and were anchored to sound teeth. These appliances usually provided the means for replacing one or two missing teeth. Quite interesting, however, is the fact that no examples of gold bridgework appear to survive from the period of the later Roman Republic or the Empire, although literary references clearly attest to their presence. Bliquez rightly dismisses Guerini’s suggestion that by the Late Republic, full sets of removable dentures were being produced.¹⁶³⁰ Even if this were the case, a demand for bridges would have continued, and later examples should be known. Roman prostheses were being removed before burial, or were looted from graves. Poor documentation when recovered may have led to the inclusion of examples in the corpus without appropriate archaeological documentation that would allow us to assign a correct date.

2Functions

While all the known Etruscan dental appliances appear to be cosmetic, the later Roman examples generally were functional. A few simple gold bands, in the form of long ovals, are known from Etruscan as well as Roman contexts, but no dates can be assigned to them.¹⁶³¹ The lengths of these bands indicate that three or more teeth were circled by a single loop. Some of the simple bands may have been purely ornamental, but others may have been used to stabilize teeth loosened by a blow or by periodontal disease. Both cosmetic

and functional dental appliances are mentioned in the ancient texts.¹⁶³² The Etruscan examples of dental bridges are particularly interesting because they uniformly replace one or both upper central incisors.¹⁶³³ Since these teeth are the least likely to be lost naturally to decay or periodontal woes, the evidence strongly suggests deliberate removal.¹⁶³⁴ Deliberate extraction (evulsion) of incisors is a common cultural practice around the world, although Italic examples are less well known.¹⁶³⁵ These cosmetic appliances, designed to fill the gap left by teeth deliberately removed, would also serve to maintain the remaining teeth in their correct places, although it may not have been an intended feature of the appliances. A well-fitted ornamental false tooth would assure continued proper articulation of the remaining teeth and their continued efficient function. This is one of the principal goals of modern orthodontics. The individual's own teeth, deliberately removed, could be recycled by being cut down and fitted into the appliance inserted into the owner's mouth. "Recycling" one's own teeth would also guarantee a correct color and size match.¹⁶³⁶

The Latin poet Martial (ca. 39 – ca. 103 CE) indicated that various substitutes for human teeth were commonly employed in antiquity, such as bone or ivory (Spect. 1.72). Even the tooth of an ox is incorporated into one Roman appliance. I agree with Bliquez and others that goldsmiths, ivory carvers, and other artisans fabricated these appliances.¹⁶³⁷ The makers fitted these devices as cosmetologists, independent of the dentists, who did extractions, or the physicians, who prescribed for diseases of the mouth.

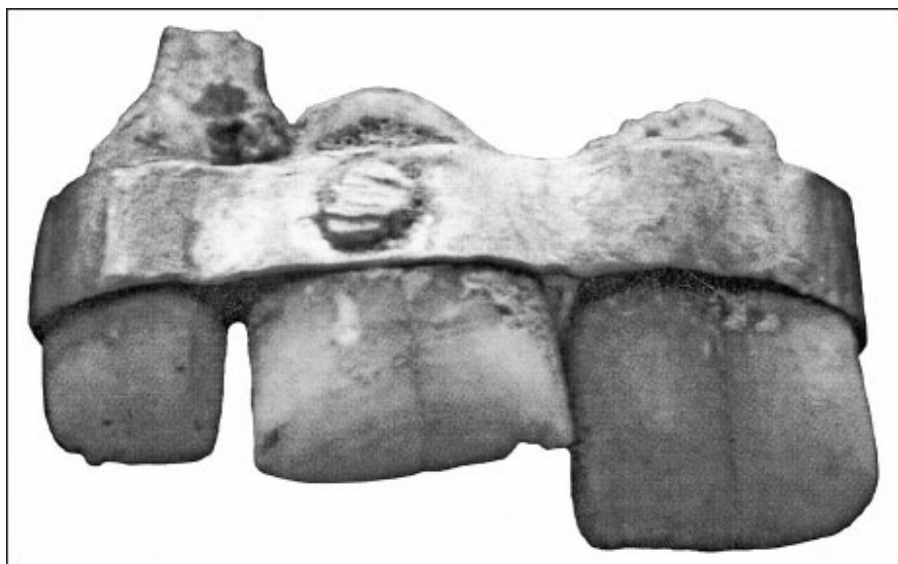


Fig. 31.1: Etruscan gold dental appliance. Already collection R. Aichmeir, Linz (photo R. Aichmeir)

An Etruscan dental appliance maker required the skills of a goldsmith who

could also fashion the false teeth and do the fitting (Fig. 31.1). Such a person would have been an extremely talented craftsman. Knowledge of tooth shapes and the fitting of gold bands to them is highly developed in the Copenhagen example. When well installed, a complex appliance provided a much better fit and greater stability for the teeth than is achieved through the use of a single long gold band. The individual rings of the appliances provide us with a direct indication of the measurements of the anterior teeth of the individuals who wore these appliances. These measurements are uniformly within the range of Etruscan female dentition.

3The Copenhagen bridge: A unique ancient dental pontic

The best described of all the surviving examples of Etruscan dental appliances is the example in the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, Danish National Museum, Copenhagen. This piece serves as a good example of ring-constructed Etruscan pontic. The Copenhagen specimen, believed to have come from Orvieto, was known as early as 1927, when it was probably found in a major tomb.¹⁶³⁸ It was mentioned or illustrated thereafter by several authors.¹⁶³⁹ Detailed descriptions of the appliance and the associated teeth became available more recently.¹⁶⁴⁰

The Copenhagen appliance is a complex variation of a simple gold band type that was meant to encircle several teeth. There are at least four variations in construction among the score of dental appliances known.¹⁶⁴¹ The Copenhagen appliance was assembled from three small separate gold rings, or “loops.” Each of the three loops of the Copenhagen appliance is seamless, formed by drawing out a ring from a solid piece of gold or by making a small loop from a strip of gold by cold welding the ends.¹⁶⁴² The lateral loops were then joined at their adjacent surfaces by invisible cold welds. The lateral loops were curved in such a way as to conform to the base of each dental crown, with specific fitting done after the false tooth had been set in place and the appliance was ready to be inserted. The three small gold loops were then carefully fitted or custom designed to surround both “anchor” teeth and the false tooth, now missing. Anchor or “post” teeth are the sound or living teeth to which the bridge was attached to hold it in place. This appliance, like all the Etruscan examples, was meant to be worn in the upper jaw of an adult female. The lateral loops in this example were fitted over the upper left central incisor (I1) and the right lateral incisor (I2), with the right central incisor (I1) being “replaced.” No rivet was used to hold the false or replacement tooth in the center ring of the Copenhagen appliance, although this was the most common method used in other Etruscan examples.

The central band was formed as a sharply rectangular “box.” The

replacement tooth, either the one deliberately removed or a substitute of ivory or bone, would have been a “crown” only. If not the cut-down (root-removed) original, this replacement would have been carved with its upper, exposed portion mimicking the tooth that it replaced. The lower part or base of the false tooth was square-cut to fit into the “box.” The angular shape would prevent it from slipping or rotating in its fitted collar. No rivet (pin) was needed since the false tooth was held in place the way a gemstone is fixed in a setting: this small rectangular band held the false tooth just as a goldsmith would insert a gem into a bezel setting. The false tooth was secured in place by pressing the soft gold tightly around it. The bridge has a design remarkably similar to modern examples. The appliance was meant to be a permanent fixture, although direct use of the replacement tooth would loosen the appliance. The Copenhagen-type pontic was more effective than bridges incorporating only a single long band with teeth riveted into position in the center, as in the Liverpool examples.¹⁶⁴³

Anthropological techniques provide new means of interpreting the considerable body of existing evidence from the Classical world. Recently collected biological data relating to these appliances plus the use of cultural models provided by social anthropologists enables us to decode this extensive array of data in ways that make clear aspects of gender roles present in ancient Etruria. A detailed description appears elsewhere,¹⁶⁴⁴ but of particular interest here are the measurements of the three teeth involved, as indicated by the dimensions of the gold rings and the portions of teeth that survive. These can be inferred both from direct measurement as well as by comparison with photographs taken when the associated teeth were better preserved.¹⁶⁴⁵ Direct study of the anthropometric data reveals that these dental appliances were worn only by women.¹⁶⁴⁶ This is evident from the size of the teeth involved. These are in the female range, much smaller than the teeth of males in this same population. Based on comparative dental wear, the woman represented by the teeth in the Copenhagen appliance appears to be over thirty years of age, but probably under fifty.

These comparisons are possible because we now have available extensive dental information from a central Italic Iron Age population.¹⁶⁴⁷ More specifically we now have considerable dental data from later periods at the southern Etruscan city of Tarquinia,¹⁶⁴⁸ where the greatest concentration of these appliances was found. The evidence clearly demonstrates that only women wore these appliances. The gendered use of these appliances is reinforced by the archaeological evidence from one of the two known contexts for which any excavated evidence had been recorded. Obviously, the actual measurements of the involved teeth are more clearly documented from the individual loops of the pontics than can be inferred from gold bands. The possibility that dental loss was a result of leprosy has been considered, but rejected due to the gender specificity of the known examples.

4Discussion

Comparison of the newly available evidence from the Etruscan skeletal record¹⁶⁴⁹ also indicates that the loss of upper central incisors, the teeth most commonly replaced by these Etruscan pontics, would have been an extremely rare phenomenon in women under the age of sixty.¹⁶⁵⁰ This correlates with other evidence suggesting that the deliberate removal of healthy incisors from these women was necessary to enable these decorative appliances to be worn.¹⁶⁵¹

These discoveries bring us back to the literary evidence, and in particular to the many ancient texts indicating that Etruscan men and women dined together. Etruscan gender relationships were unlike those of the Romans and Greeks, who practiced gender “avoidance” while eating and saw the Etruscan cultural form as disturbing (see [chapter 14](#) Colivicchi). Like the Etruscan use of decorative dental appliances, these dining customs faded as the Roman Empire altered the behaviors of the Etruscan elite in the first century BCE.

Long ago, Rodolfo Lanciani noted that the tombstone of an ancient Roman dentist named Victorinus had an instrument of his trade depicted on it—a pair of dental forceps.¹⁶⁵² Other medical practitioners in Rome, of both Greek and Roman origin, also had similar tools shown on their funerary monuments.¹⁶⁵³ The numerous medical kits known from antiquity, however, do not include the specialized tools that are needed by the goldsmith. Nor do we find any literary evidence that suggests that gold dental appliances were fashioned by any of the people more directly involved in the medical arts.¹⁶⁵⁴ We can also reject the thesis that any of these appliances was used to effect a deliberate shifting of teeth. Orthodontics is clearly a twentieth-century invention dependent on modern developments in metallurgy and other areas. Dental implants were also made possible only by later twentieth-century technology.¹⁶⁵⁵

A distribution map of ancient dental appliances demonstrates that this technology appears to have been concentrated in southern Etruria.¹⁶⁵⁶ The few examples found beyond the borders of this specific part of ancient Etruria can be explained by two factors relating to the movement of the Etruscan women wearing these appliances. These women may have been buried outside their native territories as a result of high-status marriage alliances between upper class Etruscan mercantile families and foreign trading partners; or they may have been accompanying their husbands who ventured beyond their homeland while conducting the business that made the Etruscans wealthy. These inferences are but a small part of the complex patterns that can be reconstructed through a detailed study of the surviving corpus of dental appliances.

The evidence also suggests that the use of these appliances was not a cultural custom found throughout the Etruscan realm.¹⁶⁵⁷ Unless there were radically different mortuary patterns in central and northern Etruria, perhaps involving the removal of such appliances from the deceased, we must

conclude that this technology was a part of the ornamentation of women primarily found in southern Etruria.

Of considerable interest is the evolution of this technology. The earliest dated example of a dental appliance is the Satricum appliance, from no later than 650. This has a hollow gold tooth attached to a thin band and is the only one to use a gold replacement tooth.¹⁶⁵⁸ Since we have no evidence to indicate that this hollow-tooth technique was ever repeated, we may conclude that it was soon discontinued. This suggests that by 600 the use of false teeth—human, or carved to look like natural teeth—had become the fashion. This appears to relate to the finding that where a specific evaluation of gender has been made, all those wearing these gold bands were women.

At this time we have no means of dating most of the gold dental appliances known from ancient Italy. However, as Mary Johnstone indicated, the Etruscans clearly were the first to construct true dental bridges.¹⁶⁵⁹ The tentative sequence for these dental appliances suggests a constant, if slow, development in the techniques of applying dental bridges. Any apparent improvement need not reflect chronological aspects of ancient dentistry. The use of a more successful method of fitting a dental appliance may reflect only the greater concern of this “dentist,” or the greater skills of a goldsmith who was fashioning the bridge. Various examples suggest that a few talented individuals may have carried their craft to unusual heights, but those achievements did not continue after the decline of ancient Rome, being reinvented centuries later by modern practitioners. If the Copenhagen bridge represents an evolved form of dental appliance within the ancient world, then we can see a stage from which the next logical step would be the formation of a solid gold tooth which might have mastication among its functional aspects.

5Conclusions

- 1.The earliest pontics were made by Etruscans solely for decorative purposes. Any influence they had in retarding the shifting of teeth would have been purely coincidental.
- 2.The deliberate evulsion of teeth was fundamental to the process of providing a place to install these pontics, a pattern very different from the modern concept of preservative dentistry.
- 3.Only women wore these appliances, and perhaps only in southern Etruria.
- 4.Gold bands or braces that had no false teeth attached may have been employed for functional reasons, such as to prevent the movement or loss of teeth loosened by a blow or by periodontal disease.

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Part 2: **III. History**

Adriano Maggiani

32The Historical Framework

Abstract: To adequately follow the long itinerary of the Etruscans, it is necessary to go back to the End Bronze Age (twelfth-tenth centuries BCE), a time when there were many different cultures in the Italian peninsula, among which, the Proto-Villanovan occupied a large part of central Italy. It is likely that the bearers of this and other contemporary cultures corresponded to many ethnic groups. At the beginning of the Iron Age (1000–730), the communities of tiny villages of central mid-Tyrrhenian Italy came together in large inhabited centers, called “proto-urban” in the literature, which correspond to the Etruscan cities. The material culture of these centers also diffused into other regions of the peninsula, such as Emilia-Romagna (around Bologna and Verucchio), the Marches (Fermo), northern Campania (around Capua), southern Campania (around Pontecagnano and Sala Consilina), which can be interpreted equally as districts of Etruscan culture, each with its own history. Thanks to a strong inclination toward commerce and long-distance relations, these communities came into contact with other cultures that existed on the peninsula and in adjacent regions, both north of the Alps and along the Mediterranean coasts. The exploitation of the extraordinary natural resources available in Etruria led to the flourishing of the Orientalizing culture (730–580). In the western Mediterranean, this saw the arrival of goods, men, and ideas from the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. In this period, gentile aristocracies made their name, using their family names to underline their membership in that group. In the Archaic period (580–450), the individual cities promoted their relations with regions beyond the Italian peninsula and began the flow of commerce especially toward Gaul and northern Africa. An encounter with the Greek world, represented especially by the colony of Syracuse, became inevitable. The naval battle won by the Syracusans at Cumae brought about a new balance of power in the western Mediterranean. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods (450–250), encounters with the Greek world continued, and they had to confront the Gauls, who had penetrated central Italy, and the growing power of Rome. The skillful policies carried out by the Roman republic, which knew very well how to exploit the fragile cohesion of the Etruscan world, conquered one city after another, bringing about the loss of political autonomy for the Etruscans, who were assimilated into the world of Rome (250–90), sharing the internal vicissitudes.

Keywords: Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, Archaic period, Hellenism, Republican period

Introduction: An Etruscan history

When Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote the early history of Rome at the end of the first century BCE, Etruria had for about a century been a part of the Roman state, along with all the other ethnic-geographic regions of the Italian peninsula. But unlike these other peoples, the Etruscans appeared in the eyes of the historian to be a population unlike any other in language, religious customs, and culture. This Etruscan deviation, the historian goes on to tell us,

had favored the proliferation of various traditions on the origins of the people, most of which claimed that they were immigrants to the peninsula, whereas Dionysius himself was inclined to consider them autochthonous (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.30).

The Etruscans themselves had developed a tradition concerning their genesis as a people. According to Varro¹⁶⁶⁰ in the *Tuscae Historiae*, written in the eighth century of the Etruscan calendar, or the second century BCE, it was made known that the people of Etruria had all ten *saecula* of existence, and it was specified how many had elapsed and how long they would continue to exist. The calculation reported by Varro anticipated on the whole a duration of seven “centuries” already passed (a *saeculum* was a measure of time that was not fixed, but variable, calculated according to the lifespan of the longest-lived man in any generation) amounting to 761 years; the eighth “century” was in progress when the *Historiae* were written; two more “centuries” remained before the *nomen etruscum* would come to an end. This tradition, which is also mentioned by Dio Cassius (57.18.3–5), Plutarch (*Sull.* 7), and the *Suda*,¹⁶⁶¹ was accepted literally as fixing the beginning of the *nomen*—that is, the moment of the onset of a self-aware ethnic group; roughly speaking, in the tenth century bce. This is a date that in terms of the major temporal divisions of modern proto-history coincides with the last gasp of the Bronze Age.¹⁶⁶²

1 From the Bronze Age to the Iron Age (10th cent-730 BCE)

1.1 From (apparent) homogeneity to differentiation

The Late Bronze Age was dominated in Italy by an ensemble of archaeological *facies*, that have in common a certain number of uniform characteristics, which has been given the name “proto-Villanovan.” Behind this label, however, a variety of realities are concealed.

Archaeological research has identified many independent regional typological groups, which paved the way for clearer distinctions that characterized the Iron Age that followed. To grossly oversimplify, we can say that many of these groups or local *facies* (roughly, archaeological horizons) developed uninterruptedly into the Iron Age and beyond. Definite phenomena of continuity are found, for example, in some parts of northwestern Italy (from where it passed from the *facies* known as “Proto-Golaseccan” of the Late Bronze to the Golaseccan culture of the Iron Age) and of northeastern Italy (from the previously defined “Proto-Venetic” culture to the Venetic), and in Latium as well (phases I—II of the “Latium culture”).

The situation is more complex in central Italy, where there was a distinct Mid-Tyrrhenian *facies*, which in turn included five local groups. Among these, the southern boundary of the Tolfa-Allumiere group, located in northern Latium and southern Tuscany, is marked by the Tiber, while to the north it is defined by a line from Bisenzio to Sovana and the course of the Fiora. Farther north, a distinct typological group has been identified called the “Cetona-Chiusi,” which included inner Tuscany and part of the Umbrian area including Perugia and Spoleto, and presents noteworthy connections with the coast of the Marches. In northern maritime Tuscany, cultural aspects are outlined less clearly, but with some connections with the Cetona-Chiusi group.

The recognition of this dichotomy in the cultural aspects of the Late Bronze Age in the territory that would become Etruria proper is of great interest, in that it seems to have an exact counterpart in the following historical age. Between the Arno and the Tiber, that is, it is possible to distinguish already in the Late Bronze two great cultural regions that coincide impressively with what in the historical age would become northern and southern Etruria, differentiated not only by aspects of the material culture, but also by features of their language and script.

1.2 Continuity and discontinuity

If from the point of view of the material culture there were undeniable elements of continuity between the Proto-Villanovan and the Villanovan of Etruria, the panorama of the population between the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age in this area is characterized by a clear change in the style of settlement. In fact, it went from many small “Proto-Villanovan” hamlets to a very few substantially sized built-up locations placed in strategically important spots, where several hundred individuals might gather, which coincide in large part with the historical cities of Etruria. These new major complexes have been called “proto-urban centers,” a term that is ambiguous but has nevertheless entered the lexicon. The phenomenon, which undoubtedly represents a traumatic and epochal event, especially because of its simultaneous appearance everywhere in the territory that would later become Etruria, might have had various causes; in any case it presupposes a very powerful authority able to garner a broad consensus.

Another element that distinguishes the two periods involves funerary practices. In the necropolises from the end of the Bronze Age, there are signs of a degree of social diversity (the aristocracy that Ferrante Rittatore Vonwiller recognized in the burial tumuli of Crostoletto di Lamone), but in those of the beginning of the Iron Age a pronounced egalitarianism predominates.

At the same time as the phenomenon of synoecism (Gk. *synoikismós*, amalgamation of villages), a transformation seems to have taken place from

an economy in which the land and livestock were property of the community, typical of the Bronze Age, to an economy dominated by private possession of land by hereditary title (the Romulean *heredium* appears to be its mythistorical variant).

Like many of the great historical cultures, the Etruscan culture began to get under way at the end of the Bronze Age. In this case, however, the distinctive element appears to be the phenomenon of synoecism, which characterizes the dawn of the Iron Age, not only in southern Etruria but in the northern region as well, as shown by the examples of Populonia, Volterra, Chiusi, and Vetulonia.

The cultural continuity in the aforementioned regions (Piedmont, Veneto, Latium, Etruria) becomes especially significant when these different ethnic groups acquire a writing system that takes on individual linguistic and ethnic properties: a series of linguistic and cultural areas become clearly defined. All the Italic languages (Lepontic, Venetic, Umbrian, Latin) appear to have surrounded the region where Etruscan was spoken.

An assertion by Renato Peroni is in the writer's opinion perfectly convincing: "Local (typological) groups and ethnic components represent without any doubt incommensurable concepts: the cases of several groups existing within just one ethnic component and, on the contrary, of several ethnic components coexisting within a single group must constitute not the exception, but the rule."¹⁶⁶³

This hypothesis is perfectly consistent with the more than likely coexistence of a variety of different ethnic entities within the individualized typological groups in the Late Bronze Age, as appears clear in the case of the Cetona-Chiusi group that was intimately connected with the Umbrian environment. The fecundity of this original perspective is also demonstrated in its ability to reflect the presence of elements of different origins in the cultural manifestations of Etruria in historical times. A specific case, but one that is quite significant, is that of the Etruscan pantheon, known to us in its most complete formulation in the late Hellenistic age. In the religious lexicon of the Etruscans, it is possible to explain groups of theonyms that betray foreign provenience in their linguistic form. Alongside a prevailing core of divine names clearly of Etruscan origin, there are many others for which an Umbro-Italic origin has long been proven, to which are added a tiny component of Greek names. This is surprising when we recall the enormous acculturating influence that Greece had had over Etruria beginning at least in the middle of the eighth century. It can be inferred that in the eighth century there already existed an Etruscan pantheon as an organized system of names of gods, which had prevented or made it extremely difficult for Greek theonyms to infiltrate. The historical dynamic of this phenomenon is perfectly reflected in Peroni's model. Different ethnic and cultural components were gathered to give life to the new style of territorial organization—the proto-urban center—within which the various groups naturally bear their own

cultural characteristics and naturally their own gods.

To this reconstruction can be wedded the picture painted by ancient historiography of the foundation of Rome, which resulted from the concatenation of various groups of Latins, and a little later was completed with the induction into the civic body of the Sabines by Titus Tatius, who brought with him his own gods, as recorded by Varro. Varro thought (being of Sabine heritage) he was still able to name them.

That in Etruria the motivation of this phenomenon went back to the Late Bronze or the Early Iron Age, seems to be proven by the characteristics of the Proto-Villanovan of northern inner Etruria; as indicated above, the Cetona-Chiusi group was part of a much wider cultural division into which Umbria was thoroughly integrated. The hypothesis formulated on the basis of the pantheon turns out to be nothing more than hypothesizing that the territorial plexus covered by the Chiusi-Cetona *facies* would already have displayed ethnic variation within itself.

To the objection that this sort of picture does not mirror the linguistic unity of this great cultural division (because in historical times Etruscans spoke Etruscan and not a number of languages or even different languages, e.g. Umbrian?) we may answer once more with the example of the tradition of the founding of Rome. Romulus admitted the Sabines of Titus Tatius, but the language of the city did not become Sabine or even Sabine; it remained Latin.

This might signify that the driving forces of this process of the birth of great proto-urban aggregations were linguistically Etruscan already at the moment of formation—that is, at least since the end of the tenth century.

1.3 The historiographic tradition and the language

Data from archaeology, linguistics, and the literary/historical tradition do not sufficiently agree to furnish a really homogeneous view. A good part of the historiographic tradition, magisterially synthesized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.22ff.), speaks of the Tyrrhenians, who from various locations supposedly settled in Italy. But for some authors it was a matter of Pelasgians, a mysterious migrant people in the Aegean sea, who were felt in some ways to be distinct from—and in other ways identical to—the Tyrrhenians. For one segment of the tradition (Hellanicus of Lesbos, a historian of the late fifth century BCE), the Pelasgians would have landed in Italy at the mouth of the Spinete River to penetrate the interior and conquer Umbrian Cortona (a reflex of this can be seen in the archaeological materials from Frattesina di Fratta Polesine, a great Late Bronze center at the mouth of the Po). According to a different facet of the tradition, the Tyrrhenians would have moved to Italy from Near Eastern locations, from which they would have pursued the Pelasgians or the Umbrians.

The data from the historiographic tradition can, in my opinion, be

connected with the linguistic data.

Probably a non-Indo-European language, Etruscan's sole traces of familial connections are with the language of an Archaic-period stela from Kaminia on the island of Lemnos, and with that of the Archaic inscriptions from the Rhaetic area (central-eastern Alps). The literary sources know of the presence of Tyrrhenians at Lemnos, documented in the seventh century and expelled by the Athenians of Miltiades at the end of the sixth. They also know of the Rhaeto-Etruscans of the Alpine basin, who are supposed to have taken refuge there because of Celtic expansion in Italy. This second tradition, which goes back to the Paduan Livy (5.33.11), is dubious. The sixth-century date of the Rhaetic inscriptions excludes from the discussion any reference to the late fifth-century Gaulish invasion, and probably also that of two centuries earlier, recorded by Livy himself. In fact, the features of the Rhaetic language, like Lemnic, show affinity, but not identity. The differences make us think that the three linguistic groups had undergone centuries of independent evolution.

The connections with Lemnos in the Archaic period have more recently been interpreted, overturning widespread opinion but validating one of the extant literary traditions, as the effect of a move of Etruscans from the peninsula toward the east. This is hardly a legitimate theory from the point of view of epigraphy or linguistics, and all the more unacceptable on the archaeological level. Not a single element connects the archaeological *facies* of the two regions; this appears to be a strange fact for the hypothesis of a displacement of peoples in the fully historical age (seventh-sixth centuries).

On the other hand, it is only by supposing the greatest antiquity of any ethnolinguistic unity among these three entities, the Lemnian in northern Aegean, the Rhaetic in the Alpine region, and the Etruscan in Etruria proper, that the established total lack of any element of connection between the archaeological *facies* of the three environments in question could be explained.

Perhaps the knowledge that the ancients had of the affinity between Lemnian, Rhaetic, and Etruscan ultimately created the theory of the identity of those populations with the Etruscans, giving an origin to the legend of migrations.

Perhaps the entire complex of traditions on the origin of the Etruscans should be regarded, as has been done more recently, as a corpus of stories constructed between the late sixth and the fifth centuries, with the purpose of ethno-political glorification of various actors. There remains the problematic information contained in the Egyptian historical inscriptions of the time of Ramses III, which mention an ethnic group called *Trs-w*, in which there is a tendency to recognize the same linguistic stem as in the Greek name *Tyrsenoi*, but whose interpretation is subject to debate.

These are very exiguous elements with elusive details, but they might give substance to the tradition of a very old connection of the Etruscans of Italy with populations of eastern Aegean.

1.4Synoecism and colonization: Unity in the Early Iron Age

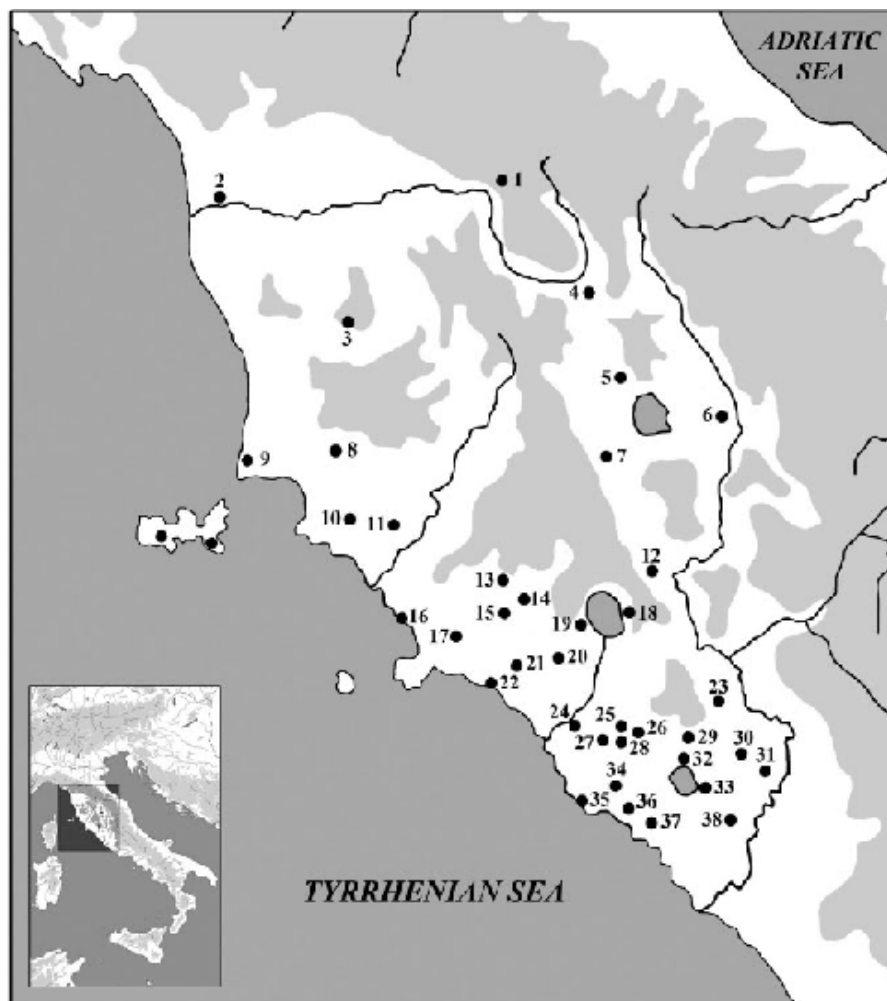
With the beginning of the Iron Age, a noticeable cultural unity characterizes the region that would become Etruria proper—between the Tiber in the south, the valley of the Arno in the north, and the Apennine ridge in the east (Fig. 32.1). It is this cultural unity, characterized by lifeways, burial customs, styles of ceramic decoration, and types of arms and ornaments that has been dubbed the name of Villanovan culture. Until the beginning of the ninth century, other large regions of the peninsula are closely connected to this large, substantially homogeneous area. This area includes considerable portions of Emilia south of the Po and centered on Bologna; Romagna, with its nucleus at Verucchio; the Marches, with the minor center at Fermo (which flourished in the ninth-eighth centuries, but was soon absorbed into the supervening Picene culture); and nearly all of Campania, with Capua and Pontecagnano as its major centers in the north and south, respectively (see chapter 33 Pacciarelli).

None of these regions outside Etruria proper, which in historic times spoke and wrote Etruscan, have significant predecessors in the Late Bronze Age. That is to say, they do not seem to have had important Proto-Villanovan predecessors; instead they appear suddenly, with centers of the proto-urban type, at the beginning of the Iron Age. Different and perhaps unique is the case of northern Campania, where the existence of a typological “Volturno” group in the Bronze Age might constitute a legitimate onset for Etruscan Capua. This has traditionally been interpreted as “colonial” issues from the Villanovan Tyrrhenian region. This theory has been strongly opposed by Renato Peroni and his school, according to whom in every case it was the result of the convergence of groups of various ethnic origins and identities, which would have been assembled within the enterprise of constructing a proto-urban center.¹⁶⁶⁴

Peroni’s model, however suggestive, does not explain the archaeological void at the end of the Bronze Age, which precedes nearly all these establishments, especially in the Po Plain. Hardly useful is the recent tendency to overvalue a few isolated bits of evidence from the periphery of this region—such as the presence of some metal hoards (Poggio Berni, province of Forlì-Cesena)—or of important sites like Frattesina di Fratta Polesine (province of Rovigo), or at the other end of the district, of necropolises like Campo Pianelli at Bismantova, on the western Apennines (province of Reggio Emilia).

From the point of view of typological characteristics, these areas cannot all be looked at in the same way. To be sure, the archaeological *facies* of Bologna, Verucchio, and Fermo on the one hand and of Pontecagnano on the other, while exhibiting individual features, appear to issue directly from the culture of Etruria proper. In other cases such as Capua, the situation appears to have been different. In every case that has been considered, was there really a

great phenomenon of Etruscan expansion into the more fertile areas of the peninsula? Some historiographic traditions elaborated in Etruria, which have survived in extremely fragmentary but still partly interpretable form, can be understood in this way. In particular, the tradition appears important concerning the great north-Appennine expedition that was supposedly led by Tarchon. The name of Tarchon, brother or son of Tyrrhenus, would carry the event back to the origins of the history of the Etruscan ethnic group. Tarchon, according to the testimony of Aulus Caecina, led the army beyond the Appennines, conquering the region of the Po and founding twelve cities, in accordance with a legitimate colonial model.¹⁶⁶⁵



- | | | |
|---------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Faesulae | 14. Pitigliano | 26. San Giuliano |
| 2. Pisa | 15. Le Sparte-Poggio Buco | 27. Luni sul Mignone |
| 3. Volterra | 16. Talamonaccio | 28. San Giovenale |
| 4. Arezzo | 17. Marsiliana d'Albegna | 29. La Ferriera |
| 5. Cortona | 18. Gran Carro | 30. Narce |
| 6. Perugia | 19. Bisenzio | 31. Capena |
| 7. Chiusi | 20. Rogge di Canino | 32. Trevignano |
| 8. Accesa | 21. Vulci | 33. Monte S. Angelo |
| 9. Populonia | 22. Pescia Romana | 34. Tolfaccia |
| 10. Vetulonia | 23. Falerii Veteres | 35. Castellina del Marangone |
| 11. Roselle | 24. Tarquinia | 36. Monte Santo-Sasso |
| 12. Orvieto | 25. Cerracchio, Chiusa Cima and Barbarano Romano | 37. Caere |
| 13. Salurnia | | 38. Veii |

Fig. 32.1: Etruria, 10th cent.-730 BCE (Map by O. Cerasuolo)

No matter how the events of Etruria's earliest history that we have passed in review ought to be understood in detail, what appears factual is the

powerful internal cohesion and the extraordinary ability of Etruscan society to expand at the end of the Bronze and beginning of the Iron Age. This is manifested in the two epochal phenomena of synoecism internally and colonization externally, understanding the latter in the way it was treated above: at least in the south, as the movement not of large numbers of people, but of nuclei of aggregation of local peoples.

In the north, on the other hand, we can more confidently imagine a real colonizing movement, which might have made use of those western trans-Appennine routes that already earlier, in the Late and End Bronze Age, had, by a reverse movement, carried into northern Tuscany strong echoes of the pile-dwelling civilization of northern Italy.

1.5 Projection toward the exterior

The phenomenon seen in the *longue durée* is that which led to the creation of strong territorial nuclei, the future city-states, with a center that dominated over expansion and vast semi-depopulated territory that constituted the base of economic exploitation. A corollary of this phenomenon of expansion is the strong commercial opening with the exterior. This explains the connections with the Hallstatt culture to the north; with the Oenotrian culture, and the area of the pit grave culture to the south; with Sardinia, both with the native populations and with the first Phoenician colonies to the west; and with the Greeks who were beginning to frequent the southern Tyrrhenian sea.

The Greek presence was to become more significant beginning in the eighth century, and certainly would not have been particularly welcomed by the Villano-van centers, especially in view of its frankly permanent character. Sometimes this situation led to conflicts, as emerges from the—albeit scarce—historiographic sources dealing with the early colonization of Sicily.¹⁶⁶⁶

It is by no accident that, with the sole exception of Cumae (and first of Pithe-cusae), Greek colonization was limited to occupying the more southern regions of the peninsula and Sicily. In the western Mediterranean, a Phoenician presence was already active at the time, which covered the coasts of North Africa (e.g. Carthage), southern Spain, the Balearic Islands, and Sardinia with colonies of various sizes.¹⁶⁶⁷

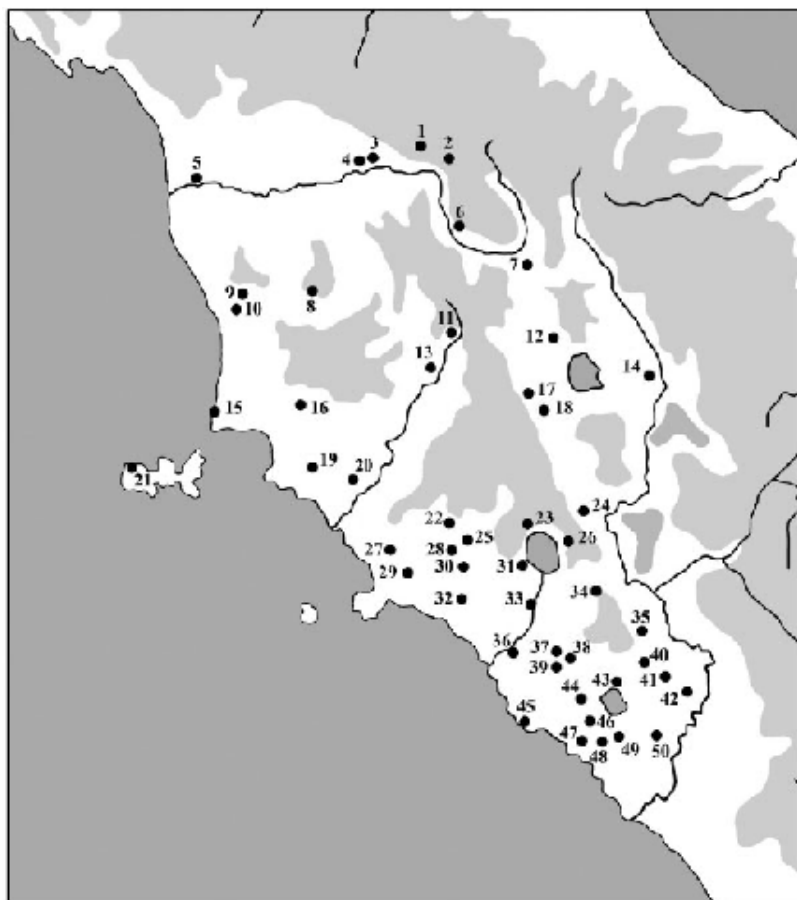
2 The age of aristocrats (730–580 BCE): The Orientalizing period

In the late eighth century, the great proto-urban conglomerates of Etruria were overwhelmed, like the rest of Italy and Greece, by an impressive flow of goods from the east (see [chapter 34](#) Botto). These were brought in especially

by Phoenician sailors, whose ability in this sort of activity is even recorded by Homer (*Od.* 15.415ff.). This was accompanied by an always lively Greek commerce (both Corinthian and insular), including sumptuous ceremonial vessels, such as the gigantic bronze cauldrons on tall supports, of north Syrian origin, the Phoenicio-Cypriote cups and jugs in precious metals, joined in the west by many other objects in ivory, glass, and *faïence*. In the seventh century, the heavy influx of Oriental and Hellenic imports, transported by Phoenician, Levantine, and Greek merchants, strongly conditioned the development of the indigenous societies. This contributed to a very strong acculturation of the elites, which qualified more and more as a princely aristocracy on the Oriental model, while the proto-urban centers would be running their course toward the form of cities (Fig. 32.2).

Contact with the foreigner took place in specific ways, which directly involved the aristocratic elites, as shown by the episode of Demaratus of Corinth, who, according to tradition, in 656 repaired to Tarquinia profiting from relations with the local aristocracy before becoming involved with commercial relations (Plin. *HN* 35.152).

The Early Orientalizing period is an explosive moment. The city-states of southern Etruria, which strengthened their economic bases—for instance increasing control over mineral resources, or rationalizing and intensifying agricultural production—accumulated large surpluses which in part they exported. Vulci began to export wine to southern France already at the end of the seventh century, followed a few decades later by Caere. Veii competed with Rome for control of the Tiber valley and on the routes toward Campania. Vetulonia still paid attention to Sardinia; Populonia kept firm control of the island of Elba; Pisa initiated an expansionist policy toward the north that brought it as far as the Magra on the North Tyrrhenian coast, in an area whose population may already have been Ligurian, while in the hinterland there opened a route through the valleys of the western Apennines. With the end of the Orientalizing period and the beginning of the Archaic, the city-states completed their control over their territory and streamlined trade with foreigners by establishing flourishing trading posts (*emporía*) on the coast, founded by Caere (Pyrgi), Tarquinia (Gravisca), and Vulci (Regisvillae), while farther north Populonia itself acted as its own port city.¹⁶⁶⁸



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|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Sesto Fiorentino | 18. Chiusi | 35. Falerii Veteres |
| 2. Faesulae | 19. Vetulonia | 36. Tarquinia |
| 3. Comeana | 20. Roselle | 37. Grotta Porcina |
| 4. Artimino | 21. Elba | 38. San Giuliano |
| 5. Pisa | 22. Saturnia | 39. San Giovenale |
| 6. Castellina in Chianti | 23. Grotte di Castro | 40. Nepi |
| 7. Cortona | 24. Orvieto | 41. Narce |
| 8. Volterra | 25. Pitigliano | 42. Capena |
| 9. Montescudaio | 26. Civita di Arlena | 43. Trevignano |
| 10. Casale Marittimo | 27. Magliano in Toscana | 44. Monterano |
| 11. Castelnuovo Berardenga | 28. Le Sparte-Poggio Buco | 45. Castellina del Marangone |
| 12. Arezzo | 29. Marsiliana d'Albegna | 46. Castel Giuliano |
| 13. Murlo | 30. Castro | 47. Caere |
| 14. Perugia | 31. Bisenzio | 48. Ceri |
| 15. Populonia | 32. Vulci | 49. Tragliatella |
| 16. Accesa | 33. Tuscania | 50. Veii |
| 17. Chianciano | 34. Acquarossa | |

Fig. 32.2: Etruria, 730–580 BCE (Map by O. Cerasuolo)

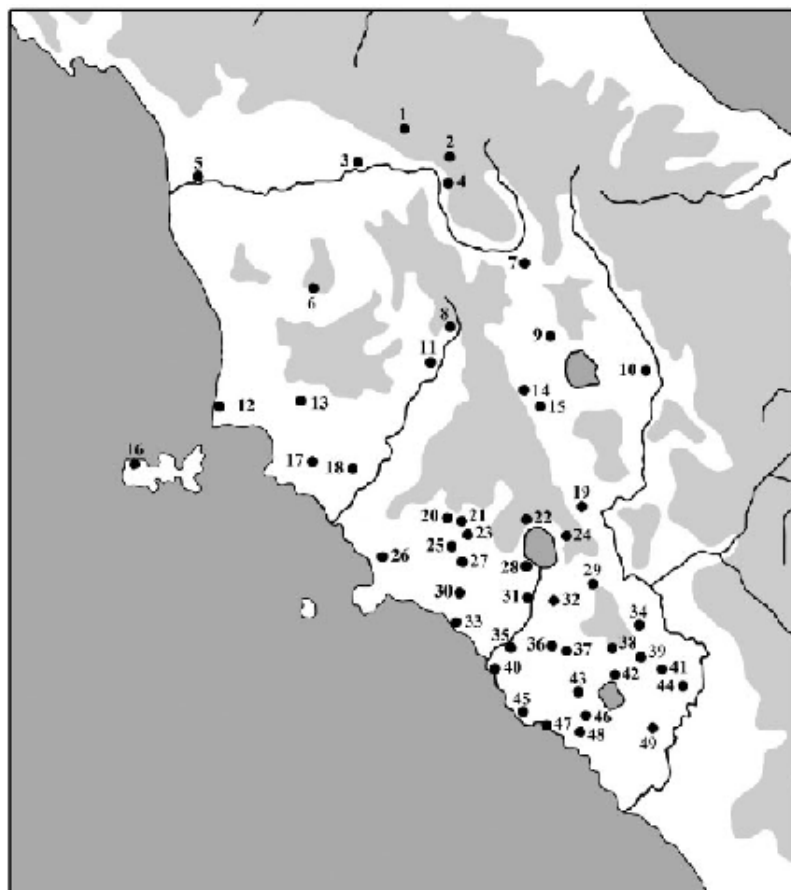
3The apogee of Etruscan thalassocracy and the confrontation with Greece (580–450 BCE)

3.1The Archaic period

During the sixth century, decisive changes took place. From the late seventh, on these waters Greek ships coming from eastern Aegean sea encroached on Phoenician and Etruscan ships. The earliest of these sailors were certainly the Phocaeans, to whom the historiographic tradition attributes a series of real discoveries. They were the first to open commercial routes in the Adriatic, the first to have passed the Pillars of Hercules to discover the land of Tartessus, and the first to have colonized southern France, founding Massilia (modern Marseille) at the mouth of the Rhône around 600 BCE, and populating the neighboring coasts with sub-colonies. For some decades, it does not seem as though the new colonies damaged the Etruscan wine business in Provence in any way. It seems instead that an initial phase (late seventh and early sixth century) of prevailing Vulci presence in this market was followed by a massive Caeretan presence (Fig. 32.3).

Possibly as a reaction to this situation, a consequence of reduced projection on the sea, in the second quarter of the century the expedition of the Vipinas brothers toward Orvieto and the Tiber valley in inner Etruria took place. The ultimate destination was Rome, where Mastarna, companion of the Vulci leaders, managed to become king under the name Servius Tullius after the defeat of their army, as told by an Etruscan tradition reported, among others, by Emperor Claudius.

In the middle of the sixth century, the Persian advance toward the Greek cities on the Anatolian coast provoked a general disquiet with the ensuing dispersion of the entire population. The situation reached the breaking point. Groups of Phocaeans, abandoning their homeland, took refuge on the east coast of Corsica. Many settled at Alalia (Aleria), where about twenty years earlier they had founded a colony from which they had raided the nearby Etruscans and Carthaginians of Sardinia. The Etruscans and the Carthaginians, having formed an alliance, after an inconclusive naval battle, retained control of the land, obliging the Phocaeans to abandon the island and return to southern Italy (Hdt. 1.166).



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|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Gonfienti | 18. Roselle | 34. Falerii Veteres |
| 2. Faesulae | 19. Orvieto | 35. Tarquinia |
| 3. Artimino | 20. Saturnia | 36. Grotta Porcina |
| 4. San Casciano | 21. Sovana | 37. San Giuliano |
| 5. Pisa | 22. Grotte di Castro | 38. Sutri |
| 6. Volterra | 23. Pitigliano | 39. Nepi |
| 7. Cortona | 24. Civita d'Ardena | 40. Graviscae |
| 8. Castelnuovo Berardenga | 25. Le Sparte –
Poggio Buco | 41. Narce |
| 9. Arezzo | 26. Doganella | 42. Trevignano |
| 10. Perugia | 27. Castro | 43. Monterano |
| 11. Murlo | 28. Bisenzio | 44. Capena |
| 12. Populonia | 29. Acquarossa | 45. Castellina del
Marangone |
| 13. Accesa | 30. Vulci | 46. Castel Giuliano |
| 14. Chianciano | 31. Tuscania | 47. Pyrgi |
| 15. Chiusi | 32. Castel d'Asso and Norchia | 48. Caere |
| 16. Elba | 33. Regisvillae | 49. Veli |
| 17. Vetulonia | | |

Fig. 32.3: Etruria, 580–450 BCE (Map by O. Cerasuolo)

On the level of international relations, the outcome of the battle of the Sardinian Sea led to a division of the Mediterranean into spheres of influence.

Sardinia remained the exclusive possession of Carthage, and Corsica of the Etruscans, who established a colony, which Diodorus Siculus gives as Nikaia (Diod. Sic. 5.13–14), probably to be identified with Alalia itself.

In external politics, the city-states obviously had the utmost liberty. The alliance between Caere and the Carthaginians to eliminate the Phocaeen bridgehead from Corsica led to good and stable relations between the two cities, which was familiar to Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.5.10–11), and which had a parallel in contemporaneous negotiations undertaken by the Semitic power with Rome. It is not surprising that at the end of the sixth century, Thefarie Velianas, the king of Caere, would give concreteness to these relations by accommodating Astarte, the principal goddess of Carthage in the sanctuary of Pyrgi, setting forth an unspoken identification with the principal goddess of the sanctuary, Uni.

If a Semitic presence is particularly emphasized in the port of Caere, at Gravisca the East-Greeks and then the Aeginetans left the most traces of their presence in the sanctuary near the port (see [chapter 35](#) Cerchiai).

Farther north, on the initiative of the cities of northern Etruria, and perhaps especially through the activity of Pisa, the colony of Genoa was founded in the land of the Ligurians, with a fortress commanding a commodious landing site. In inner northern Etruria, Porsenna, who had become king of Chiusi, probably preferred by the growing political weight of the *demos*, followed a policy of territorial expansion, which led him to annex the nearby territory of Volsinii (Orvieto) (Plin. *HN* 2.140). Later, taking advantage of the request for aid by the deposed Tarquinius Superbus, he fell on Rome, occupied it, and made it a base with the intent of overcoming the hostility of the Latins to open a highway toward Campania. But, defeated in 504 at Ariccia, he withdrew to Chiusi.

3.2 The fifth century and the power of Syracuse

The end of the sixth century coincided with a period of heavy conflict between Etruscans and Greeks, especially on the waters north of Sicily, for control of the straits. The unstoppable advance of the Persian Empire in Asia permanently changed the geopolitics of the eastern Mediterranean, provoking further movements of population to the West. One of the points of friction is precisely the area between the Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas. One long season of conflict opposed the Etruscans to the Greeks who had occupied Lipari.

Meanwhile, Carthaginian power pressed the Greek cities of Sicily. Ancient historiography, extolling them as episodes of the Hellenic victory over barbarism, paralleled the defeat of the Persians at Salamis by Athens and the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera by the tyrants of Acragas and Syracuse in 480. This last city quickly emerged as an international power.

In Campania, where in 524 a major expedition of barbarians aided by

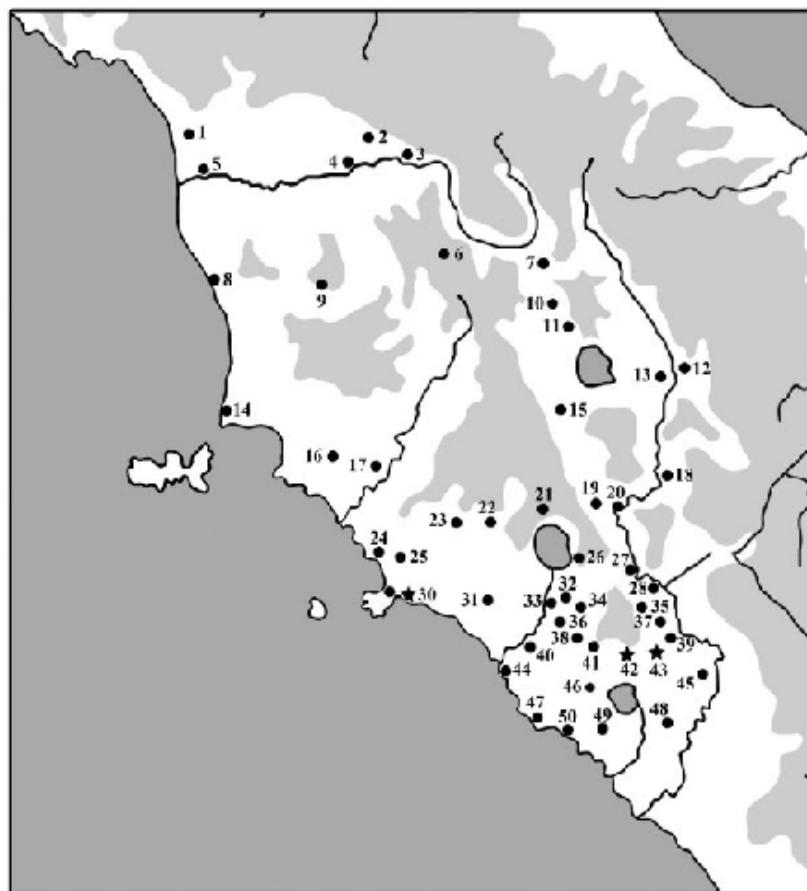
Etruscans of the Adriatic directed against Greek Cumae was successfully repelled (Dion.Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.1), at the beginning of the sixth century the situation collapsed. An attempt by the Etruscans of Campania, supported by the powerful cities of southern Etruria, to land the definitive blow against the unwelcome presence of Cumae provoked the intervention of Hieron of Syracuse. In the waters off the Greek city in 474, the Greek navy achieved an overwhelming victory over the Etruscan fleet, which was to have immense resonance, being echoed in the poetry of Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.72ff.) and other Greek poets.

The decline of Etruscan Campania thus reached its climax. After not much time it would be completely overrun by the bellicose mountain peoples the Samnites, who in the late fifth century seized the entire city. The leading role of Syracuse was reborn in the middle of the century with the occupation of Elba and Corsica, by the *strategoi* Phayllos and Apelles in 456–455.¹⁶⁶⁹

4From the conflict with Syracuse to Romanization (450–250)

If the loss of mastery of the sea heavily damaged the coastal cities of southern Etruria, the presence of Syracuse in the Tyrrhenian sea seems to have been particularly favorable to the economic take-off of the northern sector, especially Populonia.

The simultaneous collapse of nearby Vetulonia could be the result of simultaneous attacks by Populonia and Rusellae, an operation that may have been encouraged—or in any case looked kindly on—by the new Greek power (Fig. 32.4).



- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Massarosa | 18. Todi | 35. Vignanello |
| 2. Gorfienti | 19. Orvieto | 36. Norchia |
| 3. Faesulae | 20. Castellonchio | 37. Corchiano |
| 4. Arlimino | 21. Civita di Grotte di Castro | 38. San Giuliano |
| 5. Pisa | 22. Sovana | 39. Falerii |
| 6. Cetamura | 23. Saturnia | 40. Tarquinia |
| 7. Arezzo | 24. Talamone | 41. San Giuliano |
| 8. Castiglioncello | 25. Doganella | 42. Sutri |
| 9. Volterra | 26. Montefiascone | 43. Nepi |
| 10. Castiglion Fiorentino | 27. Statonia | 44. Graviscae |
| 11. Cortona | 28. Horta | 45. Capena |
| 12. Arna | 29. Orbetello | 46. Monterano |
| 13. Perugia | 30. Cosa | 47. Castellina del Marangone |
| 14. Populonia | 31. Vulci | 48. Veli |
| 15. Chiusi | 32. Musarna | 49. Caere |
| 16. Vetulonia | 33. Tuscania | 50. Pyrgi |
| 17. Roselle | 34. Castel d'Asso | |

Fig. 32.4: Etruria, 450–250 BCE (Map by L. Pulcinelli)

The turbulence on the Tyrrhenian coast encouraged connections with the cities of inland Etruria and with the Adriatic, via the Po Plain. A new season

of great economic success also smiled on the cities of the Po region—first Felsina and the cities on the sea, especially Spina. Spina now gathers an enormous influx of ceramics and other imported materials brought by seafarers, perhaps originally Aeginetan and then Athenian, who as always, were seeking agricultural produce and livestock, perhaps metals, and probably slaves.

In this period, the intense activity on the Adriatic Sea again met an aggressive attitude from Etruscan seamen, who were also accused of piracy.

In the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth, the north-south flow in the Tiber valley favored the arrival of influence and workforce from Magna Graecia. In the service of the still lively and wealthy ruling classes of inner Etruria, from Falerii, Veii, Volsinii, Chiusi, and Arretium, artists from Magna Graecia left many marks of their passing in monuments that are at times of the highest quality.

In 414, Athens attacked Syracuse and obtained assistance from some Etruscan cities, which intervened with three penteconters (fifty-oared galleys), probably troop transport ships rather than warships, which in 413 carried out an effective military operation (Thuc. 7.53.2).

The Gauls, meanwhile, burst onto the Etruscan Po, traversed Etruria, and in 386 assailed Rome with fire and sword, only to withdraw, permanently occupying the Po Plain and part of the Adriatic coast.

Useful information can be extracted from the aition of the descent of the Gauls to south of the Apennines. The episode of the Chiusine Arruns—who, to avenge a private wrong, invited the Gauls to penetrate Etruria—is eloquent. According to the account, he had captured the interest of the barbarians with the bounty of agricultural resources of the region: figs, honey, wine (Livy 5.33.1–6). This datum, combined with the assertion that the Gauls who appeared on the territory of Chiusi had requested a part of their territory, with the justification that the Chiusines possessed more land than they were cultivating (Livy 5.36), offers us a lively picture of the countryside of the north of Etruria and its economy.

4.1 The fourth century

Between the late fifth and fourth centuries, Etruria found itself facing three great powers. From the north pressed the Celts. From the sea the threat came from Syracuse, because of its policy of encircling the peninsula put into action by the tyrant of Syracuse. (In 384, the resounding plunder of the most important sanctuary of coastal Etruria, at Pyrgi, is recorded.) But another protagonist was advancing from the south. Rome put an end to the age-old confrontation with Veii, conquering it in 396, and began a long series of conflicts with the other cities of Etruria.

According to a sometimes-doubted claim by Livy, already in 388 there had

been Roman action against Tarquinia, with the defeat of the small centers of Cortuosa and Contenebra, in response to Etruscan incursions into Roman territory.

In mid-century, the conflict intensified. Livy (7.12.5ff.) and Diodorus (16.31ff.) recall the Roman-Tarquinian War, which lasted from 358 to 351 and was characterized by episodes of extraordinary brutality (e.g. the massacre of prisoners on each side). This brutality has left traces in the figural tradition, too, in the special fondness for depicting the murder of the Trojan prisoners by Patroclus on so many monuments of the second half of the century (e.g. the François Tomb in Vulci, Sarcophagus of the Priest from Tarquinia, *stamnos* from Falerii, etc.). The war, which ended with the involvement of Caere, concluded with forty-year *indutiae*. After the Gaul episode, Caere benefited from a preferential relationship with Rome, which had granted it the citizenship *sine suffragio*. The crucial final phase of the conflict between Rome and Etruria played out between 311 and 264. The beginning was motivated by an attack by all the Etruscan *populi* except the Arretines, at Sutrium. In 310, the daring crossing of the Selva Ciminia by the army of Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus ended with a successful raid in the Etruscan territory.

Between the end of the Second (304) and the beginning of the Third (298) Samnite Wars, Rome turned once again to Etruria and Umbria. In 298, there was an expedition against Volterra, led by L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus. A little later, in 295, came the battle of Sentinum: Q. Fabius and P. Decius Mus overcame a coalition of Etruscans, Samnites, Gauls, and Umbrians; the war took down Chiusi and Perugia as well. Then an expeditionary force in 294 took down Volsinii and Rusellae, the latter conquered by L. Postumius Megellus, who was awarded a triumph.

In 283 came the battle of Lake Vadimone against Boii Gauls and Etruscans; the following year, there were yet more defeats. Finally, a new defeat of the Etruscans is recorded for 280, when the *Fasti triumphales* register the triumph of Ti. Coruncanus *de Vulsiniensibus et Vulcentibus*. The consequences for Vulci were ruinous. In 273, the Latin colony of Cosa was founded with mighty city walls to control the coast. In the same year, a conflict with Caere ended with the defeat of the Etruscan city and the annexation of half its territory. The city was turned into *praefectura*.

The conclusion of the conquest of Etruria is marked by the outcome of the revolt of Volsinii; the consul for the year 264, M. Fulvius Flaccus, received a triumph *de Volsiniensibus*.¹⁶⁷⁰

5 Toward the end (250–89 bce)

5.1 The time of the foedera

After the wars, *foedera* must have been established between Rome and the Etruscan cities, even though the only one attested in the sources is that with Falerii.

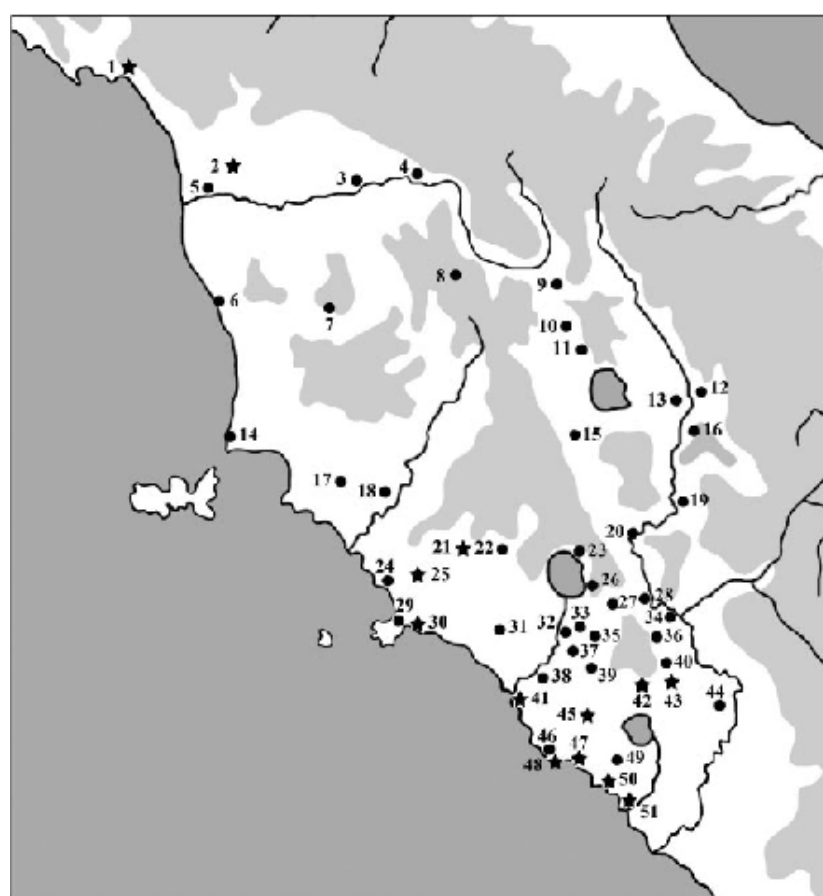
One indication of this is provided by the episode of the exile of Cn. Fulvius Flaccus. He had been praetor in 212, when he was severely defeated by Hannibal in Apulia, and in 211 he was exiled to Tarquinia (Livy 26.3.12). The *ius exilii* was contracted only with cities with which there existed *foedera* (*civitates foederatae*). But it is unlikely that this was *afoedus aequum*. Because most of the *foedera* were the result of defeats, it is unreasonable to think that there were not weighty obligations on the Etruscan cities. Because it is unlikely that the cities that had suffered the confiscation of territory (which were to become public fields for the Roman populace) would have had a *foedus aequum*, Vulci and Tarquinia can be excluded from this group. Later, colonies were founded by Rome in the territory of Caere, probably as early as 264 at Castrum Novum, then at Alsium (247) and Fregennae (245); perhaps also Pyrgi was re-founded early in the Second Punic War (Fig. 32.5).

The period between the First and Second Punic Wars did not represent a very difficult time for Etruria. If clear signs of decadence can be glimpsed in the craft works of southern coastal Etruria, northern Etruria seems instead to have enjoyed a period of prosperity. Perhaps also as a result of the phenomenon of diaspora or of displacement of peoples from south to north, we witness a considerable demographic increase in Chiusi, Perugia, and Volterra. Artistic craft works, such as sculpted funerary monuments, urns, and sarcophagi, indicate levels of productivity never achieved previously in numbers or sometimes in quality.

In the inner southern section of Etruria as well, several minor centers show significant well-being in this period; at Norchia and Castel d'Asso there began in the fourth and continued into the following centuries the imposing series of architectural facades carved into the rock. Farther north, Sovana, which in the orbit of Vulci in the late fourth century began the splendid season of its rock-cut necropolises, vigorously flourished after the fall of the city on the Fiora, a sign of which is the many tombs with shrines carved into the cliffs that surround the hills of the city.

5.2 Social upheavals

The history of early republican Rome is strongly marked by the sometimes violent confrontation between the different components of society, between patricians and plebeians. But after 366, after, that is, the promulgation of the Licinio-Sextiae laws (lat. *Leges Liciniae-Sextiae*), which granted access by plebeians to public office, social tensions became less urgent.



- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Luna | 18. Roselle | 35. Castel d'Asso |
| 2. Luca | 19. Todi | 36. Vignanello |
| 3. Artimino | 20. Castellonchio | 37. Norchia |
| 4. Faesulae | 21. Saturnia | 38. Tarquinia |
| 5. Pisa | 22. Suana | 39. Blera |
| 6. Castiglioncello | 23. Volsinii Novi | 40. Falerii Novi |
| 7. Volterra | 24. Talamone | 41. Graviscae |
| 8. Cetamura | 25. Heba | 42. Sutri |
| 9. Arezzo | 26. Montefiascone | 43. Nepi |
| 10. Castiglion Fiorentino | 27. Ferentium | 44. Capena |
| 11. Cortona | 28. Statonia | 45. Monterano |
| 12. Arna | 29. Orbetello | 46. Castellina del Marangone |
| 13. Perugia | 30. Cosa | 47. Pyrgi |
| 14. Populonia | 31. Vulci | 48. Castrum Novum |
| 15. Chiusi | 32. Toscana | 49. Caere |
| 16. Vellona | 33. Musarna | 50. Alsium |
| 17. Vetulonia | 34. Norchia | 51. Fregeneae |

Fig. 32.5: Etruria, 250–90 BCE (Map by L. Pulcinelli)

Contrary to the usual view, we can imagine that something similar had taken place in Etruria. The second half of the fourth century saw an

extraordinary proliferation of new *gentes*, who built family hypogea that were used for many generations. It was the mark of admission to the civic body and the ruling class of many new actors. This makes us think of some socially and politically relevant event, like that at Rome mentioned above. The phenomenon took place in much of Etruria, at Caere as at Chiusi, at Tarquinia as at Volterra.

But again in 302, Livy (10.3.2) records a *seditio* of the *plebs* of Arretium against the gentile group of the Cilnii, called *praepotens*. A threatened confrontation was resolved only by the intervention of the Roman consul M. Valerius Maximus Corvus, who managed to reconcile the two factions. In this case, the opponents of the Cilnii were the *plebs*—that is, the entirety of free men.

In other cases, the contrast also involved the lower classes of the city's population. The case of Volsinii is familiar. The social dynamic at the beginning of the third century brought a certain timid opening of the aristocracy, the *domini*, in opposition to the slaves, the *servi*, who seem ultimately to have been freed. Nevertheless, these openings provoked a real hold on power by the ex-slaves, with the consequent estrangement of the city from the old masters or even their reduction to slavery; these people turned to the Roman state for aid. In 264, Roman intervention brought the rapid defeat of the revolutionaries and the deportation of the population to a site farther downstream, on the shore of the Lake of Bolsena. The new city kept the name of the old one, continuing to call itself *Velzna-Volsinii*. Later, Livy notes a *bellum servile* in 196, a real *coniuratio servorum* which affected a large part of Etruria, which was immediately stifled by Rome by means of many executions and restoration of the status quo. The text of the Prophecy of Vegoia, which foresees the possibility that the slaves would move the boundary stones, modifying the order of agricultural property, can perhaps be placed in this equable climate.

The solution of the social conflict with the most disadvantaged classes, however, would have operated differently in the different sectors of Etruria. The famous description of Tiberius Gracchus's trip across Etruria in 135 presents a landscape of the countryside of the southern cities dominated by large estates (*latifundia*), in which no one stirred but slaves, prisoners of war, and barbarians (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8).

In contrast, in the cities of the north—Chiusi and Perugia—the onomastics preserves traces of imposing participation in grants of the rights of citizenship to a large fraction of the population that had been deprived of it, and the granting of citizenship to *servi*. This operation is emphasized in the acquisition of a new onomastic formula that defines the bearer as a citizen with full rights, and must have been accompanied by an equally important participation in agrarian reform, which anticipated the grant of plots of land to these freed slaves. This is shown by the distribution of inscriptions, especially in the territory of Chiusi, where the vast countryside proved in the mid

Hellenistic age to be most very densely occupied by small country properties

Other cities preserved various arrangements. Volterra appears to be a special case, where the territory, though rich in agricultural resources, presents a series of population centers, in which were gathered many family groups, holders of gentilic tombs. The tombs have been opened for the most part at the end of the fourth century, on the basis of which a minor aristocracy can again be inferred.

5.3 The Second Punic War and the Etruscans

Although some sources mention Etruscan *seditiones* following Hannibal's invasion of Italy and his first victories, it is rather unlikely that the phenomenon was very important. This is shown by the extremely short-lived presence of the Carthaginians in Etruria and Umbria; a mark of the disappointing outcome of his hopes of receiving significant aid. Only in 208 did the *sedition* of the Arretine senators happen, which provoked the demand for hostages by Rome. And in any case, two Roman legions were permanently stationed in Etruria, one of them precisely in Arretium, until 200. For this period, Livy speaks of the Etruscans as *socii*, probably those already bound to Rome by *foedera*, even if the equation is not completely verified. Several indications exist of their fidelity to Rome: the *Perusina Cohors*, which in 216 resisted for a long time at Casilinum (Capua; Livy 23.17.11); and the squadron of 180 Etruscan cavalymen, which in 208 fought alongside C. Claudius Marcellus in Apulia (Livy 27.26). The inscription of *Laris Felsnas* at Tarquinia (ETTA 1.107), who had something to do with Hannibal at Casilinum, should also perhaps be interpreted in this sense. In 205, the cities of Etruria contributed to Scipio's expedition (Liv. 28.45.15 ff.).

In any case, a few decades later, the Etruscan territory appears to have been entirely pacified and reliable, so much so that the Etruscan cities seem to be the most suitable place to accommodate the thousand hostages from the Achaean league brought to Italy after the battle of Pidna in 167 (Paus. 7.10.11).

After the conquest, Rome sought to keep Etruria secure with the help of the local aristocracy. At the time of the agrarian laws of Drusus, which were anti-aristocratic, Etruscans and Umbrians descended on Rome to contest them.

Even though a few Etruscans received Roman citizenship before the beginning of the first century, it was only with the *Lex Iulia* of 90 that Etruria also received the new status of citizenship. The *Lex Iulia* came to be applied to those who had not taken up arms or had laid them down early.

The years of the Civil Wars were devastating for Etruria. The participation of many Etruscan cities in the faction of Marius provoked heavy sanctions from Sulla. The case of Volterra is perhaps the best known, because it is cited several times by Cicero. After the siege, the city saw its land confiscated, but

never distributed, if in 45 the orator could still say that Volterra had escaped the hardship of the time of Sulla with the aid of the gods (Cic. *Fam.* 13.4.1).

The final dramatic episode involving Etruria and in a way concluding its troubled history is that connected with the drastic season of the struggles between the factions for achieving supremacy at Rome, specifically that which opposed Octavian and Marc Antony. In 41, Marc's brother Lucius Antonius repaired to Perugia and was entrenched there, well-received by the senate of the city. Forced into open battle, in 40 he was routed by Octavian's troops, whose vengeance fell on the city. Not only the senators were put to death, but many citizens were as well, and the city, albeit unintentionally, was destroyed by fire (App., *B Civ.* 5.49).¹⁶⁷¹

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Marco Pacciarelli

33The transition from village communities to protourban societies

Abstract: In Italy, the research devoted to the origins of the protourban centers in recent decades has clearly evidenced a rapid, profound and very early protourban reorganization began during the tenth century BCE in Etruria, the Veneto and other areas.

The epicenter of this radical transformation—and also the best-studied area—is the southern part of Etruria (nowadays northern Latium). In this area, there is evidence of a very rapid change that happened in the tenth century, at the end of the Final Bronze Age. In the third phase of this period, more than ninety per cent of the preexisting villages disappeared in a short amount of time, at the same time as the formation of four very large (125–175 hectares) protourban centers, occupying plateaus thirty times larger than the average Bronze Age village. In a few generations, these large settlements became the historical Etruscan cities of Veii, Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci. In the interior of southern Etruria, we see the birth of two other large (80 hectare) settlements at the same time: Volsinii (Orvieto) and Bisenzio.

Keywords: protourban centers, Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age

1Villages and tribes

During the Neolithic era in Europe, the settlement system was based on densely distributed farms and small villages.¹⁶⁷²

This system characterized an entire era of European prehistory, lasting from the sixth millennium until the beginning or—depending on the area—end of the first millennium BCE. This therefore proved to be a very effective system, which had the capability to remain in equilibrium over the course of several millennia.

The very long persistence of the village system is tied to its intrinsic rationality and functionality in the management of the territory, the economy and human relations.

The communities' small sizes allowed for an organization mainly based on horizontal relations founded on kinship, marriage, traditional forms of authority, and maintaining hierarchies at limited levels, like those that brought about the temporary emergence of “Big Men”¹⁶⁷³ or of simple Chiefdoms.

On the economic side, the village system favored an efficient use of the territory in which each community was close to the resources it really needed to exploit and were really necessary for subsistence.

From an archaeological point of view, is not easy to define the political organization of these village communities. However, considering their limited size and their short life span, it is very unlikely that each village was an independent political unit, and so we can postulate the existence of a tribal communal organization.¹⁶⁷⁴ Territorial organizations grouping several village communities, still in existence in Central Europe during the first century BCE/AD, were denominated “pagi” (a smaller unit) or “civitates” (a larger unit) by Romans.¹⁶⁷⁵

During the Neolithic and the Copper Ages, the tribes probably also regulated the frequent shifting of villages. During the (especially advanced) Bronze Age or the Iron Age, when in some regions a more permanent settlement pattern appeared, the villages became stable and more autonomous entities, with solid ties with the territory. In these contexts, the supralocal organization probably became something more similar to a federation, with internal formal rules concerning the right of passage and commerce, the use of resources, common defense, and economic relations.

We can assume that tribes and federations constituted the framework of stability necessary for the economic development during pre- and protohistoric times.¹⁶⁷⁶ In doing so, they acted as a regulating factor, limiting the tendencies of some emerging communities to establish economic and politico-military hegemony. However, this stabilizing role probably made the change difficult, preventing the transition to a different and more complex organization.

The dominance of the village settlement system was interrupted only on very few occasions. In Greece, this happened already during the third millennium BCE, but especially during the second millennium BCE, with the diffusion of the Mycenaean palatial civilization.

The palatial organization arrived in Greece as the final act of the expansionary process of centralized oriental type societies,¹⁶⁷⁷ which originated in Mesopotamia and Egypt. But, after some centuries, the palatial model collapsed in almost all the areas of secondary expansion, receding to the original areas, to which it was well suited, and in which was deeply rooted.

After the great collapse of the twelfth century, most of Greece, Crete and the Aegean rapidly returned to a traditional organization based on small centers and federations.

The cultural sequences of central Italy (Campania, Latium and Etruria) are approximately correlated with Greek-Aegean and Central European phases in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (**Table 1**).

Table 1: Chronology: Late Bronze and Early Iron Age main chronocultural sequences of Campania, Latium and Etruria, approximately correlated with Greek-Aegean and Central European phases (RBA: Recent Bronze Age; FBA: Final Bronze Age; EIA: Early Iron Age; LH: Late Helladic; SM: Submycanean; PG: Protogeometric; E-M-LG: Early-Middle-Late Geometric; BzD: Bronzezeit D; Ha: Hallstatt). Adapted after

Greece and Aegean	Absolute Chronology BCE	Campania	Latium	Etruria	Central Europe
LIIIB	1325/1300				Bz D
	RBA	Subapennine	Subapennine	Subapennine	
LIIIC	1150/1125				1
SM	FBA	Protovillanovan	Protovillanovan	Protovillanovan	Ila A
PG	ca. 925	Latium I			2 Ha B1
EG	Early	Pontecagnano IA	Osa IIA1	Tarquinia IA	Ha B2
	EIA1		Osa IIA2		
	Late	P.no IB Early	Osa IIB1	Tarquinia IB1 Veii IB	
MGI	ca. 825	P.no IB Late	Osa IIB2	Tarquinia IB2 Veii IC	
MGII	Early	P.no IIA	IIIA	Veii IIA	IIa B3
	EIA2 Late	P.no IIB		Veii IIB	
LGI	Final ca. 730		IIIB	Veii IIC	IIa C

2The first step of the “Urban Revolution”

The first real and definitive historical breakdown of the village organization happened slightly later in some areas of Greece and Italy. In these areas between the tenth and the eighth centuries, some very large protourban settlements rose, which in a few generations became the leading centers of the urban ancient society (in several cases continuing their urban status until today).

This process in the Greek area is still poorly understood, but it seems to have developed gradually between the ninth and eighth centuries.

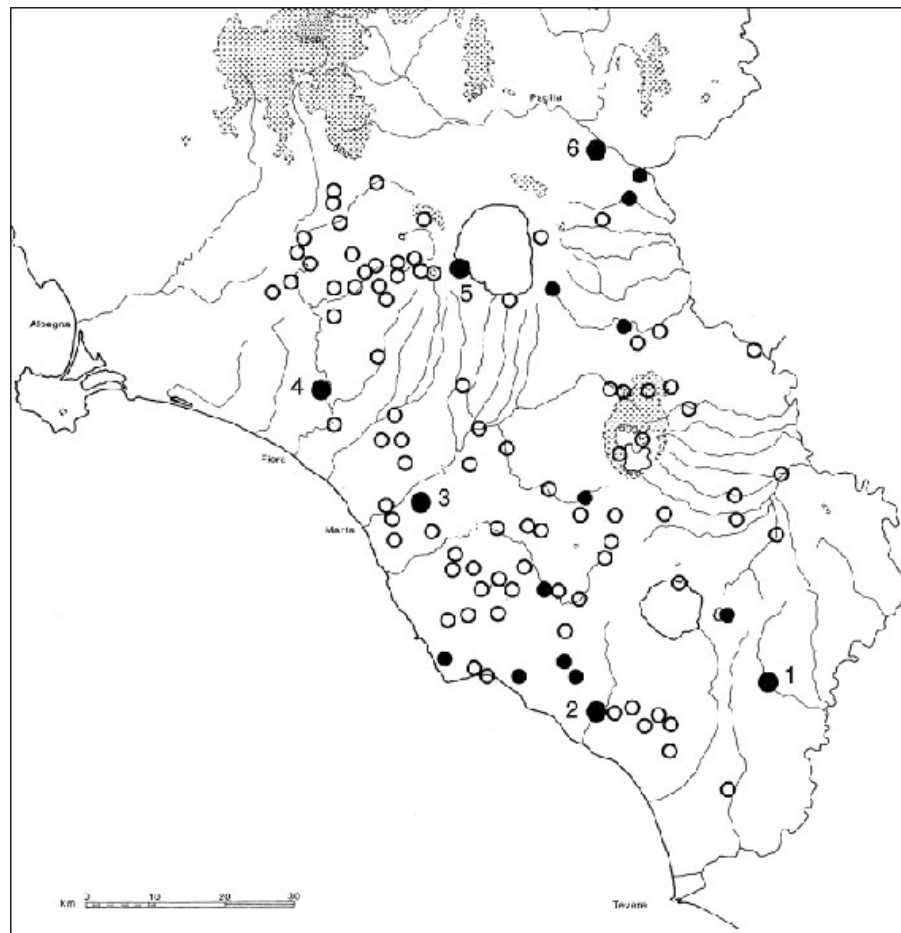


Fig. 33.1: Southern Etruria: abandoned Final Bronze Age (FBA) villages. Hollow circles: FBA villages abandoned before Early Iron Age (EIA); filled circles: FBA centres survived until EIA (larger circles: protourban centres, 1: Veii, 2: Caere, 3: Tarquinia, 4: Vulci, 5: Bisenzio, 6: Orvieto). (after Pacciarelli 2001)

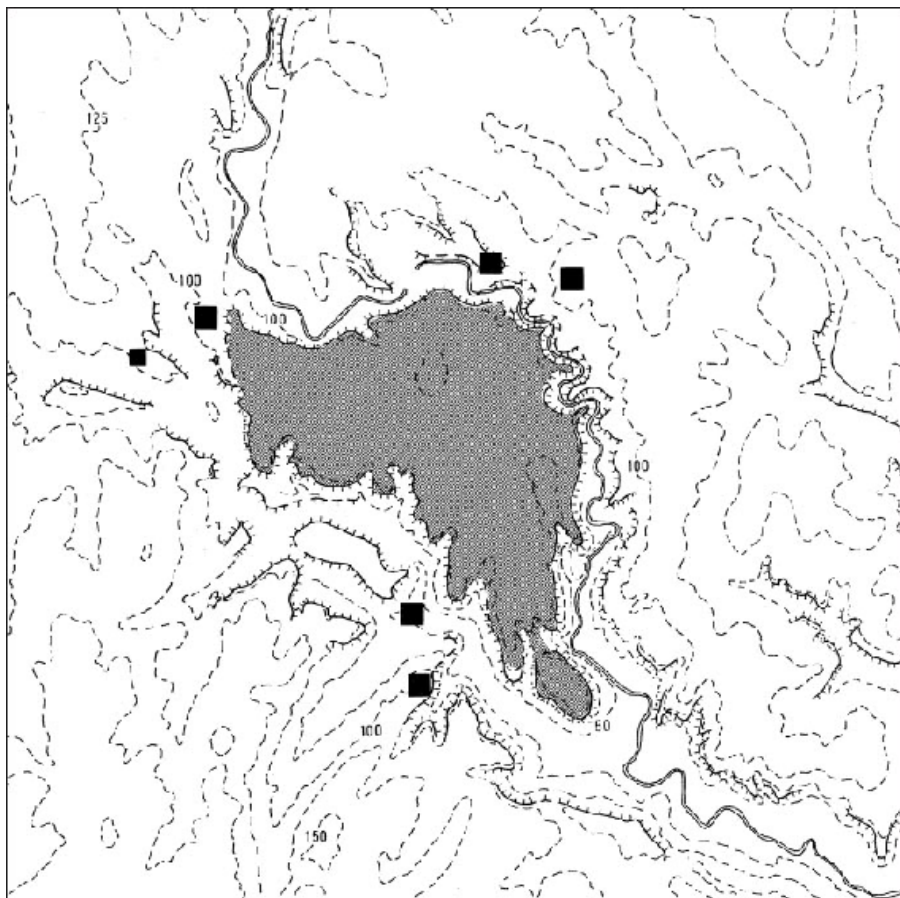


Fig. 33.2a: Southern Etruria, map of the protourban center of Veii: shaded: settlement area; squares: EIA1 and earlier EIA2 necropoleis (1:50.000). (after Pacciarelli 2001)

In Italy, on the contrary, the research devoted to this topic in the last decades have clearly evidenced a rapid, profound and very early protourban reorganization, which began during (or at the end of) the tenth century in Etruria, Veneto and other areas.

The epicenter of this radical transformation—and also the best-studied area—is the southern part of Etruria (nowadays northern Latium). In this area there is evidence of a very rapid change that happened in the tenth century, at the end of the Final Bronze Age. In the third phase of this period, more than ninety per cent of the preexisting villages (Fig. 33.1) disappeared in a short time, at the same time as the formation of four very large (125–175 hectare) protourban centers, occupying plateaus thirty times larger than the average Bronze Age village. In a few generations, these large settlements became the historical Etruscan cities of Veii, Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci (Fig. 33.2). In the interior of southern Etruria, we see the birth of two other large (80 hectare) settlements at the same time: Volsinii (Orvieto) and Bisenzio.¹⁶⁷⁸

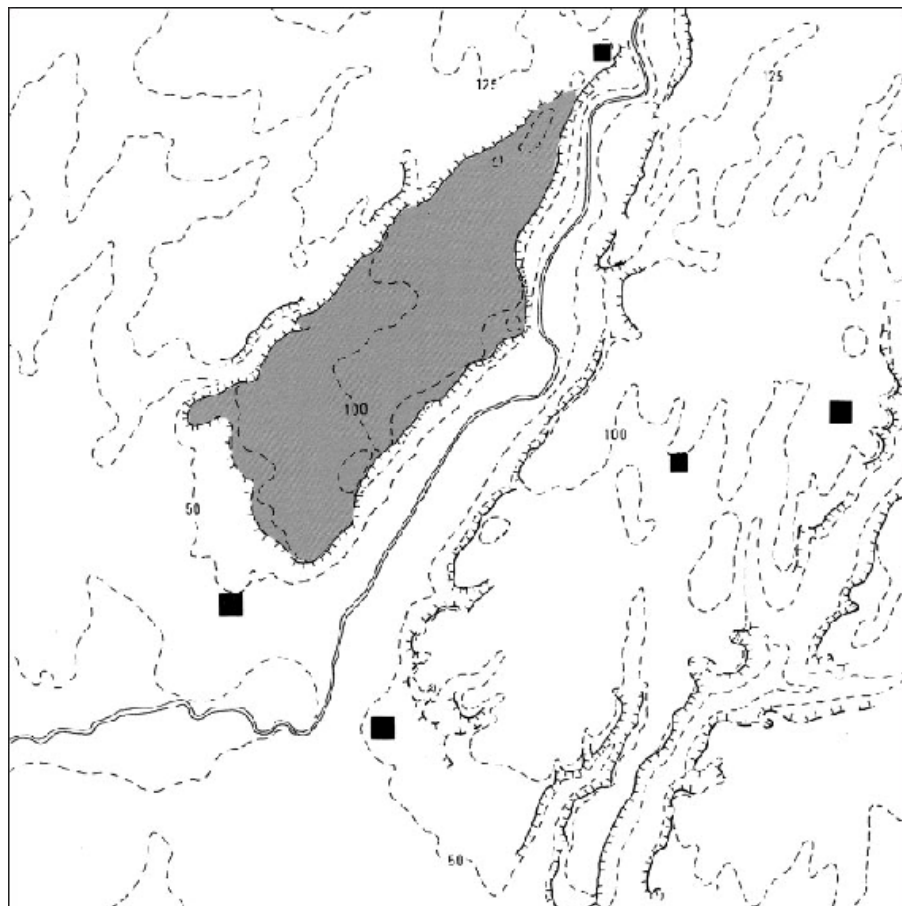


Fig. 33.2b: Southern Etruria, map of the protourban center of Caere. After Pacciarelli 2001: shaded: settlement area; squares: EIA1 and earlier EIA2 necropoleis (1:50.000). (after Pacciarelli 2001)

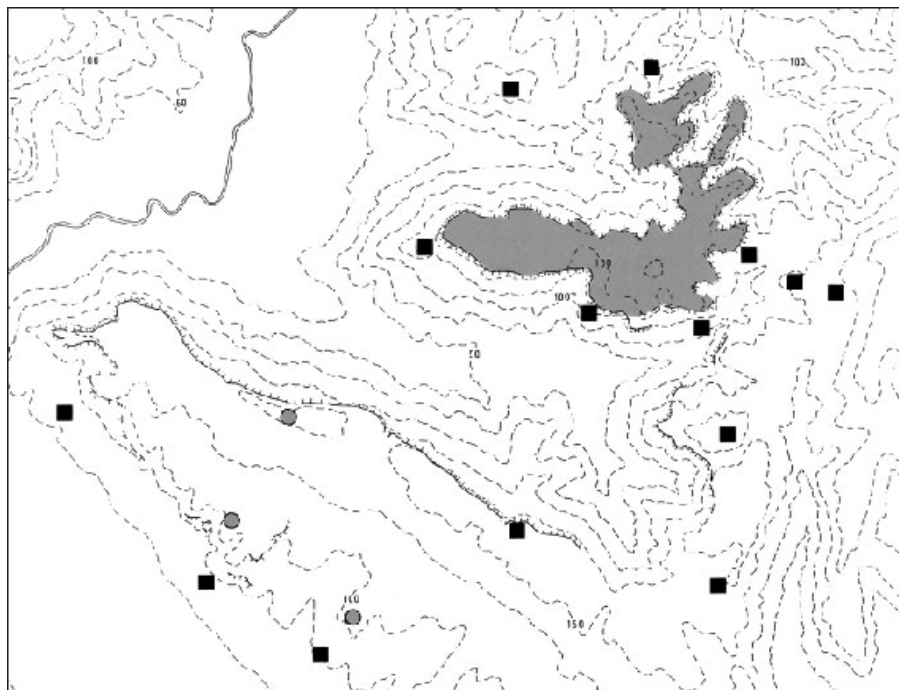


Fig. 33.2c: Southern Etruria, map of the protourban center of Tarquinia: shaded: settlement areas; squares: EIA1 and earlier EIA2 necropoleis (1:50.000). (after Pacciarelli 2001)

This radical restructuring in the central Mediterranean marks the beginning of the phenomenon called “Urban Revolution” by Vere Gordon Childe.¹⁶⁷⁹ In fact, in the subsequent centuries, the centers of Etruria, together with those of Latium, rapidly elaborated one of most flourishing versions of the Mediterranean urban society, preparing for the rise of Rome.

Recent research shows that other regions had protourban developments as well. This is the case, for instance, of Veneto, where very large settlements arose, sometimes at the end of the Final Bronze Age, as at Oppeano, Villamarzana and Monta-gnana, or during the Early Iron Age, as at Padova, Este, Gazzo and other sites.¹⁶⁸⁰

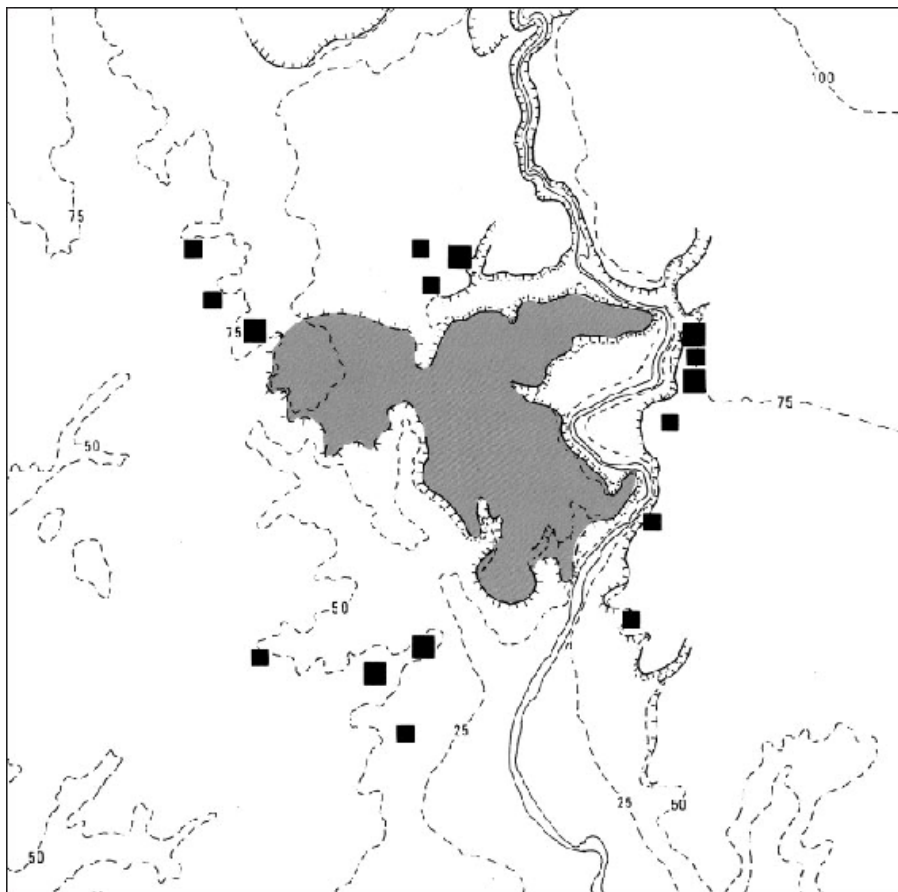


Fig. 33.2d: Southern Etruria, map of the protourban center of Vulci: shaded: settlement area; squares: EIA1 and earlier EIA2 necropoleis (1:50.000). (after Pacciarelli 2001)

The archaeological research concerning the origins of the protourban centers in Italy has made significant progresses, but there is still a lot to do to understand the historical causes of this phenomenon.

What are the factors that determined this macroscopic historical change? A gradual social and economic development? A radical sociopolitic restructuration? An ethnic process? Or an influence from the eastern Mediterranean?

What we can say is that at this moment, it is difficult to envisage an external input to the protourban reorganization. A migration of a new people—considered as a possibility by some past authors—is to be rejected, because of the evident local cultural continuity between the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age. A determinant role of Greek or Phoenician trade is unlikely, because there is no real proof of the presence of Greeks in the West before the eighth century, and the traces of a Levantine early activity in Central Italy are inconsistent. A technological revolution determined by iron metallurgy is not

likely, either. In the tenth century, real evidence of ironworking is nearly absent, and in the ninth century, iron is somewhat common only in Calabria.

The only concrete possibility is that of a local process of cumulative changes, that at the end of the Bronze Age caused a radical global restructuring of the old village system, and a shift towards a new protourban organization.

In 1939, Massimo Pallottino wrote “Which necessity [...] moved [the Villanovan communities] to a collective action and to a fully developing culture, in a context where the precedent way of life seemed to have stagnated for centuries in primitive, underdeveloped forms?”.¹⁶⁸¹

The progress of the research in the last decades has profoundly modified this “primitivist” vision of the local Bronze Age societies. Now it is possible to evidence a process of deep transformation of village and tribal systems during the Italian Bronze Age.

3Earlier settlement patterns

It is useful to say some words about the earlier territorial systems that were prevalent during the Copper Age, and in part during the Early Bronze Age.

This early organizational system had a number of peculiarities:

1. Settlements were of a small size, varying from a few dozen to a maximum of 200 or 300 of inhabitants. This datum—not easy to verify positively due to the lack of extensive excavations—may be deduced from the extension of inhabited areas, usually not exceeding one or two hectares.
2. As a rule, villages last only a short time, shown by the general lack of superpositions of several stratigraphic phases. Also, in the best agricultural lands, such as the plain between Rome and the Alban Hills and that around Vesuvius, the settlements frequently shifted from one place to another (although some cases of limited continuity are attested).
3. There is evidence of the prevalent choice of undefended sites, and a frequent absence of artificial fortifications.

These features indicate a society with a low level of territorial stability of the single villages, in which the prevalent level of control and sovereignty may only be that of the tribe or at least of the clan.

It's certainly not a case that in the fourth and third millennia we see in Europe a strong investment in ceremonial monumental centers, and/or in common cemeteries (the latter is especially the case for peninsular Italy). Both of them, often lasting for centuries in the same place, probably were the real foci of territories peopled by shifting communities.

4Territorial and socioeconomic processes during the Bronze Age

While the Early Bronze Age is a transitional phase during which some old traits continue, alongside with the beginning of new trends, from the Middle Bronze Age a marked change in territorial and settlement organization appear in several regions of Italy.

During this period, we see a progressive prevalent choice of naturally defended settlement sites in many areas, and a frequent adoption of artificial defenses, like ditches, fences, earthworks and stone walls.

At the same time, and at a growing rate in the Late Bronze Age, there is a trend towards a selection of settlements,¹⁶⁸² which caused the abandonment of many mainly smaller and less-defended settlements, and the continuity for several centuries of some larger, more strategically located centers.

Between the end of the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages, there is a further trend toward growth in the settlement dimensions, very clear in the Po valley, where some sites reached a relevant size, extending up to fifteen and in one case even twenty hectares.¹⁶⁸³

The long-term stabilization of many settlements in the Middle and Late Bronze Age encouraged investment in land. Clear signs of this process are the irrigation systems found in the *Terramare* area in northern Italy,¹⁶⁸⁴ and the tree crops developed in some areas of southern Italy, where from the Late Bronze Age large pithoi at least in part for olive oil were produced.¹⁶⁸⁵

In this clear process of territorial stabilization and competition, the war indubitably had a relevant role. To the Middle Bronze Age are dated the destruction levels of Roca in Apulia,¹⁶⁸⁶ of Gaggio in the Po valley¹⁶⁸⁷ and of Lipari (and other islands) at the end of Milazzese facies.¹⁶⁸⁸ The Late Bronze Age is the period of other two destructions at Lipari (end of Ausonian I and II) and Roca.

The elites that emerged in the Middle and Late Bronze Age are primarily characterized by the possession of chariots, swords, spears, and defensive armor such as helmets and, later, greaves.

Military activities were oriented not only toward acquiring goods through looting, but also in some cases toward controlling the exchange flows from strategic settlements, such as the coastal and insular ones.

As already noted by Luigi Bernabò Brea¹⁶⁸⁹ this must have been the reason behind complex military actions like the destruction of the villages of Milazzese facies of the Aeolian Islands by the Subapennine Culture groups that occupied the acropolis of Lipari.

The role of trade in the late Bronze Age became increasingly strategic for economic development. By the Late Bronze Age, there had been a great increase in the volume of mining,¹⁶⁹⁰ and trade and exchange related to the production of metallic tools, weapons and ornaments. At the same time, there

was also substantial growth in the production of luxury goods made from amber and glass. This greatly increased trade with central and northern Europe, and the local manufacture of necklace beads.

As a result of this increase in the volume of trade and manufacturing, in the Late Bronze Age, large sites materialized specializing in exchange and craft production, the most famous and relevant of which is obviously Frattesina¹⁶⁹¹ in the Po Plain.

This whole series of socio-economic changes, however, does not result in a general protourban reorganization until the beginning of the first millennium BCE, a sign of a deep-rooted resistance to change of protohistoric social structures.

A process of profound transformation developed only during the tenth century, with some early evidence in Veneto, and a radical and a far greater depth in Etruria.

In Etruria, as almost everywhere in Italy, the organization of the territory during the Bronze Age was characterized by scattered villages, located on defended hilltops and small plateaus. The best-known situation is that of southern Etruria,¹⁶⁹² where there are dozens of villages located mainly on plateaus of between three and ten hectares (only in very few cases up to twenty). The territories, according to the reciprocal distances and to the size of the Thiessen polygons, were normally between ten and thirty square kilometers.¹⁶⁹³

In southern Etruria there was also a certain tendency to form larger settlements, which sometimes extended their territories as a consequence of the abandonment of nearby villages.¹⁶⁹⁴ These monocentric processes, however, appear quite late and were also limited, reaching in only one or two cases a settlement size close to twenty hectares.

5 Origin and development of the protourban communities in Etruria

A further evolution in southern Etruria took place only after a general crisis of the system, which in the final decades of the tenth century, led to the abandonment of ninety percent of the villages inhabited during the Bronze Age (Fig. 33.1).

This process of radical abandonment was likely not without tensions and problems, considering the fact that these village communities—many of which were several centuries old—had a deeply rooted relationship with their territories and resources.

This crisis, however, was not followed by a period of vacuum, as happened in the twelfth century in the southern Po plain, when, after a generalized abandonment of the *Terramare* settlements, the region remained depopulated

for centuries.¹⁶⁹⁵ In the case of southern Etruria, on the contrary, the abandonment was concomitant to a territorial order entirely renewed.

Already in the advanced phase 3 of Final Bronze Age (tenth century), while the territory was still depopulating, there are traces of the formation of some enormous settlements. The largest were four centers not far from the coast, in the sites corresponding to the Etruscan cities of Veii, Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci, which were between 125 and 175 hectares. In the inner areas were Volsinii and Bisenzio, each nearly 80 hectares.

Although at the beginning they were still large agglomerations of protohistoric-type huts, the term *protourban centers* may be appropriate, because in a few generations these large communities developed into a complex and rich civilization, which during the Orientalizing period became fully urban.

In order to understand their genesis, it is important to note that the formation of the protourban communities may not have happened—except in the different case of Bisenzio—through a progressive growth of preexisting centers.

The origin of protourban centres was clearly the result of some sort of planning. Only in those sites, in fact, defended plateaus of that order of magnitude (125–175 hectares) are found, with a number of additional favorable conditions, like the proximity to large concentrations of good arable land and to the sea and/or to a relevant river. This may be explained by the fact that the sites were chosen because they were specifically suitable for very large new centers.

This indicates that the reorganization of the territory took place as a consequence not of a spontaneous and gradual process, but of a specific political project.

In 1969, Renato Peroni stated that “In the whole ‘Villanovan’ area of Etruria, protourban centers emerged [...] while in the surrounding area [...] the Final Bronze Age settlements disappeared. It seems as if new forms of political power have arisen, forcing different tribes and peoples to live together.”¹⁶⁹⁶

Of this new political organization, we perceive two different dimensions—one of single protourban communities, and the other at a macro-regional level.

The earliest internal organization may be defined mainly for Tarquinia, thanks to the numerous excavations of burials, and the discovery of remains of huts at Monte-rozzi and other sites.

5.1 Tarquinia

It is clear that Tarquinia has a very complex topographic organization, which was also connected to a structured social hierarchy. The settlement here developed over two very large plateaus: Civita (composed by three sectors:

The hypothesis that there was a concentration of political and military power as early as the beginning of phase 1 of the Iron Age does not appear incongruous, if compared to the quite uniformitarian range of the majority of Villanovan tombs. On the contrary, it corroborates the hypothesis of an initial polarity between a central power and an undifferentiated mass of warriors.

A new balance of powers, also connected to new military configurations, is probably a widespread phenomenon in Iron Age Italy. In particular, has been suggested that during the Final Bronze Age, the power passed from the hands of a small elite—witnessed by funerary complexes at Castellace and Frattesina that contained swords and other weapons—to a wider social base of warriors armed with spears, and rarely also daggers.¹⁶⁹⁹

The enlargement of the warrior role to the majority of the male population—seen very clearly at Torre Galli—would probably lead to a widening of political and economic rights, possibly including the ownership of land. In more complex situations such as Tarquinia, this would also accompany the formation of a centralized power, in direct relation with the generality of the warriors. This initially seems to have happened without the mediation of clanic structures of the *gens* type, which later reappeared in a more advanced form.

A problem in the visibility of this process in Etruria is tied to the Villanovan cremation ritual, which does not include—except for some very rare exceptions—the deposition of real weapons. The military reorganization is therefore not as evident as in other contexts, especially the Calabrian one of Torre Galli. The tendency to enlarge the role of warrior, however, is otherwise indicated in southern Etruria by the symbolic clay helmets, deposited over the urn in many simple male graves.¹⁷⁰⁰

The other aspect of political reorganization, as stated before, may be seen at a macro-regional level. Beyond the local dynamics, what is really impressive is the concomitant and coordinated formation in Etruria of several protourban centers, which took control of the entire region. The location of these centers (Fig. 33.4) is organized following a precise strategy, organized in two main series: one controlling the internal boundaries and river ways, from Veii to Cortona—with Perugia as a an outpost in the Upper Tiber Valley—and the other close to (or not far from) the Tyrrhenian coast, from Caere to Volterra.

It has to be stressed that the global restructuring of an entire region, through a network of large leading centers, is a type of process that is inherent to the emergence of many ancient states, as evidenced by Colin Renfrew's Early State Module.¹⁷⁰¹

The driving force of this coherent macroscopic reorganization can only be the establishment of a comprehensive system of political and military alliances, which probably also determined further projections (not necessarily colonies) outside Etruria, such as those of Pontecagnano and Sala Consilina in southern Campania (see chapter 73 Cinquantaquattro and Pellegrino), Capua in northern Campania (see chapter 74 Bellelli), Bologna in Emilia (see chapter

75 Malnati), Verucchio in Romagna (see chapter 76 von Eles) and Fermo in the Marche region (see chapter 77 Baldelli).

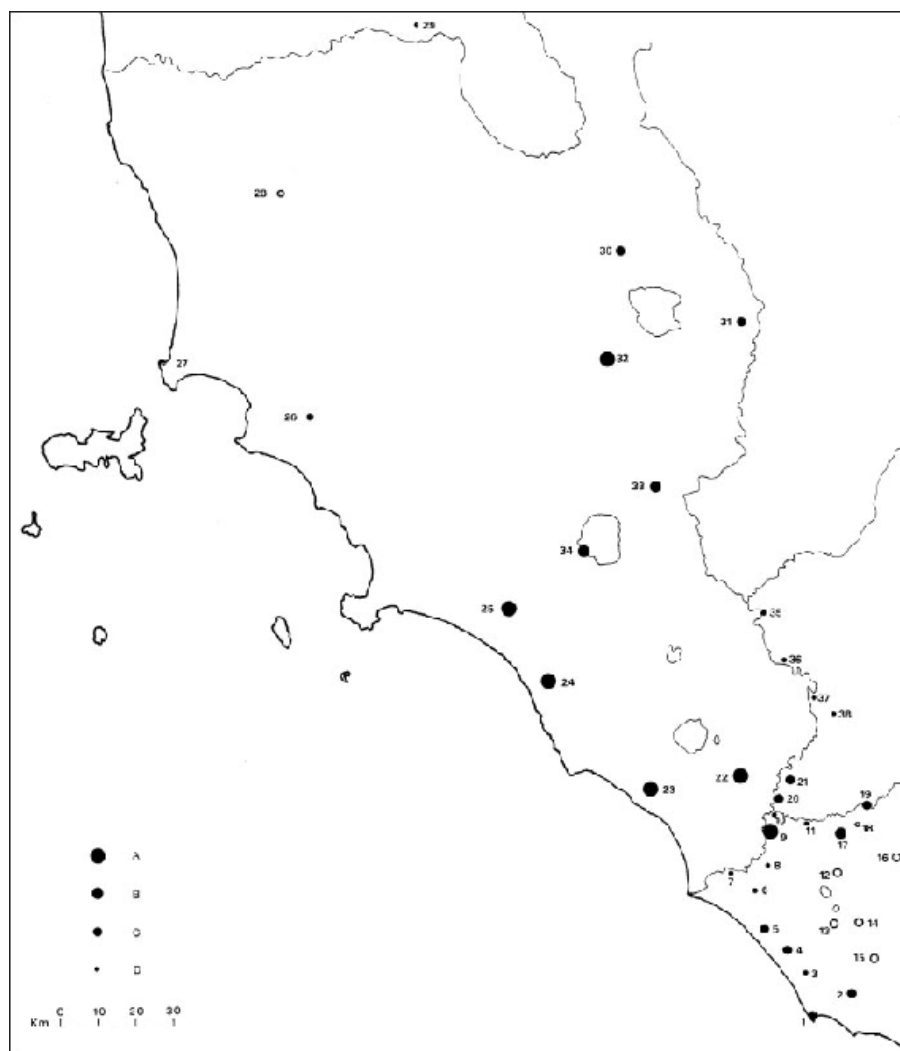


Fig. 33.4: Etruria and Latium Vetus, main EIA centers. A: 100–200 ha; B: 50–100 ha; C: 20–50 ha; D: 1–15 ha. 1: Anzio; 2: Satricum; 3: L’Altare; 4: Ardea; 5: Lavinium; 6: Decima; 7: Ficana; 8: Acqua Acetosa Laurentina; 9: Rome; 10: Antemnae; 11: La Rustica; 12: Tuscolo; 13: Lanuvio; 14: Velletri; 15: Caprificio; 16: Palestrina; 17: Gabii; 18: Corcolle; 19: Tivoli; 20: Fidene; 21: Crustumerium; 22: Veii; 23: Caere; 24: Tarquinia; 25: Vulci; 26: Vetulonia; 27: Populonia; 28: Volterra; 29: Fiesole; 30: Cortona; 31: Perugia; 32: Chiusi; 33: Orvieto; 34: Bisenzio; 35: Ocriculum; 36: Poggio Sommavilla; 37: Campo del Pozzo; 38: Cures. (after Pacciarelli 2001)

As an integral part of this great political process, the construction of new common cultural forms must also be considered. I allude to the so-called “Villanovan” symbolic, ritual and stylistic code,¹⁷⁰² which has its maximum

coherence in Tarquinia, which in many ways—even in Etruscan legends—appears as the leading center of the protourban project.

The existence of precise models in Villanovan culture is particularly evident in the urns of Tarquinian necropolises, characterized by very high standardization in form and decoration.¹⁷⁰³ The “canonic” model of urn is adopted in more than ninety percent of the tombs of the first Villanovan phase. This rigor is quite attenuated outside Tarquinia, but the main frame of reference appears the same.

The high symbolic meaning of the funerary rituals in the Early Iron Age is also indicated by the simultaneous development in nearby areas of ritual systems clearly and consciously opposed to the Villanovan.¹⁷⁰⁴ Distinctly different is the system of Latium Vetus, which developed in Latin centers east of the Tiber, including Rome and Gabii.

But just as different, and very similar to the Latin, is the ritual code developed at Bisenzio,¹⁷⁰⁵ which appears as a dissident center, consciously excluding itself from Villanovan symbols, identity, and perhaps organizational framework.¹⁷⁰⁶ In this respect, it is no coincidence that the settlement of Bisenzio was located not on a specifically chosen plateau, but in a nearly flat area around a preexisting hilltop village, as if it was a spontaneous alternative form of aggregation. Despite its considerable size—much larger than Vetulonia for instance—it is significant that Bisenzio never became part of the Etruscan twelve cities league, the *dodecapolis*.

7Conclusion

The new coherent and coordinated political and cultural framework of Villanovan Etruria is to be perceived as a decisive propulsive factor of economy, as a precondition for the free flow of goods, people and knowledge. A will to take total control of the exchange flows is indicated by the location of the protourban centers, chosen for their defensibility but also for their proximity to the main lines of communication.

In this regard, we have to consider that the protourban centers, as large concentrations of people located in strategic nodes of exchange, also acted as large markets, amplifying the economic opportunities.

The great economic potential of these centers, starting in the earliest stages, is also shown by the massive exploitation of marine resources—in particular salt—by the centers located close to the Tyrrhenian Sea, indicated by the remarkable proliferation of industrial sites characterized by huge numbers of jars.¹⁷⁰⁷

In fact, the Early Iron Age in Etruria opens a phase of high economic development, resulting in a continuous increase in the availability of goods and in the diffusion of a new aristocratic lifestyle,¹⁷⁰⁸ as shown by the

funerary contexts, a process very evident at least from the beginning of phase 2 at Veii.

The consolidation of the “Etruria system,” with its external connections, clearly stimulated a relevant economic growth in several adjacent regions, already during the Iron Age.

In this process of extraordinary economic growth, Levantine and Greek sailors were attracted during the eighth century. These new partners, especially after the founding of the first colonies, contributed to activate a continuous flow of goods, people and informations across the entire Mediterranean, which gave way to the economic takeoff of the Archaic period, and ultimately started the urbanization of the ancient Mediterranean world.

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34The diffusion of Near Eastern cultures

Abstract: This chapter will analyze the relationship between the Near Eastern and Etrurian civilizations from the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces to the Orientalizing period. This discussion claims that relationships continued between the eastern and western Mediterranean, which were not interrupted with the dissolution of the Mycenaean civilization and the invasion of the so-called Sea Peoples, but continued thanks to the initiatives of “merchant-adventurers” whose main meeting place was on Cyprus. Between the twelfth and tenth centuries BCE, Cyprus played an important role for traders with the West, who traced the routes that had already been beaten by Mycenaean vessels and who kept contacts alive with the indigenous Sicilian and Sardinian communities. From the end of the tenth century, we witness a gradual increase in sea traffic from the city of Tyre, which, with the collaboration of Cypriot elements, created a dense network of ports in the Aegean and west-central Mediterranean. The driving force of these initiatives lay in Tyre’s monarchy and its relationships with the merchants who were active along the Levantine, Cypriot and Aegean coasts. The focus of these merchants’ interests is seen in the search for and acquisition of raw materials, especially metals. Already in the ninth century, Tyrian officials and merchants were active in the main mining districts of the West—from Calabria to Sardinia, and from northern Etruria to Atlantic Andalusia. In the Italian peninsula, the first finds that attest a Cypriot/Phoenician presence are from Torre Galli, on the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria. At the same time, the ports in southern Sardinia were enlarged and became the focus of direct routes to the Etruscan-Lazio and Iberian coasts. During their first trading activities in the western Mediterranean, Phoenician sailors came in contact with Greeks. Phoenician and Euboean merchants actively collaborated in Cyprus, al-Mina and in the main ports of the Levantine and Aegean coasts. The collaboration between these two groups also proved successful in the West, as demonstrated by the evidence from Pithekoussai on Ischia, which was frequented by Phoenician merchants and artisans. From here and from Sardinia, through a trading network that ended along the Levantine coast, Phoenicians and Euboeans established relationships with the Latin and Etruscan communities. Such contacts intensified between the end of the eighth century and the first half of the seventh with the transfer of Eastern workers to Italy who satisfied not only the local elites’ tastes, but also transferred knowledge of goldworking, metallurgy, glass and ivory working. Within a short time, the Eastern know-how spread from the “princely” dwellings to the higher classes, becoming the collective heritage of the Mid-Tyrrhenian communities.

Keywords: Orientalizing period, Mediterranean trade, Italian peninsula, Phoenicians, Etruscans

1Between East and West: the Mediterranean after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization

This chapter is intended to affirm the continuity of relationships between the eastern and western Mediterranean, even after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization and the destruction wrought in the Aegean and along the Levantine coast by the so-called Sea Peoples. In fact, during the twelfth century BCE, contacts continued thanks to the initiatives of independent merchants, who were not directly incorporated into the rigid Palatine system, and whose main meeting center was in Cyprus.¹⁷⁰⁹ Compared to those of the past, the new protagonists are more difficult to identify both from a social and ethnic point of view. The multifaceted nature of these “Merchant-adventurers”, who gave birth to a heterogeneous and multiethnic movement, was also reflected in the types of products that reached the West and which often resist a precise classification.¹⁷¹⁰ However, the resourcefulness of these new protagonists meant that the relationships between the two shores of the Mediterranean were not loosened. Some modern scholars claim that they were instrumental in the arrival of the numerous Eastern goods that have been defined “pre-colonial” in the central-west Mediterranean.¹⁷¹¹

As noted, the politico-economic engine of this movement towards the West must be identified in the Cypriot *chiefdoms*. It is apparent in the dense network of relationships that existed between the indigenous populations of Sicily¹⁷¹² and Sardinia, and is archaeologically documented mainly in metallurgy and metal-technology. In Sardinia, the spread of Cypriot bronze artifacts destined for indigenous elites was so pervasive that the island became a primary center of diffusion of sumptuary goods and working techniques originating in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁷¹³ Many of the Cypriot or Cypriot-inspired products found in central Italy in early first millennium contexts seem to have come from this island, following the close relationships initiated by the Nuragic aristocracy with similar continental entities. For some scholars, moreover, the strong alliance between prominent groups from Villanovan centers and the large Nuragic complexes of northern Sardinia favored the introduction of Cypriot-Phoenician trading on the Etrusco-Lazio coast.¹⁷¹⁴

There is currently a lively debate among scholars concerning the nature and duration of the contacts that spread throughout the central Mediterranean basin from Cyprus.¹⁷¹⁵ Many specialists demonstrate that such relationships flourished between the twelfth century and the beginning of the eleventh. The end of the second millennium represented a fracturous moment in relationships between the eastern and western Mediterranean, the stable recovery of which would restart only from the mid ninth century.¹⁷¹⁶ Consequently, a lot of Cypriot and Cypriot-inspired material found in the West in contexts assignable to the early first millennium could be interpreted as residual elements of a season of contact firmly framed in the previous millennium. Such a hypothesis contrasts with the opinion of those who see continuous movement of Cypriot material towards the West in the second and first millennia.¹⁷¹⁷ Indeed the violent destructions that signal the end of the

Mycenaean power in Greece must have favored the development of areas that were peripheral to this “empire,” which, as in the case of Cyprus, saw a consistent flow of migration from the continent.¹⁷¹⁸ Thus, far from entering a period of recession, at the end of the second millennium, the “copper island” continued to be the principle center of production of this metal, and at the same time became the focal point of the transmission of innovative techniques linked to ironwork.¹⁷¹⁹

This favorable situation resulted in the birth of Cypriot kingdoms that over time became an essential reference point for Levantine mercantile initiatives towards the West. In this “fluid scenario,”¹⁷²⁰ where different ethnic groups competed to keep the dense networks of relationships with the west-central Mediterranean basin alive, the Phoenician component took on a major role from the tenth century. From this moment, moreover, there was a close collaboration between Cypriot elements and Phoenician merchants, who found their maximum archaeological visibility in the Aegean, but also later, in the West.

2Between Tyre and Euboea: trade in the eastern Mediterranean from the tenth to the eighth centuries

At the start of the first millennium, eastern Mediterranean traffic accelerated due to a set of favorable situations that can be summarized in the strong economic dynamism of the Greek world, especially in its Euboean component and in the sudden politico-economic growth of the city-state of Tyre.¹⁷²¹

From the tenth century, there are indications of direct relationships between Lef-kandi and Tyre.¹⁷²² In this phase we witness an influx of precious objects into Greece, such as gold ornaments, bronze vases, Egyptian style *faïence* and ivory artifacts from Cyprus and the various regions of the Near East. The Greek exports into the Phoenician metropolis mainly relate to ceramics that gradually reached the inland areas of the Syrian-Palestine region.¹⁷²³ This is a parallel initiative that makes use of the intermediation of Cyprus, the main area of contact between Phoenician and Euboean elements. The Euboean pottery found at Amathus, in the southwestern sector of the island, highlights the route followed by the Greek navigators to reach the Phoenician coast and the thriving port of Tyre (Fig. 34.1).¹⁷²⁴

Later, the contacts increased and affected various sites on the Levantine coast, from Tell Sukas to Tabbat el-Hammam, and Ras el-Bassit to al-Mina.¹⁷²⁵ This last center can help us better understand the nature and means of the contacts that were developing in this phase. During the first half of the eighth century, a large emporium was built at the mouth of the Orontes River through the joint initiative of Greek, Phoenician and Cypriot merchants. This

depended on the Luwian monarchy, which ruled the state of Unqi-Patina and resided in the capital Kunulua (Tell Tayinat).¹⁷²⁶ The emergence of al-Mina is therefore the result of stable and reciprocal associations between Euboean, Cypriot and Levantine peoples, but also the start of a new intercultural process facilitated by the intensification of direct relationships and the strong economic-cultural dynamism of the Syrian kingdoms.

3From al-Mina to Pithekoussai: the structuring of international trade in the Mediterranean

The importance of al-Mina in Mediterranean trade can be grasped by enlarging our study area to the West. In the same years that the emporium was founded at the mouth of the Orontes, the Euboean cities felt the need to consolidate their presence in Tyrrhenian area, giving rise to the establishment of Pithekoussa i on the island of Ischia. From its earliest stages, this center acted as a catalyst for international trade, encouraging relationships with the communities of Latium vetus and Etruria. Specialists are still discussing the possible presence of a nucleus of Levantine merchants and artisans at the site.¹⁷²⁷ Beyond the fact that “Eastern” communities were able to live on Ischia, there is no doubt that the Euboean settlement was able to attract the interest of the central Mediterranean colonial Phoenician settlements due to its strategic position on the routes that led from the Straits of Messina to the mid-Tyrrhenian coast of the Italian peninsula and Sardinia.¹⁷²⁸ At the same time, judging by the archaeological data, contacts with the diverse realities of the Near East are indisputable.¹⁷²⁹ In agreement with Bruno d’Agostino,¹⁷³⁰ it is likely, therefore, that the establishment of Pithek-oussai immediately preceded colonization. It is the daughter of that happy season of discoveries by sea, whose strength was found in the collaboration between Greeks, Levantines and Cypriots and the trading of goods, and its purpose in the sharing of knowledge. As d’Agostino notes, “Pithekoussai fits into this world of movement as an organizing element, destined to catalyze the exchanges between the East and West, at least concerning the Etruscans of Campania and Etruria itself.”¹⁷³¹ For this reason, the settlement played a central role in the formation of an Orientalizing culture on the Italian peninsula even if the dynamics of this complex phenomenon must be evaluated in the long term and are the result of contacts that started a long time earlier.¹⁷³²

4The first contact in southern Italy: from Torre Galli to Pontecagnano

Non-interrupted contacts between the eastern and western Mediterranean intensified during the ninth century with the opening of the port of Kommos, in south-central Crete, to Cypriot-Phoenician ships.¹⁷³³ The first relationships between people from the eastern Mediterranean and Italian communities can be traced to this period. The indigenous center that has the oldest traces of these visits is Torre Galli near Tropea (Fig. 80.1). Marco Pacciarelli's recent re-examination of the material from Paolo Orsi's early twentieth-century excavations has demonstrated a Cypriot-Phoenician presence in the area that Pacciarelli has dated to between the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the ninth, raising the traditional dating by about fifty years.¹⁷³⁴



Fig. 34.1: Map of Cyprus and Ancient Near East

Type 1	dia./h < 2.5	Hemispherical or almost perfectly hemispherical basin	Mercuri 2b	
Type 2	dia./h < 2.5	Basin tendentially conical, doesn't qualify as a hemisphere due to a change in pitch in the lower part	Mercuri 2a	
Type 3	dia./h = 2	Globular basin with max. diam. just under the rim	Mercuri 3	
Type 4	dia./h 2.5 – 3.5	Compressed basin	Mercuri 1b	
Type 5	dia./h > 3.5	Flattened basin	Mercuri 1a	
Subtypes: a) thickened rim b) separate rim c) small <i>omphalos</i> in centre d) small flat base Decorations: a) Inscription b) Groove under rim γ) Row of incised scales				

Fig. 34.2: Torre Galli: typology of the Phoenician metallic cups (from Sciacca 2010)

Imports to Torre Galli offer some food for thought. Many of the artisan categories that were widespread in the Orientalizing period are documented there, from *aegyptiaca* to beads and glass paste pendants and *faïence* used to adorn rich women’s clothing,¹⁷³⁵ from ivory to artifacts for ceremonial use, such as bronze cups (Fig. 34.2). It has been established that the latter were produced in a Levantine or Cypriot environment.¹⁷³⁶ Furthermore, the exclusive presence of this artifact in female tombs has been connected to rituals of libation where women played an important role.¹⁷³⁷

The interests of the Greek and Eastern merchants would soon spread throughout Campania, the southern Italian region that would be the real bridgehead for traffic with the rich and potent communities at Latium vetus and in Etruria. Unfortunately, as recently underlined by Bruno d’Agostino,¹⁷³⁸ the importance of the unpublished material for such major centers as Cumae, Capua and Pontecagnano risks making a statistical evaluation based on the published material quite unreliable. However, the importance of such a region for the eastern Mediterranean sailors from the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century clearly emerges from the exhaustive analysis carried out on pre-Roman *aegyptiaca*.¹⁷³⁹ The relationships with Greece and the Near East started to intensify from 800, following acceleration in the growth of the local communities. This phenomenon is clearly visible at Pontecagnano, the large Villano-van settlement in the Picentino plain, where the most significant quantity of Greek and Greek type ceramics from the whole region has come from.¹⁷⁴⁰ The opening up to an Euboean component and to the Phoenician market fits into an interregional framework, which was already well-

organized during the ninth century, opening to the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria and Sicily on one side and Etruria and Sardinia on the other.¹⁷⁴¹ The organization of the exchanges can be understood by the analysis of the grave goods, with wealthy parts that demonstrate the emergence of high-ranking people.

As has been authoritatively argued, Pontecagnano is just one piece in a complex and articulated picture¹⁷⁴² that recent research helps make more understandable. The investigations carried out at Montevetrano are very interesting, as they demonstrate the key role of Campania in the connection between the eastern Mediterranean and the communities of mid-Tyrrhenian Italy.¹⁷⁴³ Only starting from these assumptions is it possible to understand why the Euboeans decided to found a *comptoir* on Ischia in the second quarter of the eighth century, and a colony at Cumae on the mainland immediately afterwards.¹⁷⁴⁴

5 Towards the Far West: men, routes, goods

From a chronological point of view, the documentation from Torre Galli demonstrates the contact by Cypriot-Phoenician sailors with the Calabrian coast in a period that ranges from the end of the tenth century to the middle of the ninth, according to the different interpretations.¹⁷⁴⁵ The oldest materials from the historical center of Huelva are dated to roughly the same time.¹⁷⁴⁶ The material recovered in Calle Méndez Núñez is of great interest not just for its high chronology, but also for its variety. In fact, a consistent core of local and Phoenician material has been found alongside more limited amounts of Greek, Cypriot, Sardinian, and “Villanovan” pottery.

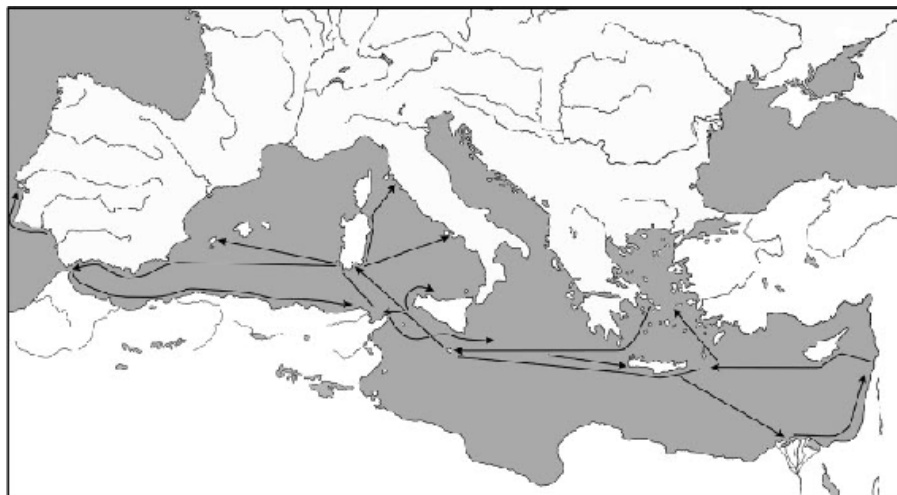


Fig. 34.3: Main routes from the homeland to the regions targeted by the Phoenician

For the first vessels that reached the Atlantic Andalusia, we find a situation that reflects the findings from east-central Mediterranean trade, with collaboration between Levantine, Greek and Cypriot merchants. Once again, the engine of these initiatives is the search for new markets and the acquisition of raw materials—especially metal. Huelva represents the ideal welding point between Atlantic and Mediterranean trade, due to its safe port and its strategic position as the end of the rich mineral districts of Riotinto.¹⁷⁴⁷

The discovery of western markets by the ships from the eastern Mediterranean was facilitated by the collaboration with the local—and in particular Nuragic—sailors.¹⁷⁴⁸ Thanks to them, the Phoenicians could reach both the rich markets of Etruscan Lazio and those of the Atlantic Andalusia. In this regard, two areas of Sardinia were particularly important—those of the Gulf of Cagliari and its surrounding areas,¹⁷⁴⁹ and the Nurra.

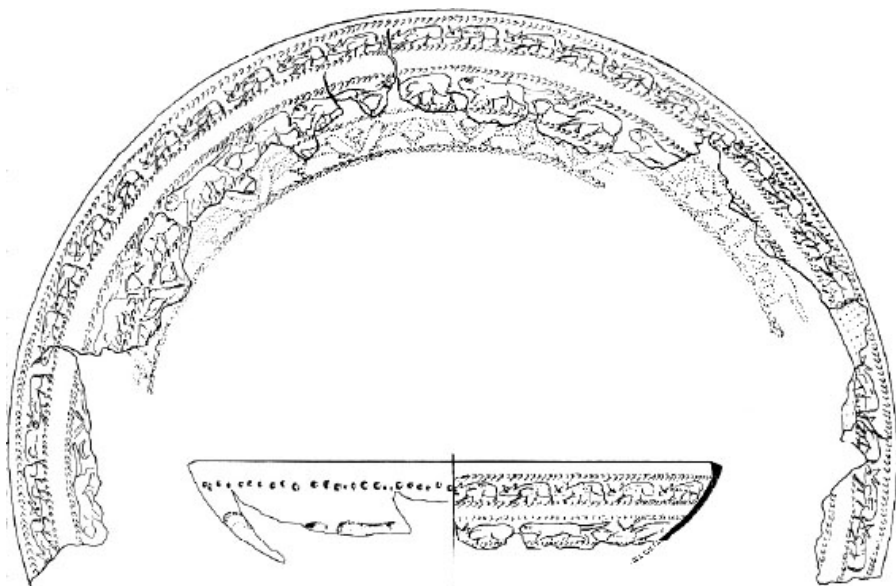


Fig. 34.4: Bronze decorated cup from Tomb 7 of the “primo circolo di pietre interrotte” from the Poggio alla Guardia necropolis, Vetulonia (from Maggiani 1973)

The Gulf of Cagliari was the start of two routes to the West that was furrowed by Eastern ships whose mixed crews most likely benefitted from the expertise acquired over time from local sailors.¹⁷⁵⁰ The first route ran along the western coast of Sardinia before turning east in the direction of northern Lazio, or climbed along the eastern coast of Corsica before joining with the second route (Fig. 34.3). The second route was used by Sardinian and Eastern sailors to reach Spain, via the Balearic Islands, and northern Etruria (Fig. 34.3).

Focusing on the latter destination, the Nuragic settlement of Sant’Imbenia,

north of Alghero, is of considerable importance. From the end of the ninth century, it was home to a group of Levantine merchants and artisans.¹⁷⁵¹ Concerning the relationship with the Italian peninsula, Sant'Imbenia was an important port where the Phoenician ships could stock up before facing the difficult crossing of the Strait of Bonifacio. After crossing the strait, the ships had to sail along Corsica's eastern coast before heading east towards the Tuscan archipelago. This was the ideal bridgehead with the centers of Populonia and Vetulonia, used first by Nuragic then Levantine merchants.¹⁷⁵² The Phoenician presence in this area is signaled by the splendid ornamented cup (Fig. 34.4) from a pit tomb from the necropolis of Poggio alla Guardia (Vetulonia), dated between 750 and 720.¹⁷⁵³

6 Interactions and cultural contacts in the mid-Tyrrhenian area between the formative phase and the beginning of the Orientalizing period: the Sardinian guide

The proposed historical framework underlines the plurality of contacts that from the western Mediterranean at the start of the first millennium involve the mid-Tyrrhenian area of the Italian peninsula. In such a system of relationships, Sardinia played a key role by fostering the arrival in central Italy of the artistic-artisan experiences developed there, and promoting the exportation of western Mediterranean techniques and products. In this flow of relations, furthermore, the early and exclusive relationships between the Nuragic and peninsula elites were progressively enriched by new Levantine protagonists.

One class of material that exemplifies this situation is that of the bronze tripod stand, which was most likely used for burning aromatic substances during public ceremonies, whose introduction into the West is closely connected to the thriving season of Cypriot-Mycenaean trade.¹⁷⁵⁴ The development of these artifacts in the Sardinian environment is certain, and continues well after the end of the second millennium with completely original results.¹⁷⁵⁵ For example, miniaturist creations with strong symbolic and sacred meanings form part of the "aristocratic" circuit of exchanges with the Etruscan population, as in the example from tomb 10 at the Romagnoli necropolis at Bologna, where the grave goods are dated to the beginning of the seventh century.¹⁷⁵⁶



Fig. 34.5: Bronze decorated *phiale* from the S(trada) tomb of the Macchiabate necropolis, at Francavilla Marittima (from Zancani Montuoro 1970–1971)

The cult-wagons also belong to this category of luxury goods. From the Piediluco-Contigliano (Terni) hoard,¹⁷⁵⁷ generally dated to around 900, a wheel survives.¹⁷⁵⁸ The spread of such artifacts in the Italian Tyrrhenian area must have been much greater than can now be seen from the meager archaeological evidence. In fact, a complex work such as the noted bronze wagon from tomb 2 from the Olmo Bello necropolis at Bisenzio,¹⁷⁵⁹ dated to the third quarter of the eighth century (Fig. 10.1), would be incomprehensible without the comparison with the Cypriot prototypes in vogue in the Bronze Age, or with their faithful reproductions from the Nuragic period during the early centuries of the first millennium.

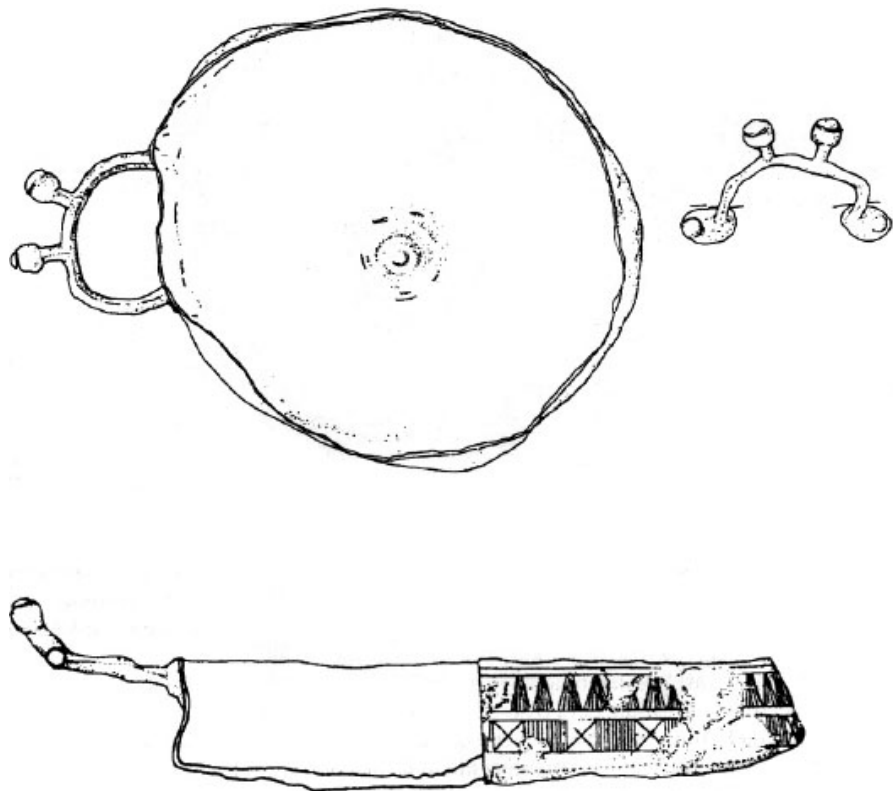


Fig. 34.6: Bronze cup with handle with globular appendices from tomb 132, Castel di Decima (from Bedini, Cordano 1975)

Another type of object that demonstrates the key role that the Nuragic culture played in their relationships between the eastern Mediterranean and the communities in mid-Tyrrhenian Italy is that of the cups forged with a single handle with globular appendices. The finds are concentrated in central Italy, with the exception of the Francavilla Marittima phiale (Fig. 34.5). It is highly likely that the handle of the cup in question was originally part of a cup made in central Italy and only added to the Francavilla *phiale* after an ancient restoration.¹⁷⁶⁰ The remaining finds concern the example found at Castel di Decima (Fig. 34.6) in a female tomb dated to the first quarter of the eighth century,¹⁷⁶¹ to which three other finds can be added, also in female tombs, from Bologna,¹⁷⁶² Populonia¹⁷⁶³ and Veii¹⁷⁶⁴ (Fig. 34.7). Adriano Maggiani has recently suggested placing a handle from the Antiquarium of the Florence Archaeological museum into the series; this is unprovenanced but hypothetically attributed by the scholar to Vetulonia.¹⁷⁶⁵

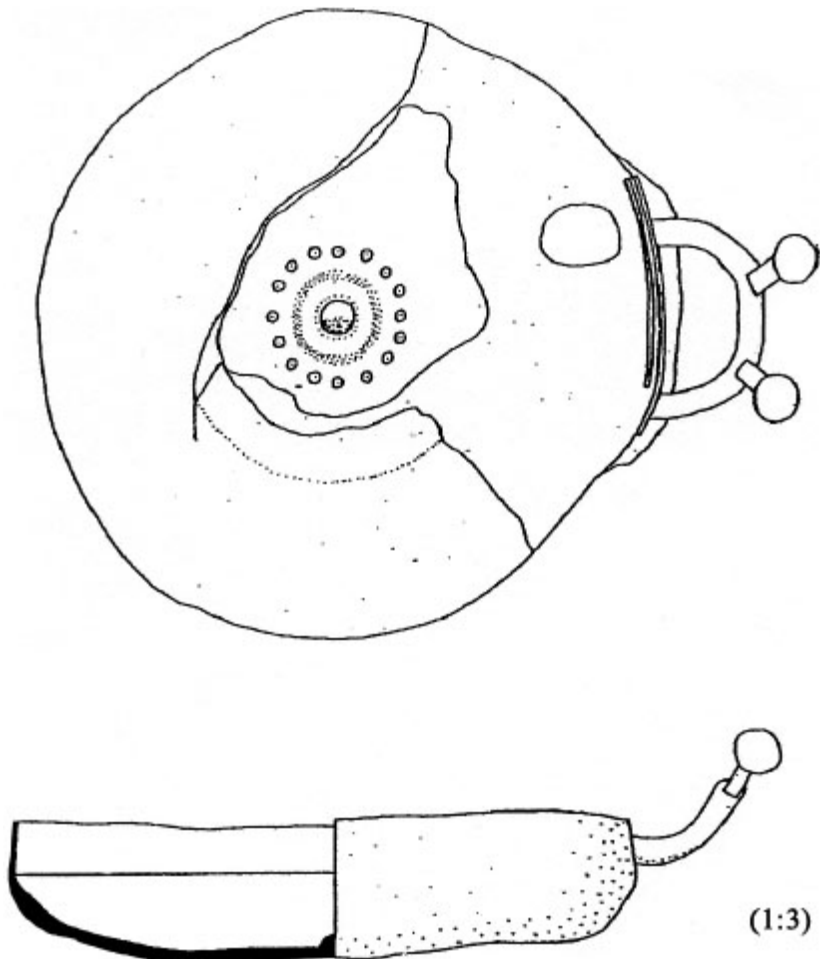


Fig. 34.7: Bronze cup with handle with globular appendices from tomb 1032 in the Casale del Fosso necropolis, Veii (from Drago Troccoli 2009)

The debate on the attribution of these artifacts is ongoing. Returning briefly to the discussion of this typology of cups, Gilda Bartoloni's observations are fundamental.¹⁷⁶⁶ She has discerned a close relationship between the handle with globules from some metal vessels found in Italy with the globular terminations on some Nuragic bronzes and some types of Sardinian handles. Later studies¹⁷⁶⁷ have highlighted the weak links with the Levantine and Cypriot artistic/craft productions, and have shown the impossibility of identifying precise reference models, as their manufacture in the West are probably fruit of numerous and stratified influences, which reached Sardinia from the eastern Mediterranean in the early centuries of the first millennium.¹⁷⁶⁸

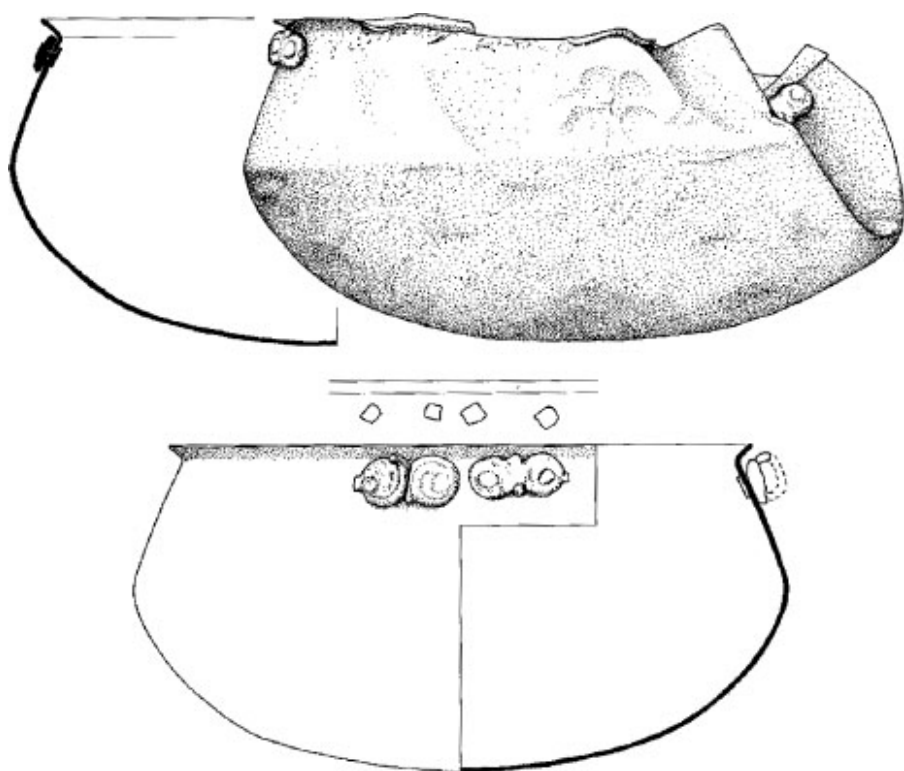


Fig. 34.8: Bronze carinated cauldron with pair of double spiral handle attachments, from Tel Jatt hoard, near Megiddo (from Artzy 2006)

It is therefore likely that the cups in question arrived in Italy thanks to the agency of Nuragic elements and Phoenician sailors, even if it is impossible to exclude the possibility that they were copies made *in loco* by itinerant craftsmen.¹⁷⁶⁹ A final consideration concerns the presence of these cups in exclusively female prestigious tombs. If the appendages of the handle can be interpreted as plant motifs—and can therefore be traced to the annual cycle of nature¹⁷⁷⁰—it seems plausible to associate these vases with fertility and procreation rites connected with the continuation of the lineage within the groups that were emerging in the Italian Iron Age.

Large bronze recipients can be found within the flow of contacts between Sardinia and central Italy. According to their typologies these were used for boiling meat, libations or ritual ablutions. The carinated cauldrons with spiral handle attachments¹⁷⁷¹ are likely to have been manufactured in the Levant, due to the discovery of the Tel Jatt hoard, near Megiddo, which has an example with such characteristics (Fig. 34.8).¹⁷⁷² The Tel Jatt cauldron is very similar to the shape of the bowl and the type of handle attachment from a Nuragic example in Cala Gonone (Dorgali, Nuoro),¹⁷⁷³ which, by no accident, is near one of the safest harbors on the east of the island. The relationship this settlement had with the sea, ready to receive but also to export precious

artifacts, might be confirmed by a similar recipient, probably from the same workshop, from the S. Francesco hoard in Bologna, where it had been totally crushed and used as scrap metal.¹⁷⁷⁴

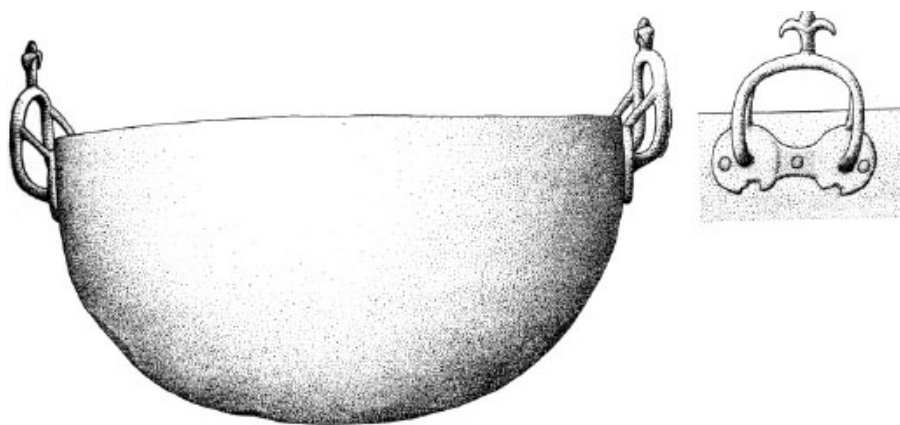


Fig. 34.9: Deep bronze basin with lotus flower handle terminations, from Santa Anastasia, Sardara (from Matthäus 2001)

Another type of bronze is that of the cauldrons decorated with lotus flower handles fused at the base on a plate that has the characteristic form of a double lobed circle. This type¹⁷⁷⁵ reached its maximum extent in Cyprus during the Cyprus Geometric I—II (1050–850), but it is probable that these cauldrons continued to be made in the CG III (850–750), as the many finds made away from the island show a proliferation of local schools from much later phases.

The discovery of a basin with lotus flower terminations in the Tel Jatt hoard, in Galilee,¹⁷⁷⁶ allows the production of this type of bronze to be related to Phoenician craftsman. The data is confirmed by the exceptional discovery in the “meeting hut” near the Nuragic sacred well temple at Santa Anastasia in Sardara, on Sardinia. A hoard was found in this building — dated by the context of the excavation to the second half/end of the eighth century,¹⁷⁷⁷ — which contained three bronze basins stacked one within the other. These comprise two recipients with lotus flower terminations, one with a deep bowl (Fig. 34.9) and the other with a shallower bowl and a situla with a “bridge” swing handle and spiral attachments. Concerning the basins, the one with the shallow basin has “wolf’s tooth” decoration inside (Fig. 34.10), typical of the Phoenician figurative repertoire.¹⁷⁷⁸ For this reason, it is plausible to date the decorated basin from Sardara to the eighth century and to attribute it to a Phoenician *atelier* from the homeland. For the other two bronzes, however, an older chronology cannot be excluded, as the structure was in use between the ninth and eighth centuries.

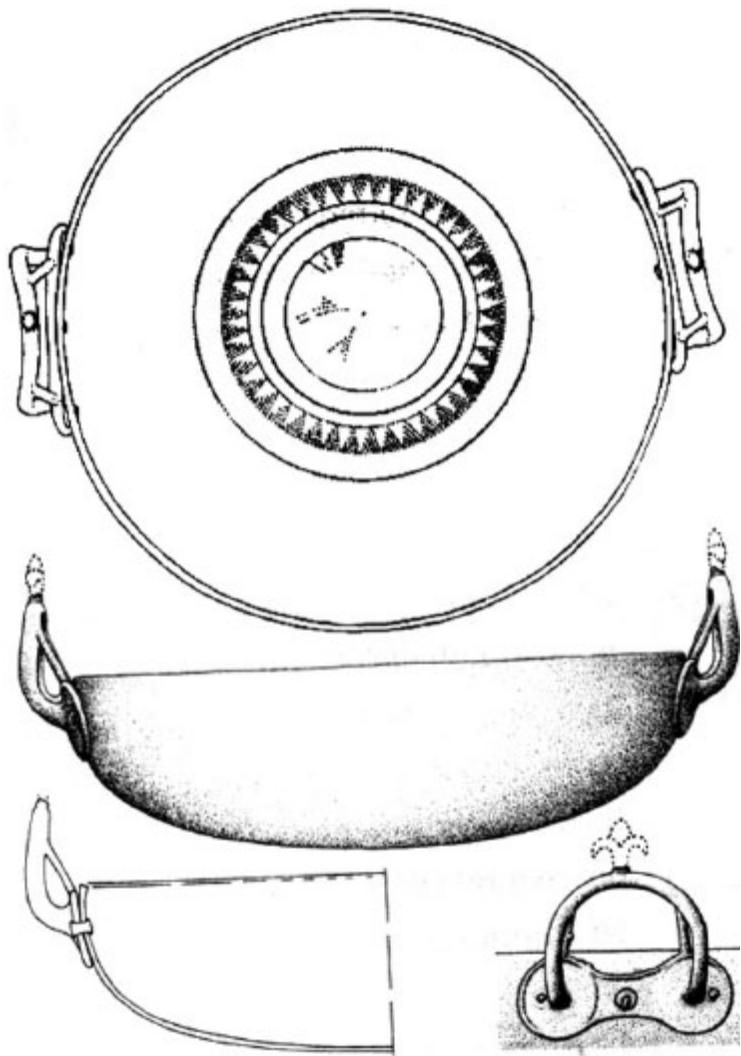


Fig. 34.10: Shallow bronze basin with lotus flower handle terminations, from Santa Anastasia, Sardara (from Matthäus 2001)

Imports of this type from the eastern Mediterranean are also present on the Italian peninsula. For example, the handle found in the Polledrara di Vulci necropolis and the basin found in chamber tomb 2 in the F tumulus at Satricum,¹⁷⁷⁹ which is similar to the deep basin from Sardara. The tomb, which contains other deposits, is dated to between the beginning of the seventh century and 620–610 on the basis of the imported pottery.¹⁷⁸⁰ The basin was associated with the most recent burial and is therefore much later than the *floruit* of Cypriot productions. Nevertheless, the Lazio example is surprisingly similar to these last examples and presents technical features such as the double loop handle that implies a direct knowledge of the prototypes. For this reason, the basin from Satricum is likely an import, just like the

Sardinian ones.¹⁷⁸¹ The view expressed here seems further confirmed by the examination of the Orientalizing re-elaborations of the lotus flower handles, present in large numbers on the Italian peninsula from Campania to northern Etruria, that have particular finishes and are often very far from the Cypriot prototypes.¹⁷⁸²

The artifacts under consideration represent only a selection of the numerous materials that passed from Sardinia to the Italian peninsula in the early centuries of the first millennium. However, they are illustrative of the forms of contact that took place in this period, based on the practice of gift exchange and directed mainly to the transfer of metalworking technologies. It is by no accident that the contacts took place with the centers of Populonia and Vetulonia, which controlled the rich metalliferous districts of northern Etruria. A last consideration concerns the eastern influxes that we can identify in the series of objects analyzed. These fit perfectly into a Cypriot-Phoenician cultural matrix which, as can clearly be seen on the basins with lotus flower terminations, continued to have an important role after the start of colonization in the West and the beginning of the Orientalizing period.

7The reception centers in Etruria: Tarquinia and Veii

Tarquinia played a key role in the opening up of trade with Euboean and Phoenician sailors. *Athyrmata* and jewelry in precious metals have been found at Tarquinia, which demonstrate the contacts with Levantine merchants.¹⁷⁸³ Moreover, in Tarquinia, the “Greek”¹⁷⁸⁴ way of drinking was introduced early on, even before the arrival of the Euboean *skyphoi*, as shown by the presence of craterform vases in funerary deposits of the mid/late (phase IB-IC: last decades of the ninth century) and late (phase IIA: 780–760) Villanovan period whose distinctive style, with no local antecedents, seems to be freely marked by Hellenic models.¹⁷⁸⁵

Another strategic point for the first contact between Levantine and Euboean elements and the mid-Tyrrhenian communities is represented by the mouth of the Tiber. The control of the river was one of the primary objectives of Veii from the end of the ninth century.¹⁷⁸⁶ The mouth of the river had vital importance for Veii, which could enter Lazio directly through the river valleys of the Galeria and Cremera—independently of Rome—and reach the coast, thus making the connections with Greek and Eastern merchants easier.¹⁷⁸⁷

Between the end of the ninth century and the middle of the eighth, a series of products from the Nile and Levantine areas arrived at Veii, which confirm the first contact with Eastern *prospectors*. These products are Egyptian and Egyptian-style scarabs and statues in *faïence* or jewelry and decorative elements for clothes and headdresses made in glass paste, *faïence*, amber,

quartz and rock crystal.¹⁷⁸⁸ Their spread through the Mediterranean in the early centuries of the first millennium is mainly due to the activity of Phoenician merchants; it has often been pointed out that these artifacts are present in important funerary contexts in association with prestige objects made in the Near East.¹⁷⁸⁹

For Veii, such a line of research has produced very interesting results for tomb 817 at Casale del Fosso, the date of which is thought to be at the start of the local phase IIB, i.e. around the mid eighth century. Among the rich objects, from the grave of a young woman, came eastern *athrymata* and a miniature bronze, Nuragic made, *olla*.¹⁷⁹⁰ This association between eastern and Nuragic material confirms that the wide range of Nuragic objects that arrived on the Italian peninsula at the beginning of the first millennium were the result of understandings reached between Sardinian and Phoenician sailors.¹⁷⁹¹

Confirming the plurality of contacts maintained by Veii in this phase, in tomb 817 at the Casale del Fosso there is an exceptionally interesting find—a boot shaped vase—which demonstrates that the family of the Veiiian woman was in direct contact with northern Etruria, a privileged area of contact with the Sardinian communities attracted by the huge mineral resources of the *Colline Metallifere*.¹⁷⁹² The abovementioned cup with handles terminating in globules from tomb 1032 at Casale del Fosso and almost contemporary with burial 817, points us to these guides.¹⁷⁹³

8The Orientalizing period

Imports from the eastern Mediterranean increased further at the start of the ancient Orientalizing period (730–675). The driving force of these contacts made by the Greeks and Levantines has been identified in the diffusion of the symposium model among Italian elites.¹⁷⁹⁴ As we can see, the introduction of practices linked to ceremonial consumption of wine in central Italy had a long gestation period starting in the ninth century. In this period, there was a complex interweaving of Greek and Eastern contributions that makes it difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish the original vectors. From the last decades of the eighth century, the symposium practice reached its widest diffusion in the Italian peninsula following the consolidation of the indigenous aristocracy and their desire for self-celebration. At the same time, there was an increase in the export of wine from the colonial centers.¹⁷⁹⁵ Within a few decades, the Phoenician wine produced in the West together with sophisticated sets in precious metals imported from Cyprus and from the various regions of the Near East spread out through the communities of Latium vetus and Etruria to celebrate the splendor of the powerful aristocratic families.¹⁷⁹⁶

A second factor that must be analyzed concerns the presence of an ever-growing number of Near Eastern artists in the communities of Italian peninsula, who contributed to the birth and affirmation of the Orientalizing style.¹⁷⁹⁷ At the start, the phenomena mainly concerned goldworking, with the creation of personal ornaments that have elaborate decorations in granulation and filigree.¹⁷⁹⁸ Only with the start of the seventh century do the discoveries become more consistent and cover a number of sectors, from statuary to architecture, from metallurgy to the working of ivory and glass.¹⁷⁹⁹ In this variegated panorama, artistic experiences and classes of artifacts from not only Phoenicia and Cyprus but also different areas of the Near East and Anatolia mix together. Phoenician merchants and entrepreneurs worked closely with Euboean and Cypriot sailors. From al-Mina and the ports of the Gulf of Alexandretta, goods from the neo-Hittite and Aramaic kingdoms arrived on the Italian Peninsula on Greek and Phoenician ships, expanding the range of artistic influences from the East in the courts of the Italian aristocracy.

Under the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727) and Sargon II (721–705) the city state of Tyre passed through a phase of economic prosperity due to the policy of the Assyrian sovereigns to strengthen the diplomatic and commercial ties with the royal house of the powerful Phoenician cities.¹⁸⁰⁰ The activities became feverish in the coastal centers of southern Syria, from which they could reach the heart of the empire more directly. Phoenician and Euboean merchants moved the products towards the capitals Nimrud and Khorsabad. These included metals that were necessary to fuel the imperial war machine and the state finances, and exotic luxury goods that made court life even more lavish and enhanced the endeavors of the Assyrian sovereigns. At the same time, precious artifacts from the eastern front made in the Syrian-Hittite and Assyrian capitals converged on the coast.

In this period, the Assyrian Empire rapidly extended westwards taking direct control of such key areas as the Taurus Mountains and Aman, and gradually incorporated the neo-Hittite and Aramaic kingdoms. The strong military pressure exerted by Sargon II was therefore one of the principal causes of the influx of north Syrian workers into the Italian peninsula via the Tyrrhenian coast between the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the seventh. The phenomenon has been mainly observed in the fields of sculpture and architecture. The activity of northern Syrian sculptors might explain the emergence of enthroned figures in Etruscan statuary, one of the finest examples of which was found in the *Tomba delle Statue* at Ceri (690–670) (Fig. 35.4).¹⁸⁰¹ Even older examples of this type of sculpture are possibly documented at Veii,¹⁸⁰² and prove the existence of itinerant workshops able to satisfy the needs of the emerging aristocratic groups within central Italy's largest settlements. The diaspora of these Eastern sculptors is clearly visible in the two statues discovered at Casale Marittimo—a site that dominated communication between Volterra and the sea— which were

probably placed on a burial mound towards 670–650 (Fig. 45.7).¹⁸⁰³ Furthermore, references to the statuary of the neo-Hittite kingdoms have been identified in a series of funeral monuments made in Bologna and its territory, probably between the end of the second and third quarter of the seventh century.¹⁸⁰⁴

In architecture, however, the contribution of architects and northern Syrian craftsmen is especially noticeable in the construction of funerary structures,¹⁸⁰⁵ since the residences of the lords who were placed in the large Orientalizing tumuli are unknown. The influence on domestic architecture can be assumed on the basis of the subsequent constructions. The plans of the palaces of Murlo and Acquarossa show some similarities with the layout of *bit-hilani*, the rectangular Syrian palace built with porches.¹⁸⁰⁶



Fig. 34.11: Bronze “Phoenician-Cypriot” *oinochoe* from the “Tripod Tomb”, Cerveteri. Vatican, Gregorian Etruscan Museum

An Eastern matrix is also recognizable for some artifacts directly inspired by court ceremony, such as fans, scepters and footstools.¹⁸⁰⁷ Focusing on the latter, the oldest finds from the Tyrrhenian area are from the famous ‘Tomb of

the Warrior' 871 from the necropolis at Casale del Fosso, at Veii and from tomb 93 of the Laurentina, which dates to the last quarter of the eighth century. One such find is a bronze footstool with voluted support, also known as "Ceri type," as it is the same depicted in the *Tomba delle Statue*, and its presence is concentrated across central Italy. The bronze creations from Veii, Laurentina, Castel di Decima and Trevignano Romano find their equivalent in the Adriatic area in the splendid wooden creations from Verucchio.¹⁸⁰⁸ This writer¹⁸⁰⁹ believes that the reference models for these artifacts must be sought in Syria, where over the course of the ninth century an original elaboration of Egyptian-Phoenician footstools are added, whose tradition goes back as far as the beginning of the second millennium.¹⁸¹⁰ It should also be emphasized that in the passage from east to west, the ideological message connected to this piece of furniture—considered the prerogative of divine beings, kings and princes—remained unchanged. In fact the presence of the footstool in the Syrian-Anatolian funerary reliefs gave the scene a connotation of rank, and a symbolic meaning related to a possible deification or heroization of the figure of the deceased as an ancestral founder.¹⁸¹¹ The same symbolic message is behind the monumental statuary of Ceri and Veii and proves that the Eastern influence is strong in the funeral ideology and is closely mixed with the Greek one.¹⁸¹²

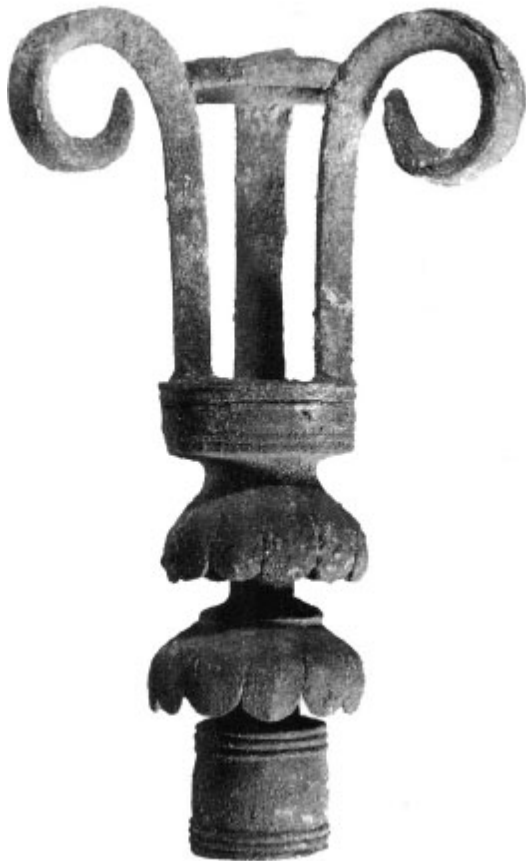


Fig. 34.12: Bronze torch-holder, probably from the Monte Abatone necropolis, Cerveteri. Vatican, Gregorian Etruscan Museum

It is therefore likely that there was a similar situation for the Tyrrhenian area of the Italian peninsula, as shown in the royal necropolis of Salamis. In these “heroic” graves inspired by Homeric poems, Eastern luxury goods were accumulated to display the *tryphé* of the local aristocracies.¹⁸¹³ Furthermore, the contacts with Cyprus are evidenced not only by drinking services in precious metals (Fig. 34.11),¹⁸¹⁴ or precious artifacts such as bronze torch-holders (Fig. 34.12)¹⁸¹⁵ used to illuminate or scent the rooms, which have been found in the rich Orientalizing tombs of Etruria and Latium vetus, but also by the design of the tumuli. Recently, with reference to the *Tumulo della Regina*, in Tarquinia, the use of alabaster plaster for the walls of the halls destined to host pictorial decorations, has suggested the participation of Eastern crafts-men in the construction of the tomb.¹⁸¹⁶ In this period, Caere attracted the interests of Greek and Levantine traders more than any other Etruscan city. By focusing on the Eastern component, the recognition of Phoenician pottery in some tombs there has suggested the presence of foreign elements,¹⁸¹⁷ which is known to have been frequented not only by

commercial agents, who perhaps stayed there temporarily, but also artisans. Accredited research lines have located workshops at Caere for the production of ointment bottles and other small objects in glass paste,¹⁸¹⁸ but it is also possible that during the seventh century, north Syrian and Cypriot-Phoenician metalworking experts also operated there.¹⁸¹⁹ The presence of Phoenician artisans in the Italian peninsula has been confirmed by the transmission of working techniques connected with the decoration of ivory¹⁸²⁰ and ostrich eggs. For this last class of material investigations have led to the recognition of an active workshop at Vulci in the second half of the seventh century.¹⁸²¹

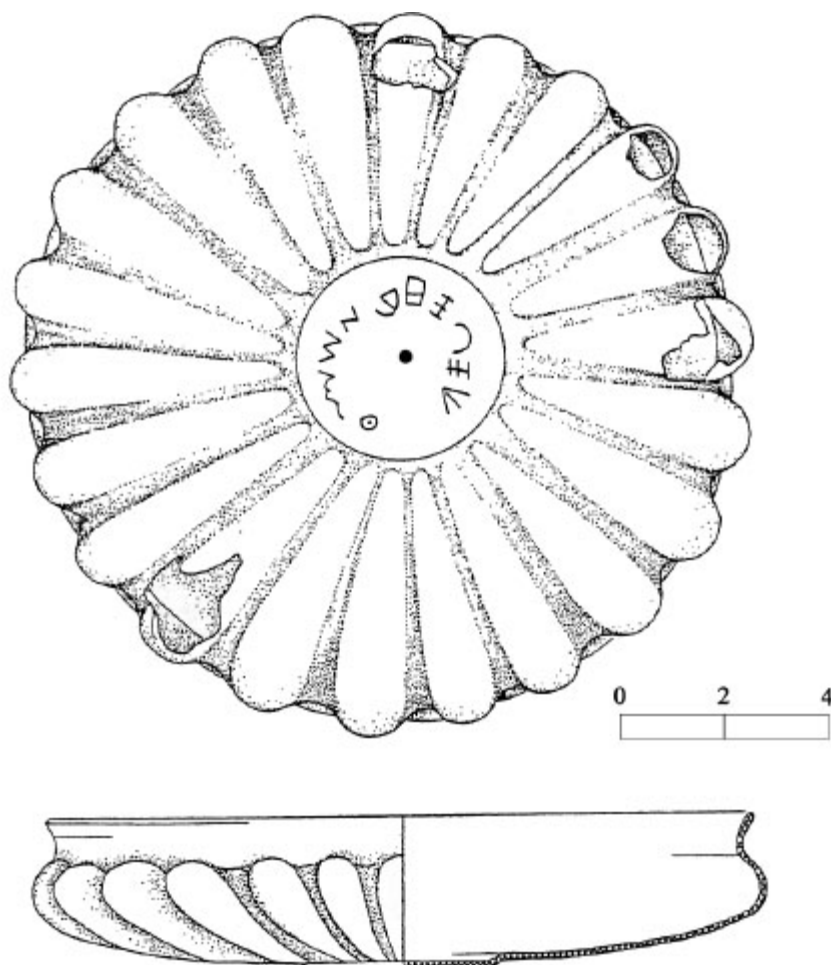


Fig. 34.13: Bronze ribbed cup with Phoenician inscription from tomb 3 of KfarVeradim (Upper Galilee) (from Alexandre 2002)

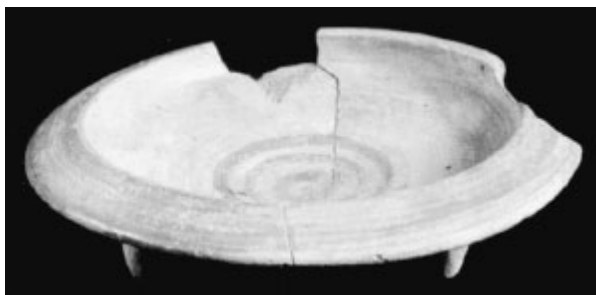


Fig. 34.14: Ceramic tripod bowl from *Othoca* (Sardinia). Soprintendenza Archeologia della Sardegna

The attendance at Assyrian courts by Phoenician commercial agents was another reason for the arrival of Mesopotamian artifacts and their imitations on the continent. This trend can be clearly seen in the study of ribbed bronze cups. In effect, the careful philological work conducted on the examples found in the Italian peninsula has allowed us to identify the artifacts directly imported from Assyria and from Urartu and the work related to the Phoenician workshops that were active in the motherland (Fig. 34.13).¹⁸²²

The study on the ribbed cups has found significant points of contact with a line of my own research intended to emphasize the spread of a particular way of drinking wine among the Latin and Etruscan aristocracy that originated in the northern Syrian area in the first half of the eighth century.¹⁸²³ It is rooted early on in Assyria and was introduced into the West by Phoenicians¹⁸²⁴ and is based on the consumption of wine flavored with spices and resin that were crushed using a ceramic tripod bowl (Fig. 34.14). At this point the ceremony used sets composed of elements which filtered and deposited the aromas introduced in the drink. A precious example, produced in Assyrian workshops, is the jug with an incorporated filter and long spout now in the British Museum (Fig. 34.15), which came from southern Italy.¹⁸²⁵ In case not all of the aromatic particles were filtered out, in Assyria around the mid eighth century, lenticular ribbed cups began to be used, whose accentuated carinate gathered the sediments in the drink. Because its use was so specific, linked to the consumption of aromatized wine, in the East, the ribbed cups in precious metals were the prerogative of the king and of the royal couple,¹⁸²⁶ as clearly shown in the famous relief of the “Garden Party” in the North Palace at Nineveh, where Assurbanipal and his consort are portrayed in the defining moment of the toast (Fig. 34.16).

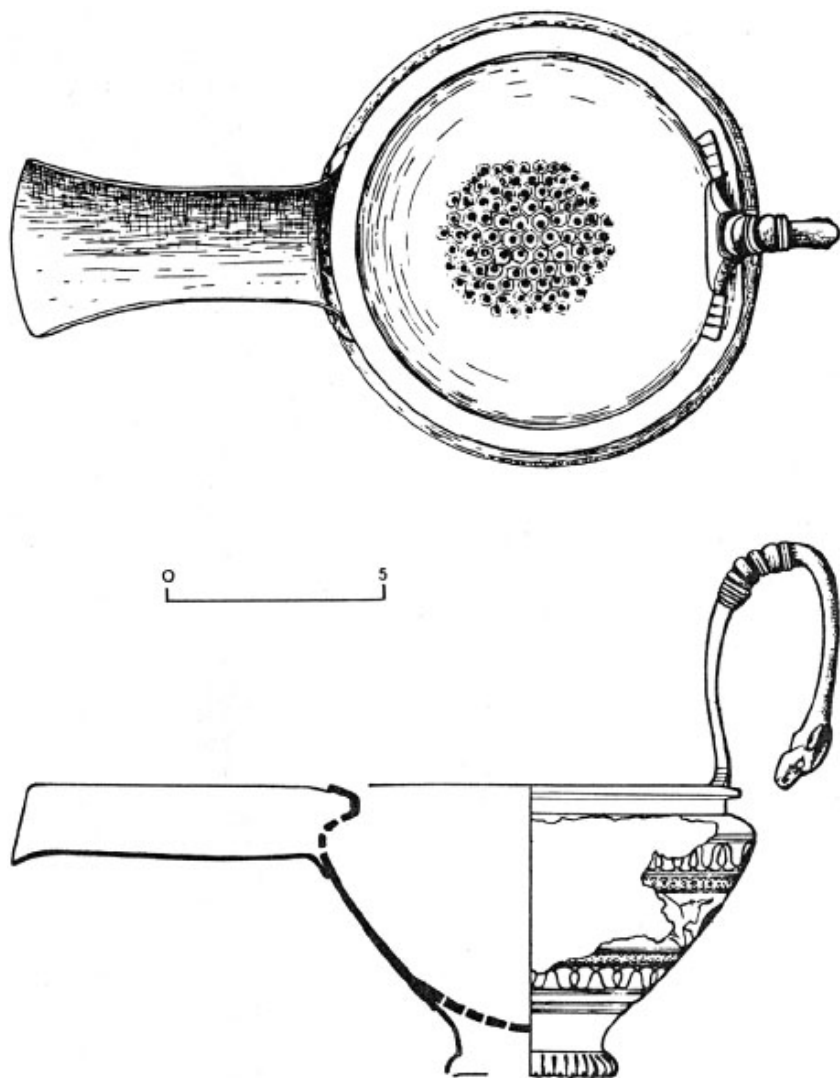


Fig. 34.15: Bronze jug with spout and incorporated strainer in the British Museum
(from Moorey 1980)



Fig. 34.16: Detail of “The Garden Party” from the North Palace at Nineveh

The use of ribbed cups as libation bowls according to the Syrian method of consuming aromatized wine, is clear in Italy from the association of the tripod bowl. This is exemplified by the grave goods from tomb 15 of Castel di Decima (end of the eighth century), which also contained a colonial Phoenician wine amphora.¹⁸²⁷ In the East, the relation between the tripod bowl and the ribbed, carinated cups in the royal banquet is confirmed by the abovementioned Nineveh relief.¹⁸²⁸

9Conclusions

Through analyzing the relations between the eastern and western Mediterranean, from the beginning of the first millennium, we can distinguish two privileged lines of contact. The first and oldest was developed in Cyprus and by the principal coastal centers of Phoenicia to reach Sardinia mainly through island routes. In this phase, the capability of the Nuragic community is fully manifested in the way it reworked eastern contributions in a highly original and innovative way, both concerning the icono-graphic apparatus and also for some types of artifacts, which are mainly ceremonial bronzes. Furthermore, thanks to the efficiency of the Sardinian sailors, contact was made with the Iberian Peninsula and the mid-Tyrrhenian coast of Italy. In this case, the relations between the Nuragic and Villanovan elites intensified, especially in the north, which involved the centers of Vetulonia and

Populonia.

The second line is firmly established in the course of the eighth century with the intensification of the Euboean and Levantine presence in Campania. Thanks to the foundations of the emporia at al-Mina and Pithekoussai, artifacts, men and technologies from the southern Anatolian and northern Syrian areas quickly reached the Italian peninsula. However, already in the first half of the eighth century, the presence of Phoenicians was strengthened in the central Mediterranean with the foundation of Carthage in Tunisia, and Sulky in southwestern Sardinia. The rapid growth of the latter must have facilitated the arrival of luxury banquetting products on the mid-Tyrrhenian shores of the Italian peninsula, which were made in the Phoenician workshops of Cyprus and the mother country. At the same time, the early interest of the colony for its land must have encouraged the cultivation of grapes and the production of wine. The wine of Sulcis undoubtedly represented a driving force of the colony's economy, which reached the communities of Lazio and south Etruria early on.¹⁸²⁹

The seventh century was undoubtedly the high point of the relations between the Italian peninsula and the eastern Mediterranean. In this period, thanks to the activity of itinerant workshops of northern Syrian and Phoenician artisans, the Orientalizing art reached its apogee. Indeed, it is in the mid-Orientalizing period that there was a proliferation of Eastern-style artifacts that were imitated and refashioned *in loco* by Italian artisans following a successful cooperation with Eastern counterparts.

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Luca Cerchiali

35Urban Civilization

Abstract: This essay outlines the development of urban communities in Etruria from the beginning of the Orientalizing period, at the end of the eighth century BCE. Through archaeological and historical sources, the formation of urban society is examined as a complex phenomenon that involves both economic and political ideological aspects. The study examines the institutional structures of the city-state, the dynamics of urban planning, the organization of the agricultural landscape, the system of trade, and crafts. It concludes with an analysis of the political crisis of urban societies in Etruria, which favored the conquest by Rome in the fourth-third centuries BCE.

Keywords: city-state; political community; institutional structures; urbanization; production.

Introduction: Origins

In the second half of the eighth century BCE, the proto-urban centers underwent a transformation in their social, political, and economic orders, whose material aspect is most strikingly manifested in the development of what is known as the Orientalizing period. This process is rooted in the dynamics of the internal development of the Villanovan community, which actively became part of the network of maritime traffic developing throughout the Mediterranean.¹⁸³⁰ In the local communities there arose concentrations of wealth, centralization of control over resources and production that led to the formation of a permanent, hereditary aristocracy.

The utilization of kinship ties is documented at the epigraphic level through the appearance of the binomial onomastic formula, already attested at the beginning of the seventh century: to the individual name (the *praenomen*), which constitutes the earliest form of personal identification, was added that of the family name (the *gentilicum*), which remains invariant and is transmitted by descent. The gentilic derives from the freezing of a patronymic designation, and therefore, being linked to the organization of the agnate *familia*, is patrilinear in nature.

The centrality of the family is confirmed by the adoption of the chamber tomb type, initially intended for married couples and later for multiple depositions of blood relatives: this was covered over by a tumulus that could be used for other burials of the same group, to reaffirm its continuity over time.

1 *Gentes and clientes*

The picture of a hereditary aristocracy drawn from the material culture corresponds to the image offered by the historical tradition that makes the fulcrum of Etruscan society the institution of the *gens*.

Because the gentilic model is described by fairly late authors (especially Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus), who are referring particularly to the Roman world, it is doubtful whether it should be applied to Archaic Etruria as well. The comparison is indispensable for focusing on the coordinates of aristocratic power, as it was reconstructed by the ancient historians.

The comparison between historical and archaeological sources cannot, however, be resolved by a mechanical superposition, as they reflect only fragments of a more complex ancient reality, filtered, moreover, through an ideological lens. Because each source constitutes an autonomous significant system, the mutual utilization passes through the description of the differences.¹⁸³¹

The historical sources describe the *gens* as an extensive social and economic structure, hinging on *kinship*, private *solidarity* relationships, and the *clientelae*.

This tripartite articulation is provided both by Livy and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The former cites the *cognati*, the *sodales*, and the *clientes*; the latter mentions the *syngeneia*, the *philoï* or *hetairoi*, and, for the *clientelae*, the *pelatai* or, less commonly, the *oiketai*.

The terms used are not vague. The concepts of *cognati* /*syngeneia* refer to wider consanguinity in comparison with the *familia* of the agnates (paternal kin); *sodales* / *hetairoi* / *philoï* ("companions" and "friends") reflect a personal link that is cemented in the military sphere. Emblematic is the so-called *Lapis Satricanus*, which memorializes a dedication to Mars in the sanctuary of *Mater Matuta* at Satricum (southern Latium) by "*sodales* of Publius Valerius," perhaps the Publius Valerius Publicola who was first consul in Rome after the deposition of the kings (Fig. 35.1).¹⁸³²

The obligation of personal solidarity takes on special importance in funerary rituals when the group celebrates the memory of the deceased and affirms its own cohesion.

A significant context is the Tomba delle Iscrizioni Graffite ("Tomb of the Inscriptions") of Caere (Cerveteri) (third quarter of the sixth century). Inscriptions were engraved around the doorway to the main chamber on the occasion of the burial of the deceased *Larice Veliinas*, probably the father of *Thefarie Velianas*, who is called the "king of Caere" on the bilingual tablets from Temple B in Pyrgi (Fig. 35.2).¹⁸³³ The main inscription commemorates a funeral rite performed by his wife, while the others consist of men's names associated with members of a small group of friends connected with the deceased, who gathered on the occasion of the funeral.



Fig. 35.1: *Lapis Satricanus* (photo SAR-Laz)

The sources distinguish the *sodales* from the *clientes*, who were bound by a relationship of individual subordination, which is conveyed by means of a vocabulary that references the *familia*: in the Latin sources, the lord is the *patronus*, endowed with a “paternal” authority; in the Greek sources, the clients are “those who stay nearby” (*pelatai*) or “those of the house” (*oiketai*).

Their dependency is not connected with slave status. The sources insist on the possibility of clients owning property and on the relationship of mutual assistance that they and the lord were bound to offer each other. Their condition is illustrated in a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 9.5.4–5) that describes the army of the Etruscan *principes* marshaled at Veii against the Roman army in 479. The Etruscan nobles head contingents formed from dependents called *penestai* (the “poor”), the name assigned to Thessalian *servi* with semi-free status, bound to the land, but the analogy does not serve to mark slave status; instead, it emphasizes the lack of freedom of an army that—unlike the Roman army—consisted of noncitizens in the service of a limited ruling class. Dionysius actually describes the fear of the Romans facing enemies marked by “the luster of their arms,” able to fight with order and discipline, with the *homonoia* that distinguishes an army of hoplites.

Endowed with an intermediate status between liberty and dependence, the clients represent a resource that widens the range of and develops the capacity for operation of the *gens*: they increased its productive ability, primarily in the sphere of agricultural activity.

The primary source of the gentile economy lies in the possession of a broad agricultural territory for cultivation and stock-raising, over which, thanks to the mechanisms of hereditary succession, unitary control was imposed to avoid the fragmentation and consequent weakening of the property.

The availability of an extensive agrarian base promoted the availability of a surplus to be placed into circulation in crafts production and trade, from which the centrality assumed by the aristocracy in the management of trade and the acquisition of prestige goods and advanced technology by attracting specialized manpower.

“egalitarian regality” was the basis of mediation in the management of power, fostered on the concrete relationships of strength.

One of the cornerstones of the gentile ideology consisted of the construction of a genealogical tradition under the sign of a common ancestor that anchored the family in history and in its territory. Hence, the centrality assumed by the system of funerary observance of the death of the *princeps*, heroized as a founder.

In this process, the reception of Greek myth that permits the ruling group to appropriate functional models for the elaboration of a “language of power” shared with the other Mediterranean aristocracies assumes a remarkable importance.¹⁸³⁷ The most symptomatic example comprises the repurposing of the figure of Odysseus. In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, again dating back to the end of the eighth century, the hero figures as the father of Agrius and Latinus “who ruled over all the famous Tyrrhenians (*Tyrsenoi*)” and were conceived with Circe (lines 1011–16).¹⁸³⁸ The genealogical invention established the solidarity of blood between the Greek world, the Tyrrhenian West and Odysseus, who in the course of his travels crossed the borders of the world and entered into contact with distant peoples and became the Greek progenitor of the Etruscans (Fig. 35.3).



Hesiod's mention of the *Tyrsenoi* takes on greater significance when we recall that the ethnonym is already attested very early in Etruscan epigraphy in the form of the gentilic *Tursikina* recorded on a gold fibula dating around the middle of the seventh century.¹⁸³⁹

Two additional elements take on a new and marked ideological content in the funerary ritual. First, the representativeness assigned to the classes of children, the pivot of hereditary succession;¹⁸⁴⁰ second, the “invention” of the ancestor cult, which is connected to the origin of the earliest monumental statuary in Etruria, attested both on the funerary level (Tomb of the Statues at Ceri, Tomb of the Five Chairs at Caere, necropolis of Casale Marittimo, Tumulus of the Pietrera at Vetulonia) and in palace architecture (*regia* of Murlo) (Figs. 35.4., 45.7).

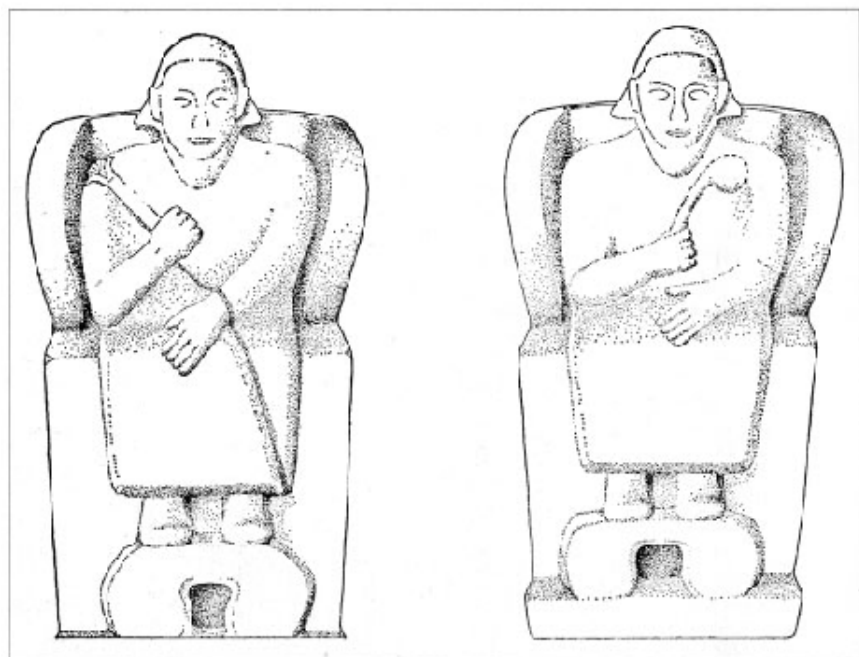
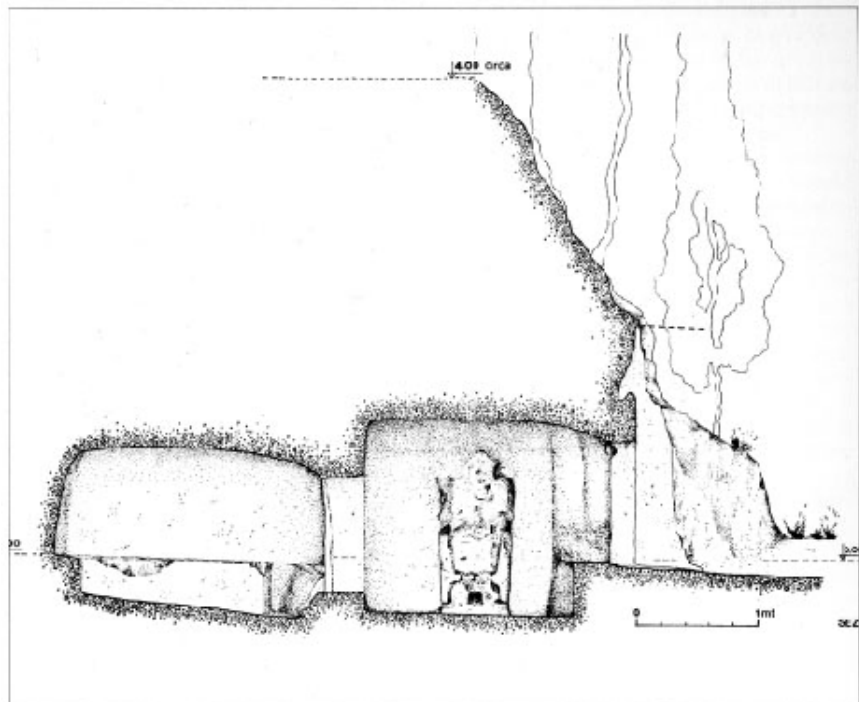


Fig. 35.4: Tomb of the Statues at Ceri (after *StEtr* 52, 1984, 20 and 34)

The need to provide a connection with the past is also manifest in the general sphere of religious practices, in the not uncommon cases where the

new sacred areas of the Orientalizing period were established in locations that had already been used in the Iron Age for cultic functions.¹⁸⁴¹



Fig. 35.5: *Tabula Capuana* (after Rasenna. *Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, edited by G. Pugliese Carratelli, Milan 1986, fig. 252)

The occurrence of overlapping strategies underlines how the gentile dynamic was an essential factor in the wider consolidation of the political community, although the fabric of *the gentes* did not integrate all the components of the population. At a much more recent chronological horizon, the coexistence of multiple levels of organization within the political

community is documented, for example, in the *Tabula Capuana* of the first half of the fifth century (Fig. 35.5), where familial and gentile groups are associated with the performance of ritual activities.¹⁸⁴²

2The formation of the cities

The development of gentile structures created the conditions for the development of the cities as a unitary socio-economic formation, in which the concentration of productive strengths triggered an elevated capacity for planning.¹⁸⁴³

At the turn from the eighth to the seventh century, the archaeological evidence shows a generalized process of urban aggregation and territorial reorganization, connected to the consolidation of a political authority able to impose wide-ranging unitary strategies.

A clear example is represented by Pontecagnano in southern Campania, where at the end of the eighth century the Iron Age necropolises are supplanted by new burial areas closer to the built-up areas.¹⁸⁴⁴ The cemeteries occupy lowland regions retrieved through large-scale reclamation activities that imply a high level of labor organization, involving specialized technical ability and refined methods and manpower.

The planning of new necropolis areas reappears in many centers in Etruria proper. The best-known example is at Tarquinia, where the urban necropolis is located on the plateau at Monterozzi, which during the Early Iron Age was occupied by a village. The new “final destination” demonstrates a severe discontinuity in land management and the property system imposed by the new settlement strategies.¹⁸⁴⁵

At the same time, in the built-up areas there emerge the earliest structures of a public nature. These set forth a plan for the sacred and political areas that maintain a significant functional continuity. At Tarquinia, in the sacred area at Pian di Civita, which was already in use in the proto-historical period, the *Edificio Beta* was erected in the first quarter of the seventh century, built of stone using a technique imported from Oriental workers: ultimately, it was probably connected with an inaugural ritual consisting of the dedication of a bronze shield, axe, and *lituus* trumpet.¹⁸⁴⁶

The building is the heart of a sacred complex relating to a goddess, which developed at the time and was, eventually, integrated into the urban fabric of the Archaic city.

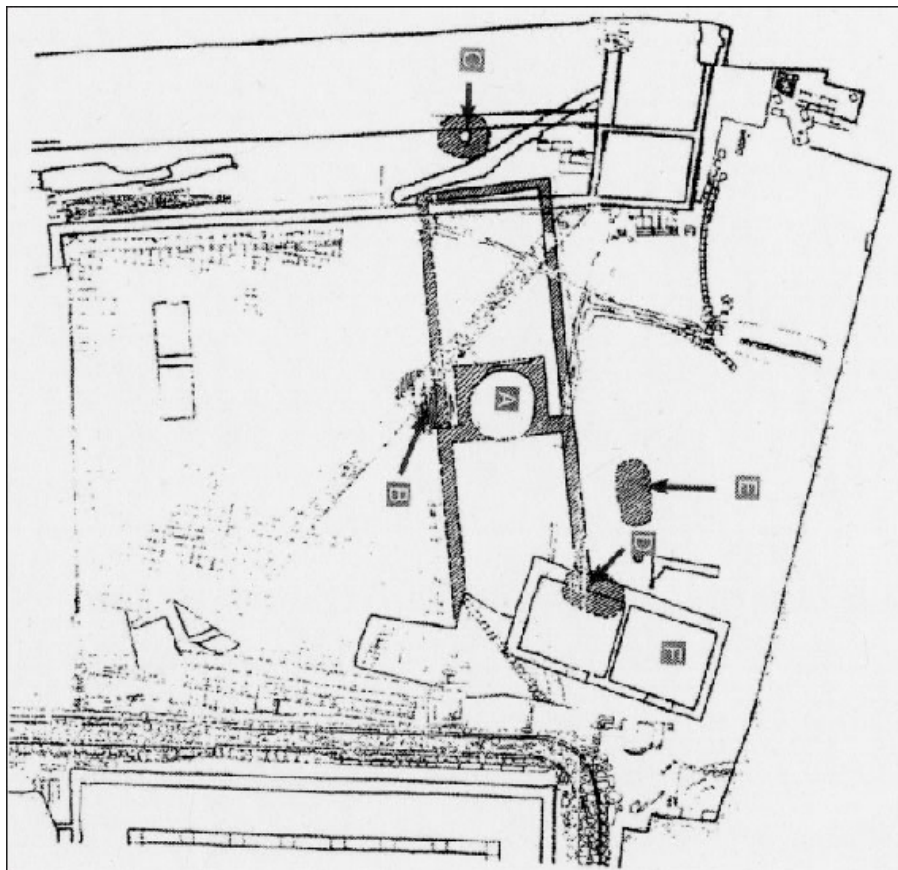


Fig. 35.6: The mudbrick house in Roselle (courtesy SAT)

At Roselle, in the area occupied in the Roman period by the Forum, in a neighborhood of huts a house of mud brick was built within an enclosure with a hearth and a large loom. The structure, which, as at Tarquinia, was built such that it would withstand the years, might be a sacred building or the residence of a chief (Fig. 35.6).

Its construction signals the onset of an exceptional continuity of function: at the end of the seventh century it was replaced by a two-room building that may have maintained the same function, and in the second half of the sixth century a temple was built in its immediate vicinity, clearly relating to a public space that in the Roman period was monumentalized by the Forum plaza.¹⁸⁴⁷ The Orientalizing house remained in the memory of the community: in the second half of the sixth century the area of the ancient forecourt received a votive deposit, which has yielded a dedication to the *aiser*, the “gods,” perhaps to be identified with the *Lares* of the city.¹⁸⁴⁸

In a similar vein, we see during the same period a move to the regular attendance of holy areas, that subsequently took on a monumental planning but that already in this period were intended for collective activities. This

phenomenon is documented, for example, in the sanctuary of the acropolis of Volterra or, in Campanian Etruria, in the sacred complex of Fondo Patturelli in Capua.¹⁸⁴⁹ At the beginning of the sixth century, a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo was founded at Pontecagnano on an older area of huts and pits, which had been in use from the end of the eighth century.

Already in its initial phase, the area was organized inside a plaza that constituted the oldest public space of the proto-urban center; it remained in use with the addition of the sanctuary, highlighting the power of suggestion exercised by the original planning.¹⁸⁵⁰

An equally significant aspect of the process of political formation consists of the beginning of permanent occupation of the vast territories that during the Iron Age fell into the ambit of the proto-urban centers.

The agricultural landscape was built up by means of the development of a network of “minor” settlements aimed at controlling strategic roads and resources. The exploitation of the countryside involved the organization of large gentile properties, marked by the tumuli distributed for a considerable distance from the city. The right of burial sanctioned the legitimate possession of land that would become that of the fathers and ancestors. The phenomenon emerges precociously in southern Etrurian centers like Caere and Tarquinia and is subsequently documented to a greater extent at Veii and Volterra in the second half of the seventh century, and at Chiusi and Cortona at the turn of the seventh to the sixth.

In the last of these, Tumulus II del Sodo deserves mention. It has a monumental altar meant for the funeral cult and a *sacellum* shrine at the top of the mound (Figs. 71.8.–71.9): the tomb of the lord is conceived as a sacred symbol marking the landscape.¹⁸⁵¹

From the end of the eighth century we see the formation of autonomous centers, reduced in size but provided with their own territory, which assured control of the areas farther from the urban centers. Thanks to this network, distant agricultural fields were acquired, the exploitation of mineral resources was developed more intensively, the network of long-distance connections was organized, and the control and protection of the waterways and coastal strips was established. The minor settlements depended on aristocratic families who were able to build monumental tumuli with attached cult areas (Tomba Cima near Barbarano, Grotta Porcina),¹⁸⁵² and create temples or residences similar to *regiae* (Castellina sul Marangone, Acquarossa, Poggio Buco), which served as expressions of a local power independent from the *gentes* of the main centers (Figs. 35.7.–35.8).¹⁸⁵³ These document the dynamism of the aristocratic groups ready to exploit the opportunities offered by a territory that was again opened, giving rise to a relationship between core urban center and minor settlements, which was not exhausted in a simple subordination.

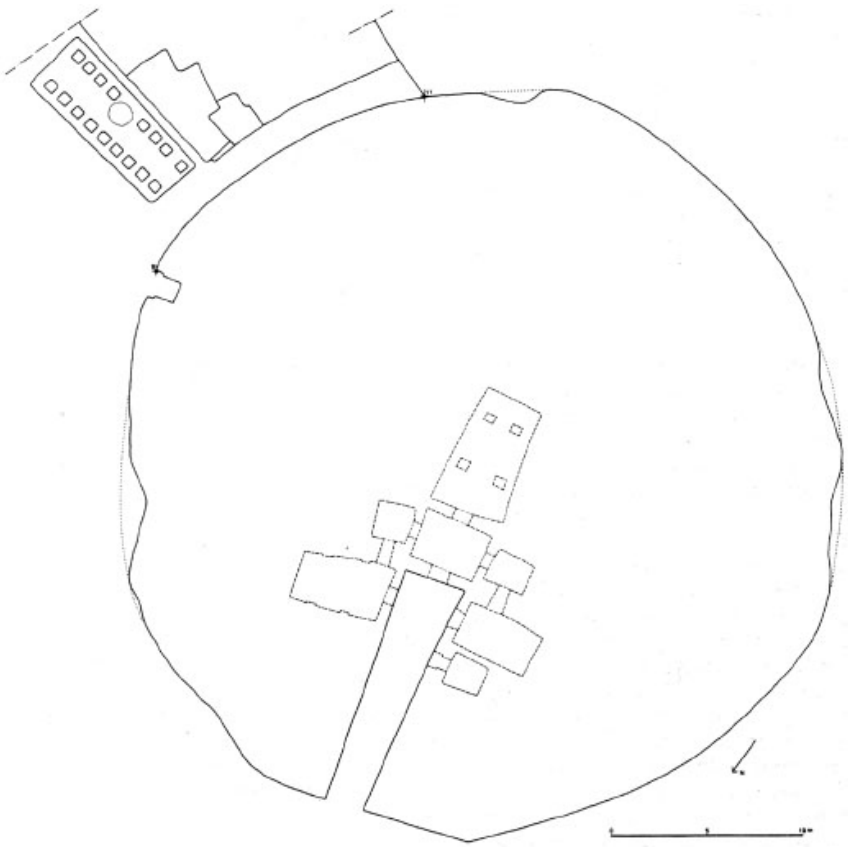


Fig. 35.7: Tomba Cima near Barbarano (after Naso 1996, fig. 91)

At the same time there emerged settlement realities linked to social components that cannot immediately be assigned to the ruling groups.

From this perspective, the necropolis of Tolle in Chiusine territory is of considerable interest. It has yielded more than 700 tombs dating to as far back as the first half of the seventh century. The data presently available document a community that, on the funerary level, does not express the same levels as the aristocratic peaks, but is able to display symbols of prestige like the arms, canopic vases, or the occasional *kyathoi* with gift inscriptions that demonstrate their participation in a circuit of privileged relations at least around the middle of the seventh century (Fig. 35.9).¹⁸⁵⁴

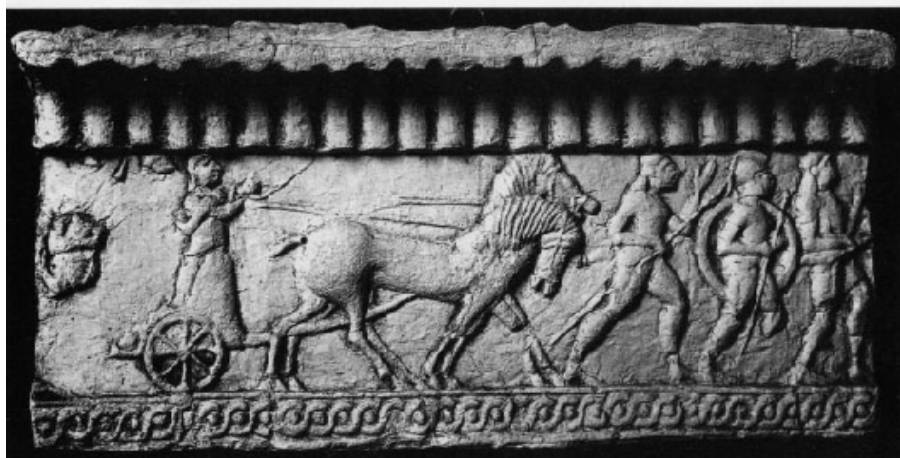


Fig. 35.8: Terracotta frieze from Poggio Buco (photo SAT)

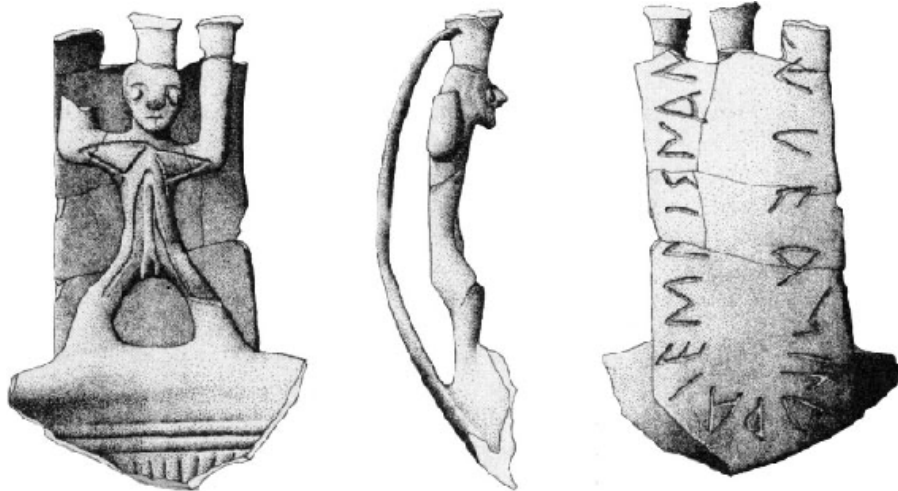


Fig. 35.9: Inscribed *kyathos* from the necropolis of Tolle (courtesy SAT)

We must, finally, note the contexts of Casalvecchio of Casale Marittimo, Castelnuovo Berardenga, and Murlo in northern Etruria. These were palatial residences created in the second half of the seventh century in an area without urban settlement, and can be attributed to small local dynasties that were founded as a means of establishing the possession of land and control of the roads between the coast and the interior.¹⁸⁵⁵

As shown especially by the example of Murlo, the palace represents the fulcrum of economic, political, and ceremonial activities of the group, where agricultural production flowed in, craftsmanship developed, and trade was carried out.

These complex responsibilities are documented by a series of *kyathoi* bearing gift formulas and ivory plaques that served as *tesserae hospitales*.¹⁸⁵⁶ The older evidence consists of *kyathoi* found at Casale Marittimo and Murlo: as in the case of Tolle, vases of the most refined ware, connected to wine offerings that, in the case of Murlo, had been given to the lord of the palace by a noble of Caere, to obtain permission for access and transit and to start trading. The *tesserae hospitales* found at Murlo are placed at the beginning of the sixth century and are produced by the palace, which controlled and guaranteed the management of traffic. On their backsides, they bear the names of the participants in the contract, and were kept by the interested parties to certify each other's identity. The documents still reflect an archaic system of economic relations, which, at least at the ideological level, continues to be integrated into the framework of personal relationships woven together by the lord.

3 Ethnicity, institutional forms, and magistracy

The archeological contexts provide evidence of the consolidation of an organization that involves the entire community and, as a consequence, of a political authority able to promote operational strategies over the *longue durée*. What form of government does this unitary power concretely represent?

The historical tradition goes back to the chronological horizon of Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius, between the end of the seventh and the middle of the sixth centuries. The picture of the Etruscan city is one provided with its own political situation (*politeia*) and guided by a king chosen from the ruling class of *principes/ dynatatoi*. The power of the king was issued by the aristocracy, and the supreme representative of the Federal League is defined by Livy (1.8.3) as the *communiter creatus rex*, taking the function of an elected magistrate. This reconstruction of the Etruscan system of government shares many similarities and is perhaps conditioned by comparisons with the framework of monarchic Rome, but the sources present the essential data of a political equilibrium, founded on the balance of power of the *gentes* that safeguarded their collective interests against the risk of the royal authority's abuse of power.

The gentile organization guarantees the stability of the institution, and therefore the functioning of a system in equilibrium, which allows for the control of resources and means of production, and assures the privilege of the ruling class. This implies a system of negotiations based on mutual controls and guarantees, in which the strength of collective identity is also consolidated, cemented in the participation in space, ceremony, and communal decisions.

The leading role of the aristocracy in the construction of the political landscape emerges archaeologically in the planning of monumental quarters like that of the Piazza d'Armi in Veii or Vigna Parrocchiale in Caere. The former, built around the middle of the seventh century, began as a real, self-sufficient citadel independent from the principal flatland of the Etruscan city. Its foundation is built around an Iron Age pit burial found within the dwelling, guarded within a "house of wood," to which has been attributed a function similar to that of a *heroon*.¹⁸⁵⁷ A temple was built at the end of the seventh century that was decorated with friezes depicting the parade of a leader on a cart with a procession of hoplites on horses or on foot (Fig. 35.10).



Fig. 35.10: Terracotta frieze from the Piazza d'Armi at Veii (photo SAR-Laz)

The Piazza d'Armi group marks, therefore, the real difference from the rest of the community, emphasizing a privileged relationship with the god, even physically approaching his residence. The same logic distinguishes the complex, which may be royal in character, of Vigna Parrocchiale in Caere which, at the turn from the seventh to the sixth centuries, was built in the heart of the old city near a sacred precinct dedicated to *Uni* (the Greek *Hera*).¹⁸⁵⁸ Still clearer is the case of the *regia* of Acquarossa, which dates to the third quarter of the sixth century. The palace is close enough to a temple structure that all but guarantees the preservation of the ruling family.

Essential evidence of the process of political structuring is represented by the texts relating to the institutional apparatus and the magistracy. This is a corpus that is neither broad nor homogeneous, but which agrees in focusing on certain essential evolutionary lines. We must begin with the term *rasna*, a word that is inseparable from the name *Rasenna*, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.30.3) attributes to the main eponym (*hegemon*) of the Etruscans “who are called the same as this.” *Rasna* represents the ethnonym of the Etruscans, but above all takes on a socio-institutional significance, evoking the community of free males according to a notion not dissimilar from that expressed by the Latin *populus*.¹⁸⁵⁹ The term designates

the ethnic group by way of a mechanism of “contrastive identity,” with which the community claims a full assertion of the self, distinguished from all the others that do not represent the “people,” who differ in language and territory. It is emblematic that in Latin the Etruscan Federal League is called the *duodecim populi*. The definition of the ethnic group could go back to a much earlier period in the process of formation of the Etruscans, but the notion of *rasna* was still functional in the historic period: the earliest attestation, effectively contemporaneous with the ethnonym reflected in the gentilic *turkisina* inscribed on the fibula from Castelluccio di Pienza, appears in an inscription found in a tomb at Pontecagnano of the mid seventh century (Tomb 3509), where it occurs in the archaic form *rasunie* (Fig. 73.7).¹⁸⁶⁰

The most important written source for the institutional lexicon of Etruscan is the *Liber Linteus* of Zagreb, a liturgical instruction manual connected to the calendar and to the places of cultic practice that dates to the first half of the second century.¹⁸⁶¹ The *Liber* includes a few terms that designate the city and the political community. Among them, *spura* designates “the public, urban, and territorial entity,” with a concept similar but not identical to the earlier notion of *rasna* and fairly comparable with the Greek notion of *polis*.¹⁸⁶²

In the Archaic period, the occurrence of the personal name *spurie* is interesting, which could have a meaning similar to that of the Latin *Publius*/*Publicius*: from “public” meaning “what pertains to the entirety of the cives.”

In addition to *spura*, of note are *methlum* and *cilth*. The former coincides with the concept of *urbs*, the city in its physical aspect, as opposed to the *spura*, which also covers the *ager*; in the latter, it has been suggested to recognize the acropolis (*arx*), but this hypothesis has not achieved unanimous acceptance.

Names of magistracies also appear in the texts: the noticeable differences between one center and another evidence the particularity of the institutional arrangements.¹⁸⁶³ The term *zilath* designates the supreme magistrate, invested with an authority comparable to that of the king and, at the same time, to that of the *praetores* who, upon the fall of the monarchy, represented the highest political and military position in Rome.

The title appears for the first time on Cippus II from Rubiera near Modena, a memorial stone inscribed at the end of the seventh century, belonging to a lady called *Kuvei Puleisnai*.¹⁸⁶⁴ The inscription mentions a person who “was *zilath* at *Misala*” (or at *Sala*, according to another suggestion), probably a military chief with magistral authority, perhaps in relation to the main center of Bologna. A key document for deepening the function of the office and its evolution is the bilingual text in Etruscan and Phoenician on the gold tablets from Pyrgi, which date to the end of the sixth century, in which is commemorated the dedication of Temple B by *Thefarie Velianas*. In the Phoenician version he is called “king of Caere,” to which in Etruscan corresponds the office called *zilac seleita*, which takes on a multi-year character: the title thus defines a supreme power identified in the Phoenician

text as royal, whose function seems to be clarified in the Etruscan version with the adjective *seleita* and the repeatable nature of the position. The *zilath seleita* of Caere is therefore supposed to be a supreme magistrate identifiable with the *praetor maximus* of Rome. In *Thefarie Velianas* it can be recognized as a tyrannical figure by the nature of the authority that is exercised, a role that is, nevertheless, sanctioned in the institutional framework of the political community.

The Archaic documents detail a stage in which the position of *zilath* has already assumed the magistral sense, as the authority of the king that shines through in the sources and, at the same time, like the tyrannical power exercised by Porsenna, who in the tradition figures as the king of Orvieto and Chiusi.¹⁸⁶⁵ The jurisdiction of the *zilath* turn out to be much more articulated in the later epigraphic documentation, which comes especially from Tarquinia, where the title can appear alone, indicating the highest magistrate, or is associated with terms relating to institutional articulation. From the end of the fifth century, the position of a *zilath*, which was perhaps a position for life, qualified with jurisdiction over the *rasna*, which is to say, it was placed over the entire people of the city (*zilath mechl rasnal* = *praetor rei publicae*). The annual magistrate, who was connected to the urban community, probably would have assumed the title *zilath spurana*, that is, relating to the *spura*.

It has, moreover, been proposed to identify the supreme representative of the Federal League “of the twelve peoples” as the *zilath cechaneri*, who was responsible “for the superior things.” The title is associated with a figure represented with the highest magistral insignia on the Tarquinian Tomb “del Convegno,” which dates to the early third century. (Colour plates 42–47).

4Urbanization: The “isonomic” city

At the beginning of the sixth century, a decisive transformation of the nature of settlements took place, in which the city-formation dynamics culminate that had begun at the end of the eighth. Dwellings were urbanized by means of functional planning that involved, among other things, the definition of public spaces—in particular sacred spaces—where the community was represented in a political identity that was wider than that of the *gens*.

The public *sacra* were separate from the cults of the *gentes* and spaces were reserved for them that marked the landscape of the city and of its territory. This process united Etruria with the more developed regions of ancient Italy, like Latium and Rome, Campania and Magna Graecia. Urbanization marked the interaction between communities with similar economic and social bases, which were founded on control by the aristocracy. The development of the city brought about an extensive system of public and private consumption, nourished both by a monumental urban texture that required continual

maintenance, and by the needs of a growing population, which was attracted by the opportunity for improved living conditions. There thus arose an expansion of demand and of the productive dynamics where artisanal activities and commerce acquire importance. This process favored the formation of new social forces: an urban aristocracy linked to portable wealth, and a broad subordinate stratum that furnished the labor—both simple manpower and a skilled workforce.

The achievement of a wider community than that of the *gens*, however, did not produce a citizen class of free men, and a limited number of people with full political rights continued to contrast with a more extended social body that remained excluded, while also being included within the renewed mechanisms of production. This brought about the conditions for social conflict, similar to that between patricians and plebeians in Rome, which culminated in the profound crisis of the fifth century.¹⁸⁶⁶ How is the reformed city manifested archaeologically? In many centers it is found in the planning of installations based on a regular street grid. Besides the case already mentioned of the Piazza d'Armi neighborhood in Veii, early examples are found in Campania, in Capua (Siepone quarter) and in Pompeii, whose construction was laid out in the first half of the sixth century. The phenomenon spread especially at the end of that century, through the adoption of grid planning *per strigas* from the colonial world of Magna Graecia.¹⁸⁶⁷ It was adopted over a broad territorial arc—in the Po Valley, at Spina, Forcello, and Marzabotto; in central Etruria at Prato-Gonfienti, on the Tyrrhenian coast at the harbor sites of Pyrgi, Regisvilla, and perhaps Gravisca and in the industrial center of Doganella in the valley of the Albegna; in Campania, at Fratte and Pontecagnano.¹⁸⁶⁸ The new planning was conceived as a founding act and was sometimes sealed with an inaugural ritual. The clearest example is Marzabotto. The urban planning has an astronomical orientation, crowned by the acropolis on which the *auguraculum* was established. The city received the name *kainua*, which means “new city,” on the same principle used in Campania for the Greek *Neapo-lis*.¹⁸⁶⁹ By regular planning, the urban community achieved an “isonomic” landscape, expressing the superiority of the collective norm over any particularism. The planning could be realized through meaningful solutions of continuity in the settlements. At the beginning of the fifth century the aristocratic quarters of the Piazza d'Armi in Veii and Vigna Parrocchiale in Caere ceased to exist. At Veii, the area of the Piazza d'Armi was abandoned; at Caere the Archaic-period complex was razed to the ground and upon it were erected a Tuscanic temple and a monumental elliptical construction, perhaps a building for assemblies like Greek *bouleuteria* or *comitium* at Rome.¹⁸⁷⁰ The functional discontinuity signals a breach of the political order comparable to the expropriation of the property of the Tarquins upon the fall of the monarchy in Rome, which led to the establishment of the *Campus Martius*.



Fig. 35.11: Orvieto: necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo (photo A. Naso)

The model of an “isonomic” community is also manifested in the funerary realm, which extols the harmony of the new urban elite. At the beginning of the sixth century at Caere and Orvieto there developed the standardized type of the “cubic tomb” (It. *tomba a dado*) a small rectangular chamber intended for a married couple, built above the ground and covered by a terrace designed to receive memorial stones. Tombs of the new type are included in their own funerary blocks, lining long roads that articulate the fabric of the necropolis. The best-known example is the Orvieto necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo, built with its own structure *per strigas*. On their entrance doors, the tombs bear the names of the owners, identified by the binomial formula that by then marked the status of a free man; the names reflect a composite population that includes elements of both Italic and Greek origin (Fig. 35.11).

On a regional scale, similar dynamics of inclusion reveal the reorganization of the onomastic system in which, at the turn of the seventh to the sixth century, new gentilics appeared based on individual names, relating to elements of more recent political integration. The traditional gentilic names, formed from patronymic adjectives, are then declined in the genitive, to mark the onomastic patrimony of the more consolidated aristocracy.¹⁸⁷¹

5Agrarian landscape, production, commerce

The consolidation of the urban institution can be clearly demonstrated by looking at the organization of the agrarian landscape, a target in the Archaic period of intensive exploitation that documents a real process of internal colonization.¹⁸⁷² The urbanization of a growing population required an increased food supply and sharpened the need for arable land, which was satisfied by widening control over the countryside and improving agricultural technique. The availability of arable land was a prime reason for the flourishing of Orvieto, which was linked to the exploitation of the fertile valley of the Paglia. According to the sources, the city provided grain for Rome during the repeated famines that afflicted the City through the fifth century.¹⁸⁷³

The cities expanded their control at the expense of the settlements that had previously arisen in their orbit. This involved the destruction of the “minor” centers, as happened in the case of Acquarossa, probably by Tarquinia; of Poggio Buco, by Vulci; and of the residences of Casalvecchio and Murlo, whose territories were absorbed by Volterra and by Chiusi or Roselle.

The Late Archaic organization of the agrarian space documents the existence of extensive drainage systems and reclamation work, such as tunnels, canals, and ditches. Such extensive reshaping of the land happened via the network of underground tunnels that reclaimed the Pontine plain and the territories of Veii and Caere, and via the system of canalization of the wetlands in the hinterland of Adria in the last decades of the sixth century.¹⁸⁷⁴ At Adria, Pontecagnano, and Prato-Gonfienti, the division of the land is contemporary with the urban planning, to underline the unitary character of the process of political reorganization.¹⁸⁷⁵ The organization of the countryside favored the development of a specialized culture based on a stable network of small villages and farms that supported a diffuse and widespread population. At Veii, a land occupation has come to light based on farms directly dependent on the urban center. At Caere, the agricultural exploitation is articulated in the form of small neighboring farms, larger complexes that also had residential areas, and more extended settlements related to the territory and to the coastal strip. The construction of the agrarian space produced the formation of a class of small landowners or assignees, whose political status and degree of autonomy or dependency are difficult to specify. Nonetheless, the ownership of land consolidated an intermediate social stratum, included in the ancient sources in the category of *servi*, which became a component that was inevitably antagonistic within the urban population, as happened with the plebeians in Rome.

The emergence of an intermediate component, an alternative to the traditional aristocracy, is also connected with the surge in quality that arose in productive activity and in the exchange system. The growing needs of the urban community caused an increase in public and private demand, and

therefore an increase in production. The improvement of the system led to the production of a surplus that fed maritime commerce, with Etruscan goods the object of extensive export to southern Gaul, Sardinia and Sicily, and eventually Carthage.¹⁸⁷⁶

Trade between that mighty African city and Rome and its allies (probably including Caere) was regulated beginning in 509 by a treaty quoted by Polybius (3.22–23), which established the limits of navigation, landing, and trade by any of the contracting parties. The Carthaginians claimed Sardinia and part of Sicily, and the Romans claimed control of the territory of Latium and, in particular, of the centers on the coast as far as Circe's promontory.¹⁸⁷⁷ On the Tyrrhenian coast, the trade network relied on a system of harbors and minor slips that dot the landscape as far as north to Pisa at the mouth of the Arno. The landings outline a small-scale route along which Greek vessels and goods traveled, heading for the Phocian city of Marseille.¹⁸⁷⁸ On the Adriatic coast, the main ports were at Adria and Spina, with the first one frequented early by the Greeks; they were the ends either of a route that joined Greece to Padanian Etruria or of a long-distance route to and from central Europe. The urban authority controlled exchange, reserving for this function real *emporion* near the ports. The exchanges were located under the protection of sanctuaries within a friendly environment under divine protection. The context that has provided the most information is the sanctuary of Gravisca, in which an exceptional series of dedications in Greek allow for the identification of the merchants' origin. They initially came from eastern Greece, and after the Persian conquest of Ionia and Egypt, an Aeginan component emerged at the end of the sixth century, documented by the dedication to Apollo by Sostratos, identifiable as a merchant celebrated by Herodotus (4.152) for his wealth and incomparable ability (Fig. 35.12).¹⁸⁷⁹



Fig. 35.12: Dedication by Sostratos from Gravisca (photo SAR-Laz)

6The crisis

The intense development of the Archaic Etruscan cities triggered elements of internal contradiction that eventually led the system to crisis. The consolidation of the urban institutions and productive and commercial activity was not accompanied by the sort of political reforms that in Rome and Magna Graecia led, not without limits and ambiguities, to the assertion of an autonomous class of free citizens. To contain the development of new, potentially antagonistic social components, the ruling classes carried out a

rigid policy to depress the productive activity on which urban consumption was sustained. This triggered a crisis both of public commission and of the agrarian population, where a class of small free landowners was not consolidated and a peopling based on control of the great aristocratic families recovered vigor.¹⁸⁸⁰

The conflict over land was not exclusive to Etruscan society, but concerns the system of oligarchic cities of ancient Italy. It suffices to mention the struggle between patricians and plebeians in Rome, which was overcome only with the distribution of the *ager* of Veii after the conquest of the Etruscan city in 396. The unsuccessful construction of a political community weakened the renewal of the social body and the capacity for resistance against external adversaries: a weakness that proved fatal at the moment of the clash with Rome.

Already from the middle of the fifth century, the crisis had manifested in southern Tyrrhenian Etruria, Latium and Campania, and was aggravated by the defeat in the naval battle of Cuma in 474. By the end of the fifth century, it had completely overwhelmed the Etruscan world, which was incapable of resisting the pressure of the Italic population that was poised on the edge of its territory, and would soon gain possession of the fertile agrarian plain. At the beginning of the fifth century, the Volsci occupied the Pontine plain at the same time as the Samnites settled the Sarno Valley and the plain of Nola. According to the literary sources in 438 on the plain of Volturno was formed the people of Campani, who shortly afterward conquered Capua and Cuma. At the end of the century, the Gauls invaded the Po Valley, only to flood as far south as Rome, sacking it in 390. So rapid a conquest depended—other than on the weakened internal political cohesion—on a concentration of land ownership that favored the *latifundium* (large estates). The Gauls, who were about to attack Chiusi, demanded the right to seize the land from the owners “which they possess to a greater extent than they can cultivate” (Livy 5.36).

The rigid closing of the social structure condemned a political system that did not know how to free itself from the *principes* and continued to sustain itself on the Archaic opposition between *domini* and *servi*. The end came at Orvieto, in the slave revolt that overwhelmed the city in 265–264 (Zonar. 8.7.4–8; Flor. 1.16; Val. Max. 9.1 *ext.* 2; Oros. 4.5.3–5). The local aristocracy appealed to Rome for aid to defend against the *servi* or *oiketai*, according to the Latin or Greek sources, who—already managing the military service and the administration—demanded rights that had been acquired by the plebeians in Rome at least a century earlier, including marriage with patrician women and access to public office. The request for intervention provoked the military conquest by Rome and the destruction of the city and the federal sanctuary of the *fanum Voltumnae*. This signaled the conclusion of political autonomy of the Etruscan world—the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus triumphantly bore off the colossal booty of 2000 bronze statues from the sacked sanctuary.

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Laurent Haumesser

36Hellenism in Central Italy

Abstract: The arrival of Hellenistic culture in central Italy during the last decades of the fourth century and the beginning of the third was a major phenomenon. The new craft and artistic language developed in Macedonia and in the various regions of the Hellenistic Mediterranean was very broadly welcomed by the Etruscan, as well as Italic and Roman, elites, who made considerable use of it in their enterprises of self-representation, along the way establishing a cultural *koine*. The proliferation of aristocratic monuments (honorific statues and portraits, painted and carved tombs) and more ordinary items exhibits the very wide diffusion of a repertoire borrowed from the Hellenistic courts. These iconographic and stylistic innovations were accompanied by a deep-seated renewal of cultural frameworks and religious and ideological references, which with the Roman conquest of the peninsula made its lasting mark on ancient Italy.

Keywords: Hellenism, painting, portrait, Rome

Introduction

The years between the mid fourth and mid third centuries BCE constituted a decisive period in the history of the Italian peninsula, especially of central Italy.¹⁸⁸¹ First of all, it was in these years that Rome definitively gained the upper hand over the great cities of southern Etruria and began to incorporate the Etruscan world into its nascent empire.¹⁸⁸² The fourth century, which had opened with the taking of Veii, the first Etruscan city conquered by the Romans, in 396, was marked by a seesawing of violent conflicts and precarious truces, which persisted all the way into the first decades of the next century. In the third century, Rome achieved the definitive surrender of the principal Etruscan cities and the establishment of Roman colonies on their territories. Etruria was not the only region of Italy to be progressively conquered by Rome; after a matching movement to the south in the last decades of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, Rome established its stranglehold on Latium and Campania and seized Taranto in 272.

But besides being a period of political conflict and military confrontation, these decades, corresponding to what has come to be called the end of the Classical era and the beginning of the Hellenistic age, were marked by a profound cultural renewal in the forms of language, religion, political institutions as well as the representational arts. Above all, this cultural renewal reached the various regions of Italy and appears to have been widely shared even by adversaries, including the new Roman power and the various

cities in the north and south of the peninsula, which attempted to defy Rome's power or had already succumbed to it. In this sense, the Roman conquest merely confirmed and reinforced a cultural unity that had already essentially been accomplished, borne above all by the various local elites: whether Etruscan, Roman, or Italic, they are characterized by profound Hellenization, visible in the ideological frameworks to which they adhered just as much as in their material and representational culture.

1The origins of Hellenism

Thus, while the study of the Etruscan cities in this period must, to a considerable extent, take into account the cultural situation in the rest of Italy, especially Rome, it must also be extended to the rest of the Mediterranean. The renewal affecting the peninsula found its source in the Greek world of the middle decades of the fourth century, and particularly in Macedonia.

Philip II, who ruled from 359 to 336, basically made this kingdom north of Greece the leading power of the Greek world, politically supplanting great cities like Athens, which was defeated in 338 in the battle of Chaeronea. The Macedonian court, to which Philip attracted the greatest artists of the era, also became a fertile center for the creation of art and of craft, as has been shown by the many archaeological discoveries of recent decades.¹⁸⁸³ The palaces and the princely necropolises of Macedonia have yielded works that have considerably altered our understanding of Greek art of this period and have provided a better understanding of the origins of Hellenistic culture. This is especially true for painting, where the decoration of the royal tombs (beginning with that of Philip II himself; [Fig. 36.1](#)) allows us to assess its extraordinary refinement.¹⁸⁸⁴ It is also true for the luxury crafts, whose richness is illustrated by the development of objects in gold and ivory, which provide a foretaste of the splendors to come in the Hellenistic courts.

This exceptional cultural plenitude, which is actually part of a more general movement for renewal of the Greek artistic language, was to find its finest ambassador in the person of Alexander the Great. Succeeding to the throne after the assassination of his father Philip II in 336, Alexander overturned the Mediterranean world in thirteen years by his policy of conquest. His victories over the king of Persia, Darius, at Issos in 333 opened the gates of the Orient to him; he led his troops to Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the banks of the Indus. In the process he created an immense kingdom, which stretched the boundaries of the Greek world. After the death of Alexander in Babylon in 323—conventionally taken as the beginning of the Hellenistic age—this territory was ripped into several kingdoms, headed by his lieutenants and successors (the Diadochi). That is how the great dynastic kingdoms were gradually created beginning at the end of the fourth century and in the first

decades of the third: the Macedonia of the Antigonides, Ptolemaic Egypt, the Seleucid kingdom in Asia Minor, and the kingdom of Pergamum of the Attalids.



Fig. 36.1: Vergina, tomb of Philip II, taken from the decoration of the facade (after Andronicos 1984, 101)

These kingdoms were to make a lasting mark on the political and cultural physiognomy of the Mediterranean world. The Roman conquest began in the second century, but was not completed until 31 BCE with the victory of Octavian (the future Augustus) over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, which marked both the conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt and the end of the Hellenistic age. Up until it began, and even after, these kingdoms contributed to the reinforcement of the Hellenization of the Mediterranean brought about by Alexander. Above and beyond their political rivalries, they also contributed to the creation of a commonality of cultural benchmarks (beginning with the Greek language) and trends in crafts and art, a cultural and artistic *koine*,

which is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Mediterranean world of the time.

To a great extent, the power of this *koine* is explained by the place granted to the culture in the various centers, each of which attempted in its own way to claim and retrieve the cultural heritage of the Greek world, which so far had been embodied by the great cities like Athens. This is how the founding of the Museum and the great library of Alexandria by Ptolemy II, one of the principal achievements of the beginning of the Hellenistic age, must be understood. It was soon followed by the establishment of another great library at Pergamum, which was meant to compete with its great model in Alexandria. These great institutions of learning constitute one of the most characteristic and fruitful aspects of the Hellenistic age, which would provide the model for comparable organizations in imperial Rome and beyond, down to the present day. Concern for scholarship, the gathering of knowledge, and scientific research (from geography to medicine), which are at the heart of the Alexandrian enterprise, were equally signal characteristics of the new Hellenistic culture, and they meet in the field of art.

Hellenistic art is in fact an exceptionally intellectual, virtuoso, and eclectic art, which owes a great deal to the movement of artists and craftsmen among the various centers of the Hellenized Mediterranean and to their ability to adopt and refashion the various models available to them. It is also an intellectual art to the extent that artistic activity was accompanied by theoretical reflection about artistic activity, and that the new modes of representation, such as (in the area of painting) a new use of color and optical effects, are echoed in contemporary scientific research on the mechanisms of perception. The theoretical work likewise sustained the development of legitimate art criticism, which was endowed with its own technical vocabulary, and which classified the previous periods and artists and codified style and technique. The Hellenistic history of art created in this way is scarcely known to us except indirectly, through the Roman authors, especially Pliny the Elder, who were steeped in it,¹⁸⁸⁵ but it was to have an immense influence on the modern perception of ancient art, especially Hellenistic art.

2The reception of Hellenistic culture in Italy

The Hellenistic *koine*, which was largely responsible for the unity of a multipolar world, does not mean complete uniformity. The various centers, especially the capitals of the different kingdoms, preserved and developed obvious distinctions, notably linked to the prior existence of a strong local cultural identity. It suffices to cite the example of Ptolemaic Egypt, where the dynasty recuperated and adapted the Pharaonic heritage. It was no longer a question of the absolute Hellenization of the populations of these kingdoms;

especially at the beginning of the Hellenistic age, the new culture is primarily the work of the native and Greek elite of the capitals and major cities and diffused only fitfully among the autochthonous populations. It was no different in the non-Greek centers of the Mediterranean world, which also participated, to varying degrees, in the *koine*. Whether in Thrace, Punic North Africa, or Roman and Etruscan Italy, the impact of the new Hellenistic culture and the forms it took naturally depended on the receptivity of local societies and the filtering performed by the traditional framework for representation.

As for central Italy and Etruria in particular, the penetration of Hellenistic culture was undoubtedly greatly favored by the venerable and profound Hellenization of the local elites. This precocious Hellenization was largely due to the contacts maintained since the Orientalizing period with Greece itself, but also to the outposts of Greek culture in the peninsula represented by the colonies in southern Italy and Sicily. In the period of our concern, the role of Magna Graecia and Sicily did not cease. Major cities, beginning with Taranto, were one of the principal actors in the new Hellenistic culture, which they adopted fully and in the reworking of which they also participated. The presence of an artist as important as Lysippus at Taranto at the end of the fourth century suffices to show how much Magna Graecia was a leader of the innovations of the period. The ability of the Greek cities of southern Italy to appropriate and redistribute this Hellenistic culture constitute a decisive factor in understanding the transformations at work in central Italy.¹⁸⁸⁶ A good number of the major characteristics of the Hellenistic culture of the Latin and Etruscan cities were conveyed through and elaborated upon by Magna Graecia: not only the elements of a new figural language, but also some of the ways of thought and ideological concepts that underlie these new representations.

Even though other paths of transmission obviously existed, it was via southern Italy—whether by the spread of craft products or by traveling craftsmen—that the new compositional schemata and the technological and stylistic innovations were able to reach central Italy.¹⁸⁸⁷ This could be a way of explaining the early presence in the Tyrrhenian world of a certain number of basic elements of an early Hellenistic language. Of particular note are certain characteristics of the grand princely tombs of Macedonia, which were discovered in recent decades, that constitute the decisive monuments for understanding the alterations in artistic work between the end of the Classical period and the High Hellenistic. From the turn of the third century, it is significant to find—both at Naples (hypogeum of the Cristallini: [Fig. 36.2](#))¹⁸⁸⁸ and Caere (tomb of the Charons of Greppe Sant'Angelo)—the use of the previously unknown vaulted funerary chamber, a characteristic of Macedonian tombs. So also for sculpture, especially the great exterior adornments of the tombs of Caere, Tarquinia, or Vulci, which in both structure and style depend on models from Magna Graecia, notably the sculpted decorations of the necropolises of Taranto.¹⁸⁸⁹ The decoration of the

sanctuaries also testifies to the penetration of new stylistic formulas and their wide diffusion in the different cultural areas of central Italy. Among the most striking examples is thus the architectural ornamentation of the sanctuary of Scasato at Falerii in the Faliscan region, some of whose elements find very clear parallels in Latium, at Antemnae, and at Rome itself, which can be attributed to related, if not identical, workshops that also assimilated Tarantine influence.¹⁸⁹⁰



Fig. 36.2: Naples, hypogeum of the Cristallini (after Baldassarre 1998, pl. 2)

While the reception of Hellenistic culture in central Italy was considerably eased and influenced by cities and towns in Magna Graecia, particularly Taranto, it was also conditioned by the diversity of local situations. Each city and region evolved its own reactions to the new stylistic, iconographic, and cultural models. Like many other major centers of central Italy, the closeness of the links maintained with neighboring centers did not prevent the development of and demand for products of their own. The decorations of the sanctuaries of Falerii, show not only the importance and originality of the Faliscan terracotta workshops, but also the echoes they evoked in the Latin sanctuaries. Faliscan culture, whose links with southern Italy were old (as attested notably by the development of red-figure pottery in the fourth century), appears as an important conduit for Greek artistic languages to central Italy.

Likewise, in Latium, alongside the great center of Hellenism that Rome had become by this time, other cities asserted themselves as major centers of reception and retransmission of Greek models. This was especially so in Praeneste (Pal-estrina), where the production of bronzes provides a very clear indication of the diffusion of Hellenism in central Italy. For instance, bronze strigils were produced at Praeneste, objects that reflect the adoption of Greek practices, and which significantly bear craftsmen's marks in Greek.¹⁸⁹¹ The very wide spread of these items in central Italy (notably in Etruria and Picenum), either by traveling salesmen or by peripatetic craftsmen, demonstrates the role played by Praeneste and its craftsmen in the Hellenization of central Italy between the fourth and third centuries. This role is confirmed by the discovery in Etruria and Picenum of several rare bronze *cistae*, a typical product of Praeneste. The diffusion of these personal objects, which constituted marriage gifts and bear rich figural decoration, bring to light the phenomenon of family alliances and of traveling craftsmen from one region to another of Hellenistic Italy.¹⁸⁹²

3A case study: Hellenistic painting

One of the most striking aspects of the fate of Hellenistic culture in Italy was the adoption by local craftsmen of a new artistic language. The diffusion of stylistic innovations, which above and beyond the diversity of materials and iconographies constitutes one of the bases of the Hellenistic *koine* in the Mediterranean, is visible at various levels in most craft products of the age. But it is in painting that the range of innovations and the role played by Magna Graecia in their spread to Etruscan, Roman, and Italic artistic practice is best perceived. As shown by archaeological evidence, which largely agrees on this point with the ancient texts, pictorial art in the Greek world—like sculpture—played a driving role in the definition of a new figural culture.¹⁸⁹³

It is even more difficult to estimate the true nature of the original works than it is for sculpture, because most are lost, attested primarily only in Macedonian funerary painting. The variety of styles and patterns of composition employed in these royal handicrafts corresponds to the coexistence of a variety of competing workshops at the court of Philip II and then of Alexander.¹⁸⁹⁴ Although these workshops cannot always be directly related to the great painters' names that have been preserved in the written sources, they do reveal the extent of the innovations that began to develop at the end of the Classical period and that spread throughout the Hellenistic world, especially in Magna Graecia and, by way of the latter, through central Italy, where their echoes would be felt all the way down to the modern age.¹⁸⁹⁵

Unfortunately, the loss of the important civil and religious ornamentation, which is well attested by the textual sources especially in Rome, deprives us of the important creations of the time. We would love to know how the Roman temple of Salus was adorned by Fabius Pictor in 303, which was still Classically inspired if we trust the laudatory judgment of the Greek Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 16.3.6). Echoes of the great painting do, however, exist in the Roman and Italic world, which has preserved for us two of the most beautiful “derivative” works of Greek painting. One of them is the Ficoroni *cista*, which belongs to a class of objects made in the Latin city of Praeneste, but in this case was created in Rome itself, as shown by the signature of the craftsman, in Old Latin¹⁸⁹⁶ (*Dindia Macolnia fileai dedit, Novios Plautios med Romai fecid*—the Classical equivalent is *Dindia Macolnia filiae dedit, Novius Plautius me Romae fecit*). The decoration, illustrating the quest of the Argonauts (Fig. 36.3), reflects pictorial models—perhaps a specific presentation of grand themes that was famous in its day—once again largely Classical in inspiration, and shows the high degree of artistic intelligence on the part of those who commissioned the object as much as of the artist himself. The presence of the signature, which provides not only the name of the craftsman (*Novius Plautius*) but also the place of production, is a very clear indication of the status earned by these craftsmen in Rome and Latium in the mid fourth century.¹⁸⁹⁷ The second work to be mentioned, although it is later, is the Alexander mosaic, the centerpiece of the decoration of the very elegant House of the Faun, a Pompeian residence, the dimensions—and to a lesser extent the decor—of which belongs with the Macedonian palaces. In the second century BCE, the Samnite owner of the house made the choice to highlight a copy of a great pictorial composition from the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, an eloquent testimony to the pervasiveness and lasting prestige of the models of the new representational culture in the heritage of the Italic populations.¹⁸⁹⁸

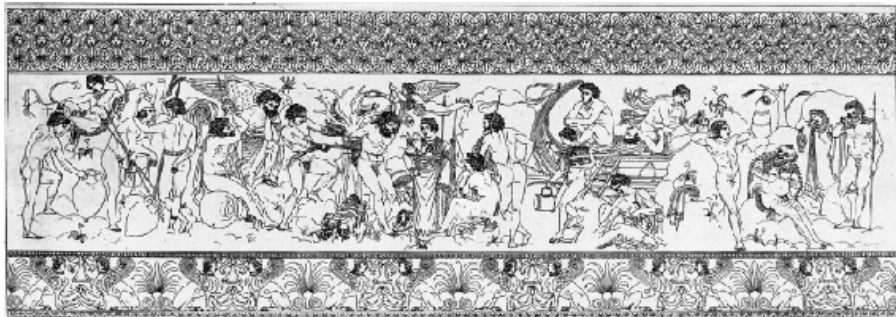


Fig. 36.3: Ficoroni cista, taken from the decoration engraved on the walls (after Bordenache Battaglia and Emiliozzi 1990, pl. 302)

The actual pictorial materials, even though they often belong to minor genres or objects, are rich in information on the introduction into central Italy's craftsmanship of the new Hellenistic techniques of painting. Thus, the reorganization of the palette, especially a pronounced preference for colored backgrounds—in particular midnight blue and pink—appears clearly on the Sarcophagus of the Amazons, a characteristic item from the end of the fourth century, discovered at Tarquinia, whose links with the art of Magna Graecia, Taranto in particular, have recently been revealed.¹⁸⁹⁹ This painting on stone, of which a whole series of examples from the beginning of the third century are known in southern Italy,¹⁹⁰⁰ very clearly illustrates the new role color played in Hellenistic painting. One of the most characteristic items are the *pocola deorum*, vases made in Rome that depend to a great extent on the new cults introduced to the *Urbs* in this period.¹⁹⁰¹ These vases, whose Latin inscriptions call them *pocolom* and associate them with gods, bear overpainted decorations usually of a humble subject but realized with luminous touches of color (mostly white, but also yellow or red) that jump out of the black glaze background. Influenced by produced in southern Italy ceramics with overpainted decoration, perhaps through the arrival of craftsmen from Magna Graecia, this technique reveals the development within Roman craftsmanship of new techniques of contemporary painting, just as they are found in the same period in the work in the Tomb of the Garlands of Tarquinia as well as in the tombs of Macedonia, Alexandria, and southern Italy.¹⁹⁰²

4The circulation of iconographic models

Among the *pocola* one very important example stands out, both for its size and for its subject. This is a dish from Capena bearing the image of a combat elephant ridden by armed warriors and followed by a calf (Fig. 36.4). We know of other copies of this *pocolom*, found in Etruscan contexts, which like

most *pocola*, testify to the intensity of trade between Rome and the Etrurian cities in the first decades of the third century. The iconography reflects the introduction of the elephant into Hellenistic armies. The motive has sometimes been related to the campaign of Pyrrhus in southern Italy. It is in any case a typically Hellenistic composition, which demonstrates the arrival in the Roman workshops of sketches that were moreover very widely known. It is significant in this connection to find the same image at the other end of the Mediterranean, on silver Bactrian *phalerae* that, although later, probably go back to the same model.¹⁹⁰³

This very broad and very rapid circulation of iconographic models is a major characteristic of Hellenistic culture. The ability to adapt compositional sketches and this game of switching from one technique to another demonstrates the virtuosity of the Italian craftsmen, which characterized Hellenistic art from the beginning. From the ornamentation of the facade of the Tomb of Judgment in Lefkadia, where the metopes bear painted decoration simulating a relief and the reliefs of the frieze give a pictorial impression, this is easy to see.¹⁹⁰⁴ Similarly, the development of the mosaic—greatly refined at the end of the fourth century, based on archaeological evidence from the Macedonian houses of Pella—appears closely linked to the new pictorial models of the age, which became transposed to tapestries of the floor, made of pebbles, and also for some details of bits of terra-cotta or lead.¹⁹⁰⁵ Thus we see iconographic systems borrowed from major artists of the age laid down on different surfaces using varied techniques that attest to the investigations and innovations of the craftsmen of the age. This is the case, as we have seen, of the paintings imitated on the Ficoroni *cista* and in the Alexander mosaic; it may also be the case of the elephant motif of the *pocola*, which we might be tempted to relate to one of the panels by Apelles on Alexander's funerary carriage.¹⁹⁰⁶



Fig. 36.4: *Pocolom* (after Bianchi Bandinelli 1969, fig. 28)

The great painted cycles on the gentilic tombs of southern Etruria that are emblematic monuments of the development of painting in central Italy at the end of the Classical period and the very beginning of the Hellenistic age also provide a fairly precise idea of the abilities of the Italian craftsmen to assimilate and reuse contemporary systems of representation, which from then on were party to a shared figural culture. Thus the scene of the sacrifice of Trojan prisoners, depicted in the François Tomb, is simply the most successful version of an especially popular series—painted, engraved, or sculpted—created in the major centers of Italy: 1907 an Apulian krater, a Praenestine *cista*, a Faliscan *stamnos*, Etruscan stone sarcophagi and urns. More than seeking a hypothetical prototype (an *Urbild* that has most often, significantly, been situated in Magna Graecia), here we will be sensitive to the way in which the icono-graphic systems circulated among the various workshops of Italy and were readjusted by the craftsmen according to context and commission. 1908 The secondary decoration of the François Tomb allows this finding to be extended to the level of the decorative language, which in the Hellenistic age took on a new importance. This refers to friezes of animals in combat, one of the most common elements of the repertoire of the age, which simultaneously

appears in the form of reliefs on the walls of the Mercareccia tomb in Tarquinia. The motif was no doubt taken from the decoration of southern Italic fine furniture, notably on the gilded terra-cotta appliqués from Taranto, though it would have been found throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, on all sorts of surfaces.

5 Celebrating the aristocrat: The portrait

The Hellenization of central Italy, observable as we have seen in the appropriation of an artistic language developed in Greece or southern Italy, is equally characterized by a profound reworking of the frameworks of representation. Since Hellenistic culture is first and foremost a court art, which found fertile soil in the various capitals of the Hellenistic kingdoms, from the start it developed innovative ways of celebrating new Mediterranean dynasts, beginning with the art of the portrait. Alexander the Great's decision, reported by the ancient sources, to entrust his portraits exclusively to Apelles for painting, to Lysippus for sculpture, and to Pyrgoteles for gems,¹⁹⁰⁹ reveals the importance the sovereign attached to the reproduction of his image and to its diffusion. By being inspired by Alexander's model and by creating models of their own, Alexander's successors set up a repertoire of types and forms on which the elite and— gradually—the subordinate classes of the various regions of the Hellenistic Mediterranean could draw to ensure their own self-aggrandizement.

The Italian elite, whose resurgence is visible in the second half of the fourth century and the first decades of the third, would therein find one of the essential vectors of the affirmation of their identity and power. The development of the “Etrusco-Italic” portrait, one of the most original features of the representational culture of central Italy at the time, thus appears closely linked to the diffusion of the models at the beginning of the Hellenistic age.¹⁹¹⁰ It was first of all a public phenomenon: as with the dedication of temples, at the turn of the third century, the development of honorific statues celebrating the victorious generals became one of the chief elements of religious expression (connected above all to an ideology of victory that found its roots in the Hellenistic world) and of Roman political life as well. This ostentatious behavior was also shared by Etruscan aristocrats, as shown by several rare examples of bronze heads (no doubt some of which are the mere surviving remnants of life-sized statues), especially the head from Fiesole, now in the Louvre.¹⁹¹¹ Extensions of these practices into Italic regions are also found, as shown by the bronze head from San Giovanni Lipioni (Fig. 36.5) discovered in Samnium, whose disputed attribution (to a Roman or a Samnite general) indicates the commonality of language between the sides of central Italy.¹⁹¹² It should also be noted that the currency of the portrait is

equally demonstrated in the votive terra-cottas, which began to be produced at the end of the fourth century and provide some of the clearest evidence of the very wide diffusion of the Hellenistic figural culture in the societies of central Italy.

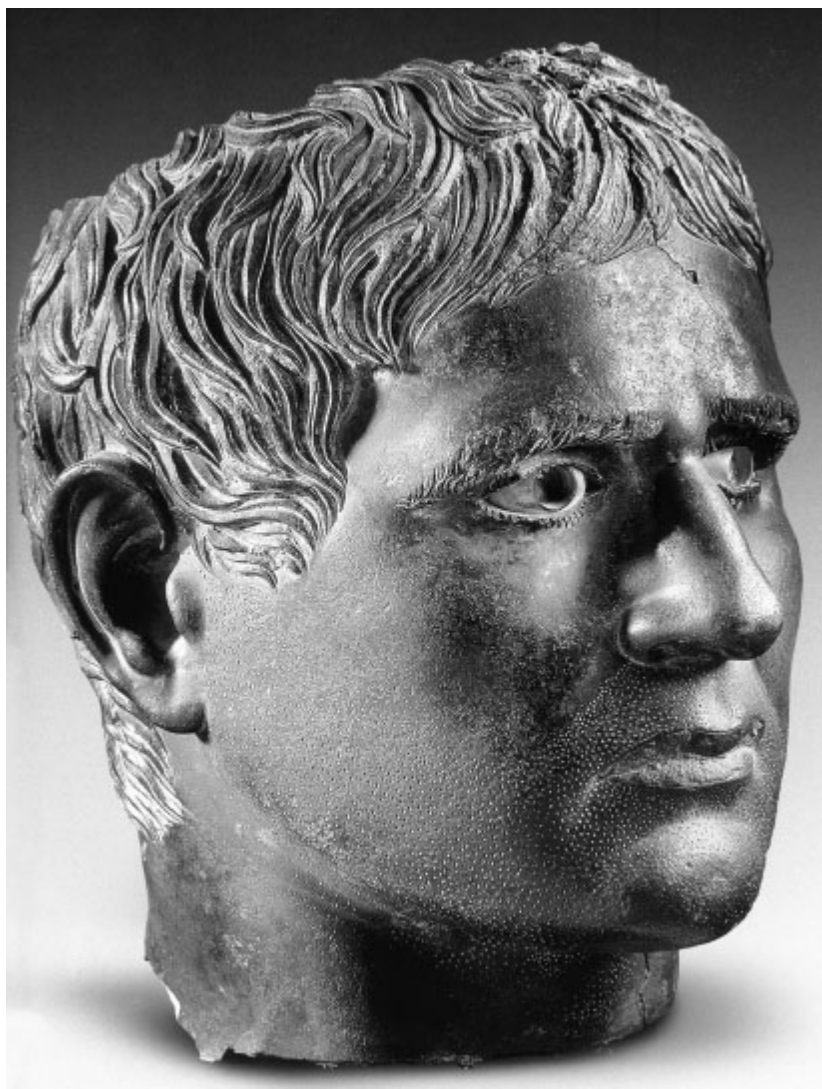


Fig. 36.5: Bronze head from San Giovanni Lipioni. Paris, Cabinet des médailles et des antiques (after Coarelli 2011, fig. 169)

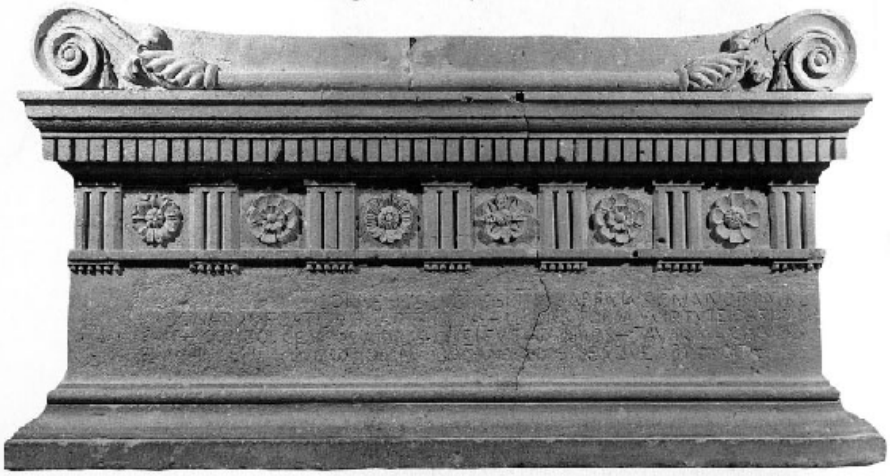


Fig. 36.6: Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus. Vatican City, Vatican Museums (after *Italia omnium terrarum parens*, fig. 232)

These documents from the public sphere find their counterparts in the funerary domain, as attested especially by the beautiful portrait of *Vel Saties* in the François Tomb at Vulci, which represents the best parallel to the representations of those celebrated Roman triumphs of the time, which survive only in traces. Likewise, the painted decorations of the tombs of Tarquinia (Tomba degli Scudi or Tomb of the Shields), Capua, and Paestum, where the accent is placed on the status of the deceased and his place within the *gens*, once again show the close cultural and ideological relationship of the Etruscan, Roman, and Campanian elite.¹⁹¹³ Finally, alongside these painted portraits, the Etruscan sarcophagi also allow us to assess the fortune of the Hellenistic models, especially Ptolemaic portraits, among Etruscans who commissioned them in the first decades of the third century.

Given the absence of sufficient data on domestic decoration at this time, once again it is the funerary domain that best expresses the way the Etruscan and Italic aristocrats resorted to models from the Hellenistic monuments to make their status visible. We have already mentioned how the exteriors of the great gentile tombs of southern Etruria could take on a monumental aspect, taking the form (unfortunately not sufficiently recoverable in our present state of knowledge) of a shrine (*aedicula*) or at least of a sculpted exterior, the way it was done in Magna Graecia.¹⁹¹⁴ The most striking examples of monumentalization of the tomb and its facade may be sought in the rock-cut necropolises of Norchia and Sovana, which offer the best parallels to the great Hellenistic mausolea and especially once again to the examples in southern Italy. Even though it has hardly any monuments that are as spectacular (or ostentatious), Rome too testifies in its way to the penetration of the Greek models for memorializing the dead. The mausoleum of the Scipios, with the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus (Fig. 36.6), reveals how the expression of the

ideology of the deceased and his family had recourse to Greek models, which are clearly visible in the altar that lends its form to the sarcophagus itself, as well as in the values expressed in the eulogy inscribed on the monument. The insistence on his physical appearance in the celebration of the deceased (*forma*) and his moral worth (*virtus*) reflects the quintessentially Greek ideals of beauty and virtue of a man who is “handsome and valiant” (Gk. καλὸς κάγατός).¹⁹¹⁵

6The new cultural frameworks

The implicit reference to Greek values in the eulogy for Scipio Barbatus testifies to the adherence by the Roman elites to Greek culture that went beyond representational culture alone. The observation can be extended to the elites of other regions of central Italy: the use of new styles and new modes of representation is accompanied by very deep familiarity with cultural references from the Greek world. We are sometimes even tempted to speak of scholarship, in view of the obscure mythological subjects—and often only sparsely attested in Greece itself—that are used in some representational programs. This familiarity with Greek culture, which assumes mastery of the language by at least a portion of these social groups, is placed in the service of the aristocrats’ and their craftsmen’s own concerns. We might think of the development of a staging of historical traditions, primarily of the question of origins: Greek myth plays a fundamental role in the genealogical strategies and the discourses on identity of the elites of Italy at this time, as is well shown by the complex decoration of the François Tomb, where political, historical, and mythological references are intertwined. One may say as much of the corpus of Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors and especially of the Praenestine *cistae*, all of which summon mythological and sometimes historical knowledge. The commerce within Etruscan and Praenestine society of these feminine objects, which are associated with marriage and matrimonial strategizing, demonstrates their importance in the assertion of the values and culture of the aristocrats.¹⁹¹⁶

Finally, we may recall the influence in Italy of the various philosophical and religious doctrines developed in Greece and Magna Graecia, which participated in the complexity of the religious fervor of the age, where the very clear Greek influences blend into the traditional frameworks of the local religions. Beyond the diffuse and already ancient influence of Dionysianism, we should at least mention the impact of the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrines, detectable in some figural programs of the age, which testify that the new religious sensitivity was sometimes able to take esoteric or mystery forms. In a world where religion is inseparable from public life, the new trends in religion and thought also bore a non-negligible political weight. We have

already spoken of the importance of the development in Rome and Italy of an ideology of victory, in the Hellenistic mold. Pythagorean doctrines, which developed in Magna Graecia, notably Taranto, also had a profound influence on public life, as evidenced by Appius Claudius Caecus, who was also one of the emblematic figures in the changes at work in Rome between the end of the fourth century and the first decades of the third.¹⁹¹⁷ The erection of a statue of Pythagoras in the Roman Forum at about the same time is another shining example of the public reception in Rome of the political and philosophical models of the Greek world.¹⁹¹⁸

7Conclusion

The welcome given by the Roman *nobilitas* to these ideological concepts, inseparable from the reworking of the figural language of the time, explains how a fourth-century Greek could call Rome a Greek city (Gk. πόλις Ῥωμαίων;).¹⁹¹⁹ This view of the *Urbs* also explains the place occupied by Rome in the Mediterranean and Italian context at the end of the Classical period and the beginning of the Hellenistic age, and in particular its relationship with the Greek world. Still only a regional power, Rome began to establish its dominion over the center and south of the Italian peninsula and soon found itself confronted by the powerful Greek colonies of southern Italy but also by the new powers of the Hellenistic world. The Romans at first observed from a distance the expedition of Alexander I of Molossis, king of Epirus, who came in support of the Greek cities of southern Italy against the Italic peoples, just when his nephew and brother-in-law Alexander the Great set out to conquer the barbarian Orient.¹⁹²⁰ Relations between Rome and the great conqueror himself, if they existed at all, are documented in the imaginary historical reconstructions of later historians, such as a well-known excursus by the Roman historian Livy (9.16–17). What might have happened if Alexander had not died in Babylon and had turned his armies toward the West and Rome? It is significant that this question—entirely rhetorical, in that the Romans saw themselves emerging victorious in such a confrontation—was notably posed by Appius Claudius Caecus in a speech around 280, during the war against Pyrrhus, which was the first time the Romans faced a Hellenistic army. The happy outcome of the war and the taking of Taranto in 272 sealed this first phase of relations between Rome and the Hellenistic world, and definitively established Rome's dominion over central and southern Italy.

These few decades when Rome established its ascendancy over Italy and began to offer itself as intermediary for the great Hellenistic kingdoms were also the moment, as we have said, when the principal Etruscan cities confronted Rome and then lost their independence. Yet it is remarkable to

note how the cities most directly in touch with the Romans throughout this period and into the first decades of the third century preserved their cultural autonomy and their ability to adopt the innovations of the Hellenistic artistic language, which made them full participants in the Hellenistic *koine*. The gradual incorporation of Etruria into the incipient Roman Empire would change the game. The gradual decline of the cities of southern Etruria and the taking under guardianship of the cities of northern Etruria would make of Rome, beginning at the end of the third century, the real center of cultural power in Italy.¹⁹²¹ The second great phase of diffusion of Hellenistic culture, linked above all to the second-century Roman conquest of the Hellenistic kingdoms and to the influx into the *Urbs* of Greek artworks and craftsmen, definitively marks the cultural preeminence of Rome in Italy and throughout the Mediterranean. The renewal of the artistic language that followed in Italy is equally perceptible in the scenographic monumentalization of sanctuaries of Latium, beginning with the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, as in the decorations of alabaster urns in Volterra. But unlike what had happened during the fourth century and at the beginning of the third, when Hellenistic culture had been as much a phenomenon of the Italic and Etruscan elite as of the Roman, these new Hellenistic models from that point forward assume the mediation of Rome.

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Arnaldo Marcone

37Romanization

Abstract: The process of expansion of Rome into Etruria unfolded over a rather long span of time. The progressive expansionism of Rome in Italy also presupposes an ensemble of legal relationships that must be kept in mind. In general terms, the phenomenon that is usually referred to as “Romanization” assumes three factors:

- 1.capacity to organize and carry out conquest and in the process mitigate conflict.
- 2.capacity to give attention in a pragmatic and realistic way to the interests of the communities which progressively came under Roman control.
- 3.capacity to design diverse and flexible legal forms for the regulation of Rome’s relations with the newly conquered communities.

The Roman policy toward Etruria was not homogeneous and presents a variety of approaches that realistically reflect various socioeconomic situations. In the north, the Roman victory required a notable financial outlay on the part of the defeated community, with the consequent reinforcement of the ruling oligarchy; in the south, the Roman victory brought about extensive cessions of territory from the defeated community.

Romanization, even if this is taken simply to mean the assimilation of Roman customs by local populations, was necessarily accompanied by economic exploitation. The complex Roman road organization in the region is considered an essential feature of this policy, and consciously aimed to enhance the value of under populated areas such as the Albegna Valley that lent themselves to profitable cultivation.

Keywords: Romanization, Expansionism, Integration, Society, Aristocracy

Introduction

The process of Roman expansion into Etruria unfolded over a rather long span of time. The economic and social development of Tyrrhenian Italy during the eighth century, which presupposes the rise and consolidation of private land ownership, resulted in major social schisms with the birth of powerful aristocracies that exercised politico-military power and were distinct from the remainder of the population, with significant inequality in economic status. The Rome of the monarchy and of the early republic appears similar in its internal characteristics to the situation of many other communities in the Tuscany-Latium region.¹⁹²²

1The reasons for Roman expansionism

Setting aside the political repercussions of the expulsion of the Tarquins at the end of the monarchic period (late sixth century) that resulted in the temporary several-decade halt of Roman expansion, the Roman expansionism basically has to be considered the result of two parallel and complementary phenomena—namely, internal social tension and demographic pressure. In other words, the need for Rome to find new lands for its own citizens is at base a colonialist phenomenon of increasing relevance, with ever-increasing political and territorial implications.¹⁹²³

We must take into account the way the distribution of land in the new colonies and in *virgatae* (individual) allocations was managed and how, even in the fifth century, the poorer section of the Roman population benefited from territorial expansion. It is obvious that in the first decades of the Roman Republic there was a demographic problem that they tried to resolve in various ways.

It must be recalled that there were fundamentally two phases of the colonialist phenomenon. The first, which dates back to the period from the late monarchic age to the early republic, is difficult to reconstruct because its features are lost in an annal-istic tradition that is too greatly colored by subsequent events. What seems certain is that this colonialist enterprise unfolded at the initiative of family groups led by individual “condottieri”. The case of Satricum is exemplary. We are in a period marked by widespread horizontal social mobility throughout the Tyrrhenian region and is well exemplified by Lucumo who moved from Tarquinia to Rome, where he assumed the name Tarquinius.¹⁹²⁴ Meanwhile, Etruscan expansion into Campania culminated in the siege of Cumae in 525 BCE. The final act was an episode that was to profoundly alter Etruscan history in the fifth century and, therefore, the history of all of south-central Italy, namely the naval battle fought in the waters off Cumae in 474. Hiero I of Syracuse, allied with Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cumae, after he was called for military assistance, met and defeated the Etruscan fleet. In an amazing coincidence, not so unusual in the ancient historiographic tradition, the annalist reports that in the same year a truce was declared between Veii and Rome after a conflict that had lasted a decade. The Etruscan defeat at Cumae had repercussions for the general political equilibrium.

On the one hand, the Etruscan ports on the Tyrrhenian Sea saw a clear decrease in their commercial activities as a result of the huge drop in importation of Attic pottery. On the other, it promoted the development of the Adriatic trading centers of Atria and Spina that functioned as the ports of entry for such imports.

2The stages of Roman expansion

To understand the stages and methods of Roman expansion, it is absolutely necessary to keep in mind the complexity of the situation in Latium between Etruscans and Latins. Also relevant are the Faliscans, an ethnic group who spoke a language closely related to Latin, and the Capenates. The *Ager Faliscus* (Faliscan territory), bounded on the east by the Tiber and on the west by the Cimini Hills, is encompassed by the basin of the Treja, a right-bank tributary of the Tiber, and is dominated by Monte Soratte. Capena, on the other hand, is little more than an enclave resulting from the penetration of groups speaking the Sabine language who crept into a little loop of the Tiber south of Monte Soratte. These were groups of people who played a role in the increasing Roman control of both banks of the river. The first significant step was the subjugation of Fidene, which was situated on the Etruscan bank of the Tiber. The conquest of this site, which probably happened in 435 (or 416), had results of fundamental importance for trade along the river and for the struggles that arose with the Etruscan city of Veii. It turned out to be a situation of great instability and more or less perpetual conflict that would come to involve the entire region. In the ten-year war between Rome and Veii (405–396), the Capenates as well as the Faliscans sided with the Veientes. The turning-point came in 396 when, at the end of a long siege, Veii was stormed by Rome and its territory was subdivided for Roman colonists into lots of uncertain dimensions. These are the circumstances in which four new territorial tribes were created at Rome with virginal land distribution.

The conquest of Veii, with its echoes of the Trojan epic, signals an undeniable qualitative leap in the initial phases of Roman imperialism, when the territory controlled by Rome encompassed an area approximately equal to that of all the rest of the Latin-speaking community.

Between the fourth and the early third centuries, the middle Tiber Valley became part of Roman territory. The conquest of Veii was followed successively by those of Capena the next year, of Nepi and Sutri between 390 and 389, of the entire Sabine territory at the beginning of the third century, and finally, of Falerii Veteres in 241, which was then rebuilt elsewhere as Falerii Novi. This was a gradual process—it took about a century and a half—whose methods and various stages cannot easily be reconstructed with sufficient precision. As it has been suggested, the Roman expansionist thrust seems to have been caused and promoted by internal crises, especially of a social nature, in the fifth century. The conquest of Veii in fact tripled the area of Roman territory and provided a resolution of the need to find lands for the plebeians.

Let us recall that, during the fourth century, as far as can be determined from the results of the Tiber Valley Project conducted by the British School at Rome, the area of the Tiber appears to be void of occupation.¹⁹²⁵ Notwithstanding the creation of four new tribes and the concession of lands to non-citizens, the archaeological evidence does not permit us to determine the extent of this occupation, although the settlements become more visible

between the end of the fourth and the first half of the third century. Capena, for example, having surrendered to Rome in 395, continued to be a site of modest size with a good part of its territory used as *ager publicus*. Its exclusion from the network of the main lines of communication restricted its function to one of meeting the needs of the small rural villages that had developed nearby. Much more dramatic, however, was the case of Falerii, which after a series of rebellions, in 241 provoked a severe Roman intervention that led to the destruction of the city. Half the territory was ceded to the conquerors while the surviving inhabitants were deported to a flat area that was difficult to defend, where Falerii Novi was founded.

In general, all the *agri* now have most of their settlers in sites occupied for the first time, in locations different from those previously occupied. The number of settlers who continued from the Archaic period, the sole exception being the Capena area, seems to be greatly reduced. As for the mid-republican sites, they were all newly founded, which reflects the fact that some of the territory was only reclaimed from the Cimina forest toward the middle of the third century. As for the Sabine territory, the indications of new settlement almost quadruple. Here occupation of the territory took the form of virthane allocations. Roman expansion into Etruria was in reality anything but linear. In 358 there was an attempt by Tarquinia to stop it that was supported by its allies the Faliscans and the Caerites. This sort of reaction to the increasing Roman pressure, after some initial success, produced no significant results. In 351 Caere left the alliance and negotiated a forty-year truce.

The decisive moment in the progress of Roman expansion into Etruria seems to have been the conquest of Vulci in 280. The hostility between the Etruscans, who probably acted as a league, and Rome recommenced in 311,¹⁹²⁶ when the initiative was taken by the cities of central Etruria, who reacted to the increasing Roman pressure. Hostilities began with an attack on Sutri carried out by all the Etruscan cities of central Etruria except for Arretium. This first phase of the war ended in 307 with a separate truce with Tarquinia and a substantial Etruscan defeat. The outcome of this conflict favored the further expansion of Rome into the central Tiber Valley and Umbria, where in 299 the Latin colony of Narnia was founded. This emergency persuaded the Etruscans to ally with the traditional enemies of Rome, the Samnites and Gauls, a coalition that was routed by Rome in the battle of Sentino in 295. From this moment on, the cities were annexed one by one. The last to submit was Caere in 273.

As for Vulci, the complexity of the Roman conquest on the cultural level—and of its difficulties—seems to be indicated by the cycle of frescoes preserved in the Fran-çois Tomb (late fourth century). The degree of conceptual and artistic elaboration of the paintings implies a high degree of ideological commitment on the part of the client. There is a great theme, or rather a powerful recollection, that appears to be deduced from the contrasting scenes on the two sides of the tomb that portray on one side episodes from

Greek mythology—specifically, the Thebaid—and on the other episodes from the recent history of Vulci and Etruria. They deal with disunity, and its consequences, exemplified in the highly effective scene of the murder-suicide of Eteocles and Polynices. But it is also legitimate to extrapolate¹⁹²⁷ an appeal for harmony, as is evinced by the scene in which Achilles and Agamemnon, now reconciled, preside over the sacrifice of the Trojan captives. In parallel, the fight scenes of many eminent Vulcentes with representatives of other Etruscan cities do not appear to refer to a specific individual event so much as to evoke in brief the emotion of a war lost.¹⁹²⁸ In particular, the heroic moment shown in the picture representing the liberation of Caile Vipienas by Macstarna seems intended to portray a glorious epoch now almost entirely past. The total message entrusted to the frescoes is that fighting an enemy (the Trojans for the Greeks, the Romans for the Etruscans) requires internal harmony. If this is true, the original juxtaposition of myth and history would be a hard-won and lofty reflection on the part of the Etruscans of their identity at the moment when they realized that they were put at risk of subjection to an external power. It is obvious what problems such a level of ideological elaboration would pose for Romanization.

The final moment of Etruria's subjugation to Rome is considered to be the siege and consequent destruction of Volsinii in 265 with the *evocatio*, the appropriation by Rome with its transfer into the city of Vertumna/Vertumnus of the patron god of the league of Etruscan peoples, which was dissolved once and for all.

3'Romanization'

The growing expansionism of Rome in Italy also presupposes an ensemble of legal relationships that must be kept in mind. It is true that such relationships, analyzed in the abstract, are insufficient to account for the complexities of the phenomenon that brought Rome to its hegemonic position.

The first case to be recorded is the destruction of Falerii, which demonstrated harsh treatment almost without parallel (save for Volsinii), and which can be explained as the need to make an example when Rome emerged victorious from the First Punic War. In general, in fact, the Roman policy in Etruria seems to have been to respect the extant situation, seeking cooperation from the local aristocracy. It is true that archaeological investigation documents the reality that Rome's arrival in a territory signaled a total reorganization with major resulting changes for the population. There is no doubt that the colony of Cosa evidences features of marked aggression that imply the expulsion of the resident population. In the years immediately following, between 264 and 245, Rome founded at least three maritime colonies—Pyrgi, Castrum Novum, and Alsium, and, in Caerete territory,

Fregenae (Fregene)—along the coast, in the territory of Vulci, directly south of Cosa.

Actually, Roman policy toward Etruria was anything but homogeneous: it exhibits a variety of approaches that probably reflect considerations of various socioeconomic as well as territorial conditions. In the north, Roman victory generally involved the imposition of a sizeable financial penalty on the defeated community, with the consequent reinforcement of the dominant oligarchy; in the south, however, extensive cessions of territory by the defeated community followed successful conquest.

Among the peculiar legal instruments that Rome used was that known as *civitas sine suffragio*. The origins of this peculiar institution are anything but clear. One possibility is that it was originally designed as a privilege of specific individuals in specific localities of residence in Rome who might exercise certain activities in a state of guardianship, somewhat like the metic (*metoikos*, resident alien) in Athens. Although not a proven hypothesis, it is a common opinion that Caere was the first city on which *civitas sine suffragio* was conferred.¹⁹²⁹ According to Livy (5.50.3), on the occasion of the capture of Rome by the Gauls, Lucius Albinus had the Vestals, the priests, and the *sacra* transported to Caere on a wagon; and the Caeretes supposedly offered their hospitality. In exchange for this support, the Romans had conceded to the inhabitants of Caere *civitas sine suffragio*, putting this institution into practice for the first time. Its introduction in the middle of the conflict with the Samnites, and thus with the Latins, makes it difficult to understand fully the terms of its application and its real purpose.

Rome resorted frequently to the institution of the *civitas sine suffragio* from 338 until the middle of the second century, but after that it was gradually abandoned. It is possible that the communities that had entered into the Roman orbit accepted this policy because Rome might have allowed these communities to maintain internal autonomy. In any event, perhaps by reason of the difficulty represented by the rapid incorporation of new territories, Rome abandoned the use of *civitas sine suffragio* in favor of treaties (Lat. *foedera*), which were probably considered an effective instrument, by reason of their greater flexibility, for organizing a conquest. The various types of *foedera* known to us suggest a realistic approach to the variety of local realities. The *foedera* called *aequa* allowed a community considerable freedom of political action. Other *foedera* contained much more restrictive clauses (the term *iniquum* for such types of *foedera* does not seem to be Roman) that generally included the obligation to provide military contingents. Essentially, this community was deprived of any form of autonomy in external relations. With respect to Etruria in the wider sense, we have explicit mention of only one *foedus*, that with Falerii. This absence of documentation might, however, be explained by the gap in Livy's text for a period corresponding to that in which many *foedera* could have been drawn up.

It is usually thought that Roman policy in Etruria respected existing

conditions and was the reason for the solid social fabric that was in force in the different city-states. It may be imagined that Rome was aware of the difficulties that would have accompanied a process of assimilation that would call into question the consolidated balance.

The treatment reserved for Vulci in 281 deserves attention. Vulci was quite large (ca. 2,000 km²) and at least half was confiscated. Rome's interventions in it are evidence of a very specific plan that presupposes a radical administrative reorganization of the conquered territory with the foundation of colonies in strategic locations and the systematic design of a road network (see [section 8](#) The progress of Romanization, below).

4The colonial foundations

Among the colonial foundations, Cosa has special significance. Its primarily strategic value seems obvious—that is, military control over the territory of this colony. Cosa was founded at the same time as Paestum in 273 as a result of the victory of Tiberius Coruncanius over the Etruscans of Vulci and Volsinii. The Romans had taken from Vulci the coastal strip similar to what had been done with Tarquinia, in whose territory the Latin colony of Gravisca had been placed. The confiscated lands were in part incorporated into the *ager Romanus* and in part left to autonomous administration by the colony under Latin law. This would have to oversee a wide territory (ca. 550 km²) that included the promontory of Orbetello up to twenty kilometers inland.¹⁹³⁰

The principal military purpose—progressive restraint of the hostile population, which in the case of Cosa seems undeniable—must not lead to the undervaluation of the demographic significance of Latin colonization and its effects on the evolution of Roman society during the third and second centuries. The data available to us are striking. Rome's use of colonies of the Latin type, such as Cosa, which imply the participation of groups of a large number of colonists (at least 2,500, whereas the colonies *civium Romanorum* count no more than 300 colonists), turns out over a long period to be an instrument particularly adapted to involve extensive social groups in colonial policy.

The founding of a colony with Latin rights, in fact, brought into existence a community that was formally autonomous, without involving an expansion of Roman territory. Such a community served nonetheless a basic need of Rome, which was military, in so far as it was obliged to furnish contingents of troops. The colonization process had various results of considerable importance to the beginnings of urbanization that were particularly significant where earlier settlement had been widely scattered. Cosa, an example of an “intermittent town”¹⁹³¹ characterized by quite distinct phases of settlement and episodes of abandonment and revival, represents an especially interesting case because it

seems to reveal a complex strategic design over a long period for the control and exploitation of areas of great military and economic interest. At this site there was probably an original Etruscan settlement of modest size. It now seems clear from recent excavations that the urban fabric of Cosa did not immediately increase upon the initial founding in 273, but only upon the second founding by a further 1,000 colonists in 197. As we know from Livy, the colonists were chosen from the allies of Rome in the Second Punic War and were probably veterans. The Cosa countryside saw a considerable increase in density of settlement, with small houses built especially in favored areas like the Oro Valley, which also holds for the construction of the Via Aurelia.

Cosa reproduced a situation like that of other colonies founded after the Second Punic War. Aquileia, the last Latin colony founded in an especially difficult environment in 181, presents significant similarities. Here too, the lots assigned to the colonists were differentiated according to rank: a tripartition that would certainly guarantee social and political priority to the representatives of the upper classes. Aquileia, like Cosa, also received a boost of colonists a decade or so after the initial founding.¹⁹³²

It must also be noted that at the beginning of the third century, when Sabina was definitively conquered by Manius Curius Dentatus, the new territory would experience a new system. Aside from what was left to the inhabitants who had had the status of *cives sine suffragio* the public land was in part assigned by virittane concessions to the plebeians or else granted, by means of quaestorian sale—thus in permanent and hereditary possession (a sort of emphyteusis)—to representatives of privileged classes. The conquest of Sabina in fact paved the way for Rome to control the Adriatic by precluding the possibility of a uniting of Etruscans and Samnites.

Rome's victory over Vulci also marks the beginning of Rome's penetration into the interior along the Albegna and Flora Valleys. Rome founded the colony of Saturnia in the upper Albegna Valley in 183, which is a difficult decision to explain.¹⁹³³ The military explanation is unsatisfactory because, while it is true that the site was, as it proved, readily defensible, it is not clear why it might have considered vulnerable, in as much as it lay far from the coast. Saturnia, along with Parma and Mutina (Modena), which were founded in the same year, was the first colony situated far from the coast to have Roman status, so that the colonists had full Roman rather than Latin rights. It is thus likely that it had received a number of colonists greater than was standard for Roman colonies, perhaps 2,000, just like Parma and Mutina. Cosa is a settlement of the old type of rectangular formation.¹⁹³⁴ Saturnia, on the contrary, was divided into squares canonic for the centuria. In general, these developments marked a radical change in the organization of the territory, which knew no significant settlement up to the third century, from which time the process of urbanization began.

The scale of Saturnia's colonial foundation is unknown, but its territorial

extent seems suited to have received 2,000 colonists with their families, through a complex organization of centuriated land equal to about 50 km². The regular distribution of the villas in an area of centuriated territory leaves open the possibility that such estates were already foreseen in the initial plan for the colony, and thus the prerogative of a privileged class, who perhaps was encouraged to settle by reason of advantageous conditions.

As for the founding of the colony of Heba (Magliano), which was a decisive event for the economic development of the lower Albegna Valley, we cannot be sure of the date. Its foundation marks the end of the reorganization of the Vulci countryside, and it is a reasonable hypothesis that it occurred around the middle of the second century, although the lack of Livy's text for the years 167–133 deprives us of reliable information on the colonizations of this period. It is significant that archaeological investigation has brought to light some of the characteristics of the organization of the territory that was very like that of Saturnia. In particular at Heba, as at Saturnia, allocations have been shown to have differed according to location. In both colonies there was a need for non-marginal fertile land that could be acquired easily. In fact the colonial settlement was situated in thinly populated areas, perhaps because of the development of urban settlements such as that known today as Doganella.¹⁹³⁵ Such areas were therefore suitable for agricultural exploitation. This is thus a secondary, mature phase of Romanization, involving the organization of territory following its acquisition and military occupation.

5The network of roads

Increased Roman control of former Etruscan territory determined the development of a significant network of roads that was built between the second half of the third and the second centuries. The most important of all had to be the Via Aurelia (called *vetus* to distinguish it from the later one called *nova*). Its construction is usually attributed, albeit without definite proof, to L. Aurelius Cotta on the occasion of his censor-ship in 241. This was the first axial road constructed along the coast of Etruria that obviously functioned to control territory, as it avoided—and thus marginalized—the ancient Etruscan centers. One of the purposes of a road with these features had to be to permit rapid travel by the armies in anticipation of military operations toward the north and, in particular, against the Ligurians. It is uncertain whether its initial layout reached as far as Pisa. As for Saturnia, its placement toward the interior made the simultaneous creation of a road network that put it in rapid communication with the coast absolutely necessary.

It is above all the Via Clodia, in a way the “most interesting road in the region,”¹⁹³⁶ that discloses an essential function of connecting road. Built

between the Via Cassia and the Via Aurelia, at a date probably close to that of the founding of Saturnia, in either 171 or 154, it was never one of the principal roads to northern Etruria or beyond. While the two major roads were planned principally as axial roads for long-distance travel and thus avoid localities close to their route, the Via Clodia connects Rome with places in southern Etruria. Thus, its purpose was primarily commercial. The side roads that connect with the sea branched off from it. At Heba it constitutes the principal decuman of the colony. This sort of arterial road has implications that go beyond the mere control of territory. A road like the Via Clodia, without clear military aims and with commercial purposes, on the one hand presupposes permanent settlement with intense exploitation of the resources of the territory and, on the other, has major consequences for the local populations. Romanization can therefore be considered an indirect outcome of pacification and political reorganization.

6Northern Etruria

We turn now to the relationships between Rome and the cities of northern Etruria, which lie more in the interior of the region. The case of Arretium (Arezzo) is revealing: the modern city rises on the same spot as the Etruscan and Roman ones, but the name that is preserved, of uncertain etymology, is the Latin one. Its Etruscan name is unknown. The siting of the city has no other advantage than location at the junction of natural connections in many directions and with the Apennine passes. The Arretine plain and the Chiana Valley immediately to the south are naturally devoted to agriculture, and the grain production and viticulture of these areas were already appreciated in antiquity. The relations of Arretium with Rome from the beginning were formulated in terms of substantial cooperation after a brief phase of confrontation. Already in 311 the Arretines are the only ones who do not participate in the war against Rome promoted by the peoples of Etruria. From Livy we know that at the beginning of the third century, after suffering a defeat, Arretium together with other Etruscan cities undertook to furnish Rome with clothing and wheat to be able to negotiate a forty-year truce. A series of indications indirectly suggest that the occasions of confrontation reflect questions of internal social conflict. The dominant aristocratic government in Arretium was interested in maintaining good relations with Rome while most of the population was anti-Roman.¹⁹³⁷ In any event, beginning in the middle of the third century, Arretium appears to be linked with Rome by a treaty of alliance.

Still more significant is the role of the city in the decisive years of the Second Punic War. Despite Hannibal's presence in the region, the Arretines did not temper their attitude of loyalty toward Rome. In the record of the

contributions of various Etruscan cities to the expedition of Publius Cornelius Scipio against Hannibal in Africa in 205, the role of Arretium appears particularly important: besides arms, it furnished in fact 120,000 *modii* of wheat, the provisioning for commanders and oarsmen during the voyage, and moreover a considerable variety of farming tools (Livy 28.45.16–17). The territory of Arretium seems to have been untouched by land distribution in the period of the Gracchi. Therefore, when Arretium was transformed into a *municipium* and became part of the Roman State in 90 and its citizens acquired full citizenship, an era of peaceful involvement of the Etruscan city in Rome's sphere of interest reached its logical conclusion.

Let us consider how after the Second Punic War there are no known Roman colonies in Etruscan territory, with the sole exceptions being Lucca (Latin colony founded around 178) and Luni (Roman colony founded in 177), which were founded moreover in rather marginal areas. Saturnia, included by the grammarian Festus in a list of prefectures,¹⁹³⁸ which probably presupposes a level with precedence over colony, appears to be a special case. The same considerations also hold for the colony of Heba. If this is the case, then we must assess very carefully how significant was the process of Romanization in the Etruscan area. Before Sulla, the only settlement of Roman citizens in the region is that of Statonia, a place identified today with the site of Pianmiano near Bomarzo.¹⁹³⁹ The date of founding is also uncertain. The fact that Vitruvius mentions it as a prefecture leaves open the possibility that this area was populated by colonists with allocations obtained by individual title. In this case we must imagine a broad swath of territory between the lower Albegna Valley and Lake Bolsena as the object of a Roman settlement process on a vast scale. This is a choice that clearly goes beyond military territorial control pure and simple. But “Romanization,” however it is understood, even simply as the assimilation of Roman customs by the local population, was part of a policy of economic exploitation. The complicated work of road organization, as mentioned, must be considered an essential feature of this policy which enhanced the value of areas, such as the Albegna Valley, that can be cultivated profitably and that were lightly populated. This cannot be so if the *fora* known for Etruria are all located along the main roads, the Via Aurelia, the Via Clodia, and the Via Cassia.

7The organization of the territory

The founding of Cosa seems to be highly indicative of the two successive phases of Roman presence in Etruria. Founded as a sort of advance emplacement, perhaps at first in anticipation of successive offensive projections and then with the immediate military purpose of territorial control—a similar situation to that of Aquileia a little less than a century later, with

the colonial supplementation characteristic of many Latin colonies that underwent two successive phases of population—it seems to have served various purposes from the beginning. At this point Rome seems interested in choices of the economic type that were conveyed in more sizable colonial foundations. If the Latin type colony was about to be abandoned, those under Roman law were numerically important and began to be founded in the interior as well.

Let us add that one of the main consequences of the Second Punic War, of “Hannibal’s legacy,” which was fought in large part in central-southern Italy, was a demographic decline that affected not only Rome but several areas of the peninsula as well. While between the late monarchy and the early republican state the colonies had been thought of as a sort of solution for problems of population increase and the difficulty in supporting it, in the first decades of the second century Rome found itself needing to motivate new colonists to leave the capital with various economic incentives and legal protection. This explains, for example, the recourse to individual allocations of land. It is possible that the new settlers, who were frequently placed in poorly populated areas, would have tried to include the scattered local populations. These local populations would have become aware of the organizational superiority of the ruling power, which was capable of implementing good ways of life and of bringing with them wealth and efficient administration. It might be argued that a colony would have deprived the indigenous population of territory and that therefore its founding would have provoked resentment and conflict, but this is an argument that does not find support in our literary sources.

In Etruria, we do not have proof of a Roman punitive policy toward the local community. During the Second Punic War, the ruling classes in Rome, who were contemplating the prospect of overseas expansionism with the possibility of booty on a scale unimaginable in Italy, seem to have developed a preference for choices in which economic considerations appear to be decisive. It was a question of the consequences for cultural identity of military success and the pacification that followed.

This sort of reality provides an understanding of how the Romanization of Arretium, *mutatis mutandis* in other places in northern Etruria as well, such as Volterra, proceeded in a regular way, without breaches. A significant example accrues to the most famous figure in the history of Roman Arretium, namely Gaius Cilnius Maecenas, a minister of Augustus, who was a friend of Horace and a prominent figure in the cultural life of the late first century BCE. Maecenas was a member of the equestrian order but belonged to an aristocratic family. He had been a loyal legate of Caesar with a particularly close relationship to Octavian, which guaranteed solid ties of cooperation with the Roman government of his family.¹⁹⁴⁰

8The progress of Romanization

With regard to Roman expansionism in central Italy, Umbria presents an obvious comparison. Roman contacts intensified with Umbria during the conquest of the region that took place at approximately the same period as the definitive submission of Etruria (ca. 310–266). During the third century, Umbria saw the settlement of an estimated 40,000 colonists, which would imply that approximately a third of the population would have had Roman or Latin status.¹⁹⁴¹ So massive a presence of new residents inevitably entailed profound territorial reorganization: the lands taken from the Umbrian community would have to be centuriated. The very construction of an axial road of the importance of the Via Flaminia, built in 220, reflects the need to guarantee rapid access for long-distance traffic. Other roads, such as the Via Amerina, built in 240, which linked Ameria with Falerii Novi and Rome, served to facilitate local communication.

With respect to Romanization, it must always be kept in mind both that Umbrian material culture was never a particularly evident phenomenon and that the production of manufactured goods was always dependent on external factors. Before the Roman conquest, it was above all Etruria that exercised great influence over Umbria, in particular Volsinii. And the earliest Umbrian inscriptions, from the fourth and third centuries, used the Etruscan alphabet of Volsinii and Perusia (Perugia). This relative cultural weakness of the Umbrian world justifies the assumption that in this region the process of Romanization was faster than in Etruria.¹⁹⁴² This premise has been tested a number of times that have resulted in refining the question and placing the accent on other critical points. The diffusion of the Latin language and alphabet between the conquest and the Social War constitutes the most obvious indicator of Romanization. It is assumed that the use of Latin was the rule in the area populated by Romans and Latins, particularly in the central-southern part of the relevant region of viritalis distribution. It is true that those very epigraphic habits in Umbria presuppose the adoption of an external model, first Etruscan and then Roman, that caused the rapid acquisition of the alphabet and the language. The Iguvine Tablets are also consistent with this reconstruction (if it is true, as is generally held, that the part written in the Umbrian alphabet goes back to the beginning of the second century and that written in the Latin alphabet to the end).

The Iguvine Tablets themselves provide confirmation of what might summarily be considered an aspect of Romanization on an institutional level. The word *kvestur* appears in them twice, as well as the related *kvestretie*. And if, as seems possible, *kvestur* simply designates a position in a religious brotherhood and not a magistrate with jurisdictional responsibilities, it is highly probable that the word came to Iguvium (Gubbio) from Rome. It would thus be an Umbrian lexeme calqued on Latin *quaestor*; a phenomenon that can be explained as a sort of spontaneous adjustment to the constitutional

structure of Rome.¹⁹⁴³ Without parallel documentation or sure data, the hypothesis remains plausible that at a certain point in Iguvium it was used within a religious community, borrowing a term from Rome perhaps with the aim of ennobling its own traditions. In other words, this could be seen as an example of so-called “*Selbst-Romanisierung*” (“autoromanization”), implying knowledge and implicit acceptance of the internal organization of the ruling power. It also remains true that most of the words on the Iguvine Tablets apparently have neither an Etruscan nor a Roman origin.

9The regional differences

Our evaluation of the process of Romanization of Etruria received a special impulse from the results of the survey conducted in the Cecina Valley. The data collected demonstrate how Etruscan social and economic structures that had previously expanded here had been assimilated untraumatically into the new Roman reality. This process can be traced back to the role played by the local aristocracies in promoting Romanization. The very absence of villas, sporadic remains of which can be traced only along the coast, can serve as an indication of a process of continuity and of maintenance of traditional forms of agrarian exploitation. It remains difficult to establish the legal condition of the families who inhabited the farms of the area.¹⁹⁴⁴ Nor does the presence of a major urban center like Volterra seem to have been a factor in drastic Romanization, at least in the surrounding countryside.

As in similar cases, Romanization had clearly interested the city, which obtained Roman citizenship with the *Lex Julia* of 90 BCE. Volterra, in reality, seems to have enjoyed the status of *civitas foederata* at least from the end of the third century, when it contributed to the African expedition of Scipio Africanus. And in the same city it makes sense to evaluate elements that signal a composite reality, in which some emulative behaviors are proper only to the elite and not to the entire body politic.¹⁹⁴⁵

Here we may ask how representative this case would be with respect to the process of integration of Italy into Roman rule. What seems certain is that in this situation both the Romans and the local ruling class had to work towards a mutual understanding through realistic forms of cooperation. Naturally it is also legitimate to wonder whether the peculiarity of the situation of Volterra, whose conservatism is evidenced in the countryside, was not due to its frankly peripheral location and to limitation of interest on the part of the Romans to the intensive exploitation of the territory. But in any case a reasonable hypothesis is that there were areas in the now-Romanized territory in which traditional Etruscan social relations continued to be valid.

It is attractive to think that the text known as the “Prophecy of Vegoia,” which is usually dated to the time of the Social War (91–88 BCE), continued

to have value in a society in which the traditional social order was considered immutable and left out of consideration by the general political organization. It includes complicated references to cosmogonic myths connected to forms of agrarian management and to property boundaries. Cicero himself, advocating on behalf of the Volterrans in the matter of the danger of the confiscation of their territory, makes reference to the centuries-long stability of their forms of property. As consul in 63, Cicero boasted of having prevented the alienation of the confiscated Volterranean lands and the ruin of the proprietors that held them, thanks to his opposition to the agrarian laws proposed by the tribune Ser-vilius Rullus. The danger represented by the conquest and its consequences could have persuaded the more conservative representatives into a pronounced reversion, with religious connotations as well, to the traditional values of the society.¹⁹⁴⁶

This speech took on very special value with respect to the convulsive years of the Social War and its outcome. Northern Etruria during the war remained primarily neutral. Nonetheless, immediately afterward, Volterra sided with Marius, like many other cities in the region. This provoked the ire of Sulla, who harshly punished anyone who had been linked with the Marians. Volterra was besieged in 80 and after the defeat, suffered a limitation on rights of citizenship and loss of part of its territory, although it does not seem that the provision was really carried out. Neither were the proposals advanced in the following decades to proceed with land allocations. In 45 BCE, Caesar's attempt to settle his own veterans seems not to have had dramatic consequences for the city's territory (the possibility has been raised that groups of Etruscans from northern Etruria fled to Africa).¹⁹⁴⁷

In that case, we may ask what strategies, what political choices were offered to the Volterrans to protect their own social organization from the devastations that had threatened it? It is likely that in the city, the elite were able to play a role of mediation with the Roman power: in this sense the role of the Cecina family at the head of Volterran society seems to have been taken as emblematic of the role of the native aristocracy in guiding their community in periods of delicate transformation as well. The rule of Augustus signals a notable level of cooperation between aristocracies of northern Etruria and Rome, which has in the Arretine Maecenas its most representative figure. It is not possible to fix with certainty the moment in which Volterra acquired the title of Colonia (Julia?) Augusta.¹⁹⁴⁸ It is possible that the conferring of the status of Colonia Julia on Volterra was due neither to Octavian the triumvir nor to Octavian Augustus after 27, but already to Caesar in 45 when he confiscated and distributed a part of the Volterranean countryside. It was, in any case, a colonization with characteristics neither traumatic nor punitive, quite different from Sulla's.¹⁹⁴⁹ The similarity of the fortunes of Arretium and Volterra thus enables us to catch a glimpse of a Romanization process -whatever that word is taken to mean – which was successful.

10“Cultural bricolage”?

As for the phenomenon of Romanization in the latest period, the contribution of studies of material culture merits greater attention in an increasing tendency to appreciate the value of the single, individual case rather than a general, global phenomenon. This approach has had particular success in the formulation, due to Nicola Terrenato, of “cultural bricolage”.¹⁹⁵⁰ Terrenato defines “cultural bricolage” as a process in which preexisting cultural elements assume various functions and meanings in the new context represented by Roman rule. In this process there is not a preordained model of Romanization in the sense that the local factors are a decisive component as much of the process as of its outcome. It is a way of attempting to avoid the Augustan ideology of *tota Italia* that presupposes the result of a process lasting several centuries that led to a substantial uniformization of settlement and economic forms and, therefore, of identity. If so, it is an attempt to recover the complex mosaic of pre-Roman Italy.¹⁹⁵¹

The theme of Romanization is undoubtedly a central but problematic and difficult one for any scholar who works on Roman Italy or the Roman provinces. It is a concept the nature of which is disputed; the fact that it is often approached from a political and cultural angle makes it difficult to study it objectively.¹⁹⁵² It is also a theme that has to be regularly revisited, as every new generation of researchers strives to arrive at a consistent definition and to create a methodology adequate for the study of this form of cultural change. It is no accident that recent research has studied the problem primarily from a regional perspective, and attempted to run synthetic and comparative approaches side by side.¹⁹⁵³

Roman Ernst Roth has recently taken an original approach to the problem of Romanization.¹⁹⁵⁴ Roth maintains that pottery can be used like a documentary source for the social history of the ancient world, especially with reference to persons who did not form part of the upper classes. In particular Roth examines the black-glazed pottery of two sites in central Italy, Volterra and Capena, to demonstrate that the apparent homogeneity of Roman Italy presupposed different responses to the process of Romanization at elite and non-elite levels of Italic society. This project, which can surely only be described as ‘cultural bricolage’, applies sociological theory to the study of material remains for the purposes of social history and specifically to bring into focus groups that are underrepresented in the documentary sources. In Roth’s reconstruction, the diffusion of pottery of low quality is explained with reference to a combination of innovation and tradition. This development implies the involvement of broad social classes and an accompanying improvement in living conditions overall.

Ultimately, recourse to the concept of Romanization appears to be justified because, notwithstanding the connotations of colonialism with which it is associated, it is still the most value-free way of illuminating the process in

question.¹⁹⁵⁵ In any case, in the light of current research, it remains to be clarified how far the process or result of Romanization was uniform; what role was played by members of the social elite; and the level of competition in the adoption of Roman practices, military service not considered.¹⁹⁵⁶

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38The Etruscan Legacy

Abstract: From the 3rd cent. BC onwards the structure of Etruscan society was undergoing drastic changes. The destabilization of the ancient social structure involved progressive decay of the national culture through a process to which a variety of factors contributed. After the Roman conquest the glorious Etruscan past was used to reach not only collective, but also familial ambitions. Finally *etruscan Disciplina* become a powerful vehicle of the Etruscan legacy in the Roman world.

Keywords: romanization, Etruscan culture, *disciplina Etrusca*, Etruscan onomastic

1Prologue: The disintegration of the social organization of Etruria at the end of the Roman republic

The *Bellum Marsicum* (the Social War, 91–88 BCE) took a very short time to disrupt the entire structure of Italy that had been established nearly two centuries earlier on the eve of the Punic War, a structure that had only marginally been modified a few years later with the punishment inflicted on those *socii Italici* who had defected on the occasion of Hannibal's Italian adventure.¹⁹⁵⁷ Despite suffering the heavy impact of the Roman imperialistic push at the beginning of the grand conquest of the peninsula, in the decades straddling the fourth and third centuries, when the cities of southern Etruria suffered the loss of considerable portions of their territory, the Etruscans in fact remained loyal to Rome both during the Second Punic War and through the Social War. The results of this policy of loyalty led to the censors of 86 BCE, after the outbreak of the war and the granting of Roman citizenship to the Italics, assigning almost the entire community of Etruria to the “ethnic Etruscan” tribes, namely to those tribes created on the right bank of the Tiber in the year 388 after the conquest of Veii (Fig. 38.1).¹⁹⁵⁸ Aside from the “antiquarian” aspect of the operation, as if there was a desire to foster the preservation of the territories once possessed by the individual major cities, the choice shows a desire to grant to the Etruscans the privilege of enrolling in tribes considered favorable by the limited number of citizens registered in them.¹⁹⁵⁹



Fig. 38.1: Distribution of the Roman rural tribes in Etruria

But appearances can be deceiving. In the two centuries before the granting of the *optimum ius*, the structure of Etruscan society in the southern cities was

undergoing drastic changes. These began in the fourth century with the gradual passing of a system of production relationships that was based on the control of land and on the absolute economic and political domination of a limited governing oligarchy of *principes* over *servitus* (as the sources call the ancient form of dependency).¹⁹⁶⁰ During the third century similar structural changes took place in the northern cities as well, as a result of the integration—certainly in different ways from city to city¹⁹⁶¹—of the former *servi*, who would have received not only civil rights, but land grants. This picture derives from the onomastics of the cities of Clusium and Perusia, for which in his classic work on Etruscan cognomens Helmut Rix reconstructed the process of enfranchisement of the *servi* on the basis of the phenomenon known as the *Vorna-mengentile*.¹⁹⁶² The social ascent of these former *servi* is documented by many signs, both archaeological and epigraphic. The clearest archaeological evidence consists of the tomb of the *Cutu* at Perugia, built by *Arnth Cai Cutu*. He is easily identifiable as a former *servus* by his *Vornamengentile Cai* (later generations, to conceal his humble origins, preferred to use his *cognomen Cutu* as their family name); for his own urn *Arnth Cai Cutu* used the same workshop that had furnished urns for the aristocratic Tomb of the *Volumnii*.¹⁹⁶³ As for the epigraphy, the most significant text is the *Tabula Cortonensis*, a transcription on bronze of the proceedings of a land sale between the noble family of the *Cusu* and *Petru Scêvas*, a man of servile origins (Fig. 38.2).¹⁹⁶⁴ *Petru Scêvas* sold good lands near the Trasimeno for a rather modest price; his true reward was his family's improved social status by his daughter's marriage to a member of the *Cusu gens*, documented by the inscription of the latter¹⁹⁶⁵ on an urn placed in the prestigious Hellenistic tomb of the *Cusu* at Cortona, known as the "Tanella di Pitagora."¹⁹⁶⁶

The destabilization of the ancient social structure involved progressive decay of the national culture through a process to which a variety of factors contributed. Most important is the loss of the social certainties that had characterized the period of growth from the eighth century to the sixth. An attentive reading of the contemporary culture shows how little survived of the culture of the elite, which had been embellished in the preceding centuries by the early aristocracy, especially under the influence of the culture of the Greeks. Also contributing to the erosion of traditional culture were sizable numbers of people who had originated as slaves, quite aside from those provoked by the socioeconomic pressure exercised on a grand scale by Rome with its rapid development of the second century slave economy.¹⁹⁶⁷ This economy substantially bypassed Etruria, as is shown by the fact that among the *nomina* of the Italic *mercatores* of Delos, not even one reveals Etruscan origins.¹⁹⁶⁸



Fig. 38.2: The *Tabula Cortonensis* (after Nicosia-Agostiniani 2000, pl. 8)

CGENVCIOTLOVSINO·PRAI

Fig. 38.3: Inscription mentioning C. Genucius Clepsina in the underground building at Caere (after Torelli 2000, fig. 14)

The cultural and political decline of the *principes* was accompanied by a thinning of the number of *gentes* that formed the *nobilitas* of the Etruscan cities. The demographic decline and the cancer of *oliganthropia*—the shortage of men—which invariably characterizes oligarchic societies, drastically reduced the ranks of the local aristocratic elite, not to mention the fact that some of these *gentes* had emigrated early to Rome, a phenomenon of limited extent and largely confined to the period between the late fourth and early third centuries. This was the moment of maximum openness for the Roman *nobilitas*, when some aristocratic Etruscan families succeeded in entering into the ruling classes of Rome.¹⁹⁶⁹ The attested cases are those of the Perusine L. Volumnius Flamma Violens *cos.* 307, II 296, who traced his origins to the Perusine *Velimnas*;¹⁹⁷⁰ the two brothers C. Genucius Clepsina *cos.* I 276, II 270 and L. Genucius Clepsina *cos.* 271, descendants of the Tarquinian family of the *Clevsinas*, who entered the Roman *nobilitas* thanks to an alliance by marriage with the plebeian Genucii (Fig. 38.3); and another pair of brothers, Q. Ogulnius Gallus *cos.* 269 and Cn. Ogulnius *tr. pl.* 300, originally from Volsinii, where one *Uclnas* is apparently paired as a magistrate (or *haruspex*) with a member of the local aristocratic family the *Hesc(a)nas*.¹⁹⁷¹

But the most relevant phenomenon of cultural interference took place in the territories of Etruscan cities. The presence of colonies under either Latin or Roman law, and especially with large numbers of Roman citizens *viritim* in the territories confiscated from the Etruscan cities after their submission, was highly disruptive. Here the viritane colonists, organized both in *fora* and in prefectures, lived shoulder to shoulder with the original inhabitants of the city. Added in as well was the continuous infiltration of Latin elements within many formally independent Etruscan cities, who entered very diverse social positions alongside them. Well documented is the presence in Etruscan cities of families of certain Roman origin, who even possessed family tombs in the heart of Etruscan cities. One such example is the *Clavtie* family, who owned a late fourth century hypogeum at Caere (Fig. 38.4). A member of the family was married to another Latin woman named *Luvcli*, Etruscanized forms of the genuine Latin *nomina* Claudius and Lucilius.¹⁹⁷² There were also some individuals who were not necessarily residents, but who were active on the social level, such as the probable *mercator* T. Gavio(s) C. f.,¹⁹⁷³ who dedicated in Latin a vase in the merchant sanctuary of Gravisca, port of Tarquinia, shortly before the Roman conquest of 281 (Fig. 38.5).

2A·219AY
 219AV:2V
 DAH3V·VA
 10Y3·H·VA22
 3)HY2193)

2ITA·2A7A
 VO A231HA2
 V23V·1

03IT2A·V
 ·1·2A2V



Fig. 38.4: Inscription in the family tomb of the Clavtie at Caere (after *StEtr* 37, 1969, p. 320)

The social composition of the Etruscan city between the submission and entry into Roman citizenship thus underwent profound changes. From a recent investigation of the onomastics of Tarquinia,¹⁹⁷⁴ it was possible to

demonstrate that of the forty-five Etruscan *nomina* of Tarquinian origin documented on *cippi*, which are considered the typical expression of the middle classes from the third to first centuries, thirty (or 75 percent) originated from freedmen or clients of families of the *nobilitas* of the fourth-third centuries. This seems to demonstrate the weight exercised on the social body of the families of the *nobilitas* after the submission to Rome, a period represented precisely by the *cippi*. But by all evidence this is a phenomenon that is primarily, if not exclusively, onomastic and not social in nature. The modesty of the *cippi* contrasts strongly with the forms of self-representation (painted tombs, monumental sarcophagi), that distinguished *nobiles* of the fourth and third centuries and whose *nomen* are handed down on these *cippi*.

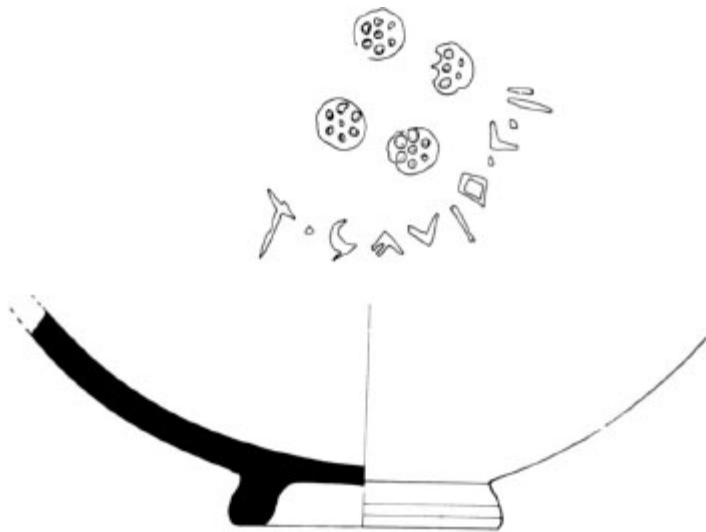


Fig. 38.5: Graffito from Gravisca mentioning *T.Gavio(s) C.f.* (after Valentini 1993, pl. 47)

The epigraphic and archaeological materials from Tarquinia appear to be unique in many respects. If we had equally rich diagnostic documentation on the demographic level for other Etruscan cities, especially in the south, we would observe that this rapid disappearance of the aristocratic classes affects all of Etruria, a phenomenon that occurred first in the south. All this speaks to a large-scale turnover among the classes, with the emergence of groups linked to the local *nobilitas* only through onomastics—descendants of freedmen, *clientes*, or assimilated relatives ones—at the beginning of a huge turnover between the outstanding *gentes* of the local society, which very closely resembles the turnover brought to light by Keith Hopkins for the ruling Roman-republican groups.¹⁹⁷⁵ In other words, the ruling classes of the Etruscan *poleis* between the third and second centuries appear to be the victims of an impoverishment that was demographic but also economic, social, and cultural. This impoverishment, which emerged visibly and

macroscopically—both in the increasingly meager works of public or sacred building and in the evermore mediocre standard of everyday production by craftsmen—in the case of the major arts, is proof of the disappearance of a large artisan upper class.¹⁹⁷⁶

After the transformation of the population that took place in the wake of the submission, the second moment of profound transformation in the socioeconomic reality of the Etruscan cities coincides with the period that precedes and accompanies the turbulent Gracchian period. The beginning of the transformations can be perceived in the decades before the mid second century. First, new colonies (*civium Romano-rum*) were founded in various territories that had been conquered,¹⁹⁷⁷ like Saturnia, founded in 183 in the former Vulcian area, and Gravisca, created in 181 in the old port of Tarquinia. Then, again in the former Vulcian territory, the old prefecture of Heba was transformed into a colony (Statonia would have survived as a *praefectura*; Vitr. *De arch.* 2.7.3).

A few decades later, according to Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch.* 8), Tiberius Gracchus would have been moved to promote his agrarian reforms in view of the fields of Etruria that had become “populated by barbarians and slaves.” Even though it has been repeatedly denied, the presence of Gracchian colonization¹⁹⁷⁸ can be postulated both in Tarquinia¹⁹⁷⁹ and in Vulci¹⁹⁸⁰ on the basis of both written and archaeological indications; crucial indications come above all from onomastic data. The conclusion of this period¹⁹⁸¹ coincides with the unimaginable violence of the Civil War between Marius and Sulla and with the wars that emerged relating to the clashes between the various factions of the first and second triumvirates.

Etruria, which had been smoothly granted the citizenship *optimo iure*, was severely disrupted by banishments, private vendettas, and vast land distributions. We have literary and political echoes of these, from the so-called “Prophecy of the Nymph Vegoia,”¹⁹⁸² to the turbulence triggered by the *possessores Sullani*¹⁹⁸³ in the unstable climate in the countryside, which was infested with bandits and landowners’ armed militias.¹⁹⁸⁴ Signs of this social turbulence come to us from evidence that attests emigrations of Etruscans from their lands. One example is the girl who died in Egypt and was wrapped in bands taken from the well-known *liber linteus* of Zagreb, a sacred calendar apparently written in the area of Perusia.¹⁹⁸⁵ Another is the boundary stones with Etruscan writing marking divisions of fields in the valley of the Wadi Milian in Tunisia that belong to a community defining itself as “Dardani” (Etr. *Tartanium*). This community was led by *Marce Unata Zutas*, perhaps a former slave, as seems to be deduced from the possible *Vornamengentile* derived from the Greek Onatas (Fig. 38.6).¹⁹⁸⁶



Fig. 38.6: Boundary stone with Etruscan inscription from Wadi Milian, Tunisia (after Heurgon 1969b, fig. 3)

Only Perusia would remain unscathed by the violent transformations during these years, which occurred in every central-northern Etrurian city that had followed the *Marianae partes*. Even its fate was sealed, however, with the massacre of the local ruling classes, who were defeated in 40 BCE after Octavian's intense siege of the city, where the triumvir's brother L. Antonius and his wife Fulvia had sought refuge.¹⁹⁸⁷ The picture of the destruction of old Etruria appears complete to us. In nearly every old North-Etruscan capital, we know of first century colonists—from Sulla's (documented at Arretium, Volaterrae, Faesulae, and Clusium),¹⁹⁸⁸ to the triumvir's and Augustus's (known at Perusia, Rusellae, again at Volaterrae,¹⁹⁸⁹ and Arretium); we do not hear of the triumvirs' colonists in Populonia, Tarquinia, Cortona, or Caere. We are therefore able to conclude that at the end of the Civil War very little had survived of that most ancient *ethnos*, which, according to Cato,¹⁹⁹⁰ had

controlled all of Italy. To judge by the epigraphic evidence of the Etruscan language in the private, funerary sphere—it is in fact unthinkable that it could have been used publicly in a Roman political or legal context—it ceased to be used during the first century,¹⁹⁹¹ even though, as Santo Mazzarino has shown,¹⁹⁹² scraps of the ancient population must have existed, fragmented in the countryside, tenaciously sticking to the language and customs of the past, traces of which are still revealed in the agricultural lexicon preserved in the modern Tuscan dialect.¹⁹⁹³

2The legitimizing past: Collective ambitions

The extreme exiguity—we might even say absence—of traces of an authentic Etruscan aristocracy that could legitimately claim origins in the *nobilitas* of the fourth-third centuries is confirmed by the reduced number of recognizably Etruscan citizens who had access to the Roman senate from the last century of the republic to the first of the empire, and in the even more limited number of those who reached the consulship, mostly in the first century.¹⁹⁹⁴ After the success of the *Clevsina* family in the middle republican period, the first consul whose origin was certainly Tarquinian was L. Caesennius Sospes *cos. ord.* in 61CE. In other words, the true heritage, transmitted from Etruscan *principes* to real or supposed descendants who bore the names of those *principes*, was not the blood, but every Etrurian city's glorious past, including those repopulated in various Augustan colonial foundations¹⁹⁹⁵ or even those newly founded by Augustus himself, as in the case of Veii. Here, after the city *abiit in villas*¹⁹⁹⁶ in the second century BCE, the *princeps* reconstructed an urban simulacrum, the *municipium Augustum Veiens*.¹⁹⁹⁷

Even though they had been semi-depopulated or repopulated by Roman colonists, the cities of Etruria boasted great temples of antiquity, all of them still towering over the plazas, as at Tarquinia, Vulci, or Rusellae;¹⁹⁹⁸ or on acropolises, as at Populonia, Perugia, or Volaterrae.¹⁹⁹⁹ Those sacred edifices, sometimes restored even in the imperial age, were destined to survive until late antiquity. Each, by its very physical presence, would recall its extraordinarily glorious past, which was spoken of moreover by the ancient writers. This is what made the difference between the cities of Etruria and those of the rest of Italy, many of which had only become truly “urban” very recently, and none of which were in a position to boast a centuries-old history.

The very narration of these historic events or the description of ancient religious customs since the first half of the second century had, on the consolidated Hellenistic models, given rise to a robust antiquarian literature on the Etruscan historical and mythic story. This literature, which had fomented Etruria's national pride, interested intellectuals of various Italic origins who were active at Rome, such as Marcus Porcius Cato from

Tusculum²⁰⁰⁰ and Cassius Hemina, very likely of Etruscan origin.²⁰⁰¹ It also interested Etruscan men of letters who wrote local histories, such as Caecina from Volaterrae.²⁰⁰² As has been brought to light by Domenico Musti,²⁰⁰³ who analyzes the late republican historiographical debate on archaic Rome, we can even find historical reconstructions of philo-Etruscan and philo-Hellenic attitudes, which had the clear intent of interfering in contemporary politics. Marta Sordi has insisted instead on the connection between the myth of Troy and Rome's Etruscan heritage.²⁰⁰⁴

During Augustus's reign, according to the ancient Roman and Italic scholars Verrius Flaccus and Hyginus, the same antiquarian climate that had come into existence in the late republic and whose peak is occupied without peer by Varro, appears firmly inculcated in the imperial household. Through the capillary diffusion of the imperial cult, it came to constitute further stimulus for the Etruscan cities toward recovery of myths and local histories for the purpose of self-promotion. During the Julio-Claudian period it led the most eminent of the few Etruscan cities (namely Tarquinia, Caere, Volsini, which during the second-first centuries had remained unharmed or were no more than brushed by the drastic settlements of colonists— apart from the Gracchian ones) to exalt their own past, erecting monuments intended to celebrate those ancient glories. This particular aspect of the intertwining of imperial propaganda and the newly minted heritage of the most recent Roman colonizations emerges from the differences between Tarquinia and Arretium. Tarquinia was the heart of this widespread climate of Etruscan nostalgia. It not only revived the title of *civitas foederata* as a remembrance of the independent past and of the ancient *foedus* drawn up with Rome in 281, but became the theater, around the old main city temple popularly known in modern times as “Ara della Regina,” of a great production on the past glories of the city and its families. In contrast, at Arretium, which was home to *Arretini Veteres*, *Arretini Fidentiores*, and *Arretini Iulienses*—the old citizens of Etruscan Arretium, the Sullan colonists, and the Augustan colonists²⁰⁰⁵— as attested by the list in Pliny (*HN* 3.52), the past, as far as we can tell, was seen only as that of Rome. This is documented both by the altar with the Luperca²⁰⁰⁶ and by the small-scale “copies” of the Roman *elogia* of the Forum of Augustus.²⁰⁰⁷



Tarquinius erected a statue of the founder Tarchon, with an inscription of at least four lines, of which unfortunately only a small scrap survives. The first line contains the name and filiation of the hero, *[Tar]cho[n Tyrrhenif.]*, the second and third contain the memoir of the rule of the hero as founder of Etruria and of the city, while the fourth line was perhaps the record of the initial Etruscan expansion into Campania with the unknown city named Hama (Fig. 38.7).²⁰⁰⁸



Fig. 38.8: Roman relief from Caere, so called Throne of Claudius (after Fuchs 1989, p. 54)

Still more substantial evidence of the importance possessed in the imperial present by the memory of ancient glories is found in the so-called “throne of Claudius,” an illustrated monument found in a dump close to the theater of Caere together with a group of imperial statues with related inscriptions,

pertaining to a local *Cae-sareum*.²⁰⁰⁹ Only a single fragment of this monument has survived, from which we find it hard to reconstruct its appearance with any certainty (Fig. 38.8).²⁰¹⁰ The term “throne,” which is hardly consistent with the typology of such objects, was coined in an attempt to connect it with a colossal seated figure of the divinized Claudius found in the same context. The fragment of this unique monument consists of a heavy carved rectangular slab of marble, which on the front depicts the personifications of three Etruscan *populi* labeled with their names. On the wide outer border appears a vegetal motif of acanthus, while on the back, only partly worked, is the figure of a pig standing on a base in the form of an altar, behind which is a tree. This last scene has been described as a depiction of sacrifice, which is a trivialization, as the figure of an animal standing on a base is not at all consistent with a reasonable depiction of a sacrificial ritual. Instead, considering the presence of the tree, it may allude to a monument representing a local or national foundation myth, similar to that which arose around the legend of the Trojan origins of the Latins, based on the sow of Laurentum. The long carved side, broken toward the left, shows from left to right the personifications of the *Vetulonenses*, *[Vo]lcentani*, and *Tarquinienses*, of the *populi* of Vetulonia, Vulci and Tarquinia. The first is a heroic nude figure provided with an oar within a niche, whose left side shows a tree forming a wing; the second is a veiled goddess seated on the inscribed base holding a bird in her right hand; the third, also on an inscribed base, shows a man in a toga standing *velato capite*. These represent, patently, the founding hero of Vetulonia, the main goddess of Vulci and Tarchon, and the founder of Tarquinia. The main difficulty for the reconstruction of the monument is the obscure sequence of personifications, which according to Paolo Liverani is alphabetical, albeit not perfectly.²⁰¹¹ The historical significance of the Caere relief, stylistically datable to the Julian- Claudian period, but not securely specifiable to the reign of Claudius, leads us to consider another important operation in the Etruscan “revival” of the Imperial period. The monument to which the slab belongs has generally been considered the proof that Claudius, in his moral reform work undertaken in connection with the censorship of 47 CE, had reinstituted the league of the *duodecim populi* that the Etruscans had created around the *Fanum Voltumnae apud Volsinios* and that, according to widespread modern opinion, would have been disbanded after the conquest of Volsinii in 265 BCE (Fig. 38.9).

There are extremely scarce sources on the activity of these assemblies, which have been much discussed.²⁰¹² For the period of autonomy, the arguments essentially concern the degree of political and military union of the league, which is normally considered quite meager and related only to religious topics.²⁰¹³ For the period after the fall of Volsinii, they concern the possible dissolution of the league, and for the period after 89 BCE, they concern the date and structure of its formal reconstitution (or reform), beginning with the increase in its membership size from twelve to fifteen

cities and ending with the final list of these fifteen *populi*.²⁰¹⁴ According to Tacitus (Ann. 11.15), the emperor Claudius, during his censorship in 47 CE, had delegated to the pontiffs the task of controlling the continuity of the care for the *disciplina*, the only genuine *haruspicina*, the Etruscan one. On the other hand, attributing the new foundation of the Etruscan league to Augustus²⁰¹⁵ appears to be a safer solution in view of a few cases of *praetores Etruriae* preceding the reign of Claudius²⁰¹⁶ and, above all, of the data provided by archaeology.



Fig. 38.9: Central area of the Fanum Voltumnae sanctuary in the Roman phase (after *AnnMuseoFaina* 16, 2009, p. 462, fig. 15)

Recently, in fact, after centuries of discussions about its location, the *fanum Voltumnae* has finally come to light in the immediate vicinity of the northeastern extremity of Orvieto, corresponding to the city of Volsinii,

destroyed after the serf revolt in 265 BCE. The first campaigns of excavation²⁰¹⁷ have brought to light a number of temples and altars within a very wide sacred area with phases ranging from the Archaic and Classical periods to the Roman times. These structures reveal—or seem to reveal—traces of the Roman sacking of 265. The heart of the Roman presence consists of a small temple with its altar (strangely labeled as “donarium”) and of what appears to be a great brick hall with a mosaic floor, but preserving traces of much earlier phase which must have played a central role in the life of the sanctuary in the Imperial period, perhaps as the seat of city delegate meetings and of the election of the *praetor Etruriae*. Transformed into an edifice for Christian worship in the Caro-lingian period (fragments of marble decoration of that date are known) dedicated to St. Peter,²⁰¹⁸ which medieval sources, significantly, define as *in vetere*, this hall presents a phase in *opus reticulatum* interpreted by the excavators as the remains of a *domus*, a structure hard to imagine at the center of a suburban area. The phase in *opus reticulatum* is considered proof of the existence of a special interest in the *fanum* at the beginning of the Imperial period, as evidenced by the appearance in a few places in the walled sanctuary of the same technique. These buildings demonstrate that there was a specific interest in the site on the part of the elite of the Etruscan cities, if not the emperor himself, given the connotations of the construction technique directly bound to Rome, a clear proof of the intervention of urban workers.

That this was indeed the heart of the sanctuary in the Roman period has recently been confirmed by the building, not far from the hall, of a small thermal installation fed by a rudimentary aqueduct. The baths, although modest, represent an obvious tribute not only to the Roman passion for “sociability” that develops within the λουτρὸν λυσίπονον,²⁰¹⁹ and they constitute a facility needed by the distinguished Etruscans who gathered for the festivals, as well as for sports activities of the *ludi* that were, as in the past, at the core of the life of the sanctuary. The presence of bases of large and small votive offerings in the excavations that reveal signs of violence has been considered proof of the Roman plundering of the sanctuary in 265. This is in addition to the mention of 2000 bronze statues (presumably of all kinds, including little ones) that according to the *misorhomaïos* Metrodorus of Scepsis were plundered by the Romans from Volsinii.²⁰²⁰ Clear evidence is provided by the *sigilla* seized and dedicated by M. Fulvius Flaccus in the triumphal sanctuary at Sant’Omobono in Rome (Figs. 38.10., 61.2).²⁰²¹ Unfortunately not yet available are two crucial pieces of information. The first concerns the possible interruption in the life of the sanctuary between 265 and the very early imperial age, when the ceremonies and *ludi* were resumed. The second concerns the exact dating of the beginning of the institution’s Roman phase, although the preliminary reports offer a glimpse of persistent building activity mentioned here and there in those reports, and they speak of abundant evidence of first-century BCE pottery.²⁰²² The presence of tombs throughout

the area and from Early Medieval dwellings within the baths witnesses that in the sixth century CE the site was in neglect, except for the church. The new archaeological data is of the outmost importance and seem to prove definitively—as I suggested decades ago—that the reorganization of the sanctuary took place long before the reign of Claudius, at the beginning of the reign of Augustus. This was the moment when *the princeps*, obeying the antiquarian urge of the age that was widely shared by the classes that formed his main political support, as part of the construction of his personal power, “archaeologically” revived religious institutions of a time that had sunk into oblivion. This would include the revival (or reinvention) of the *Fratres Arvales* brotherhood, which dates around 29 CE.²⁰²³

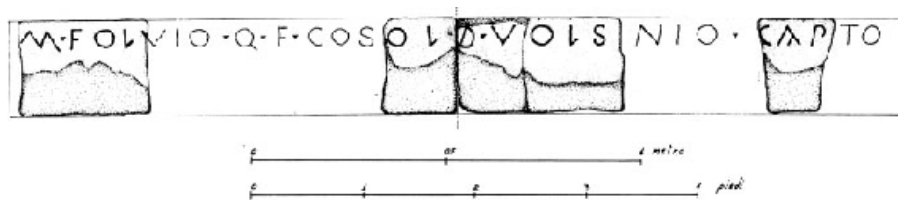


Fig. 38.10: Latin inscription mentioning M. Fulvius Flaccus from the Sant’Omobono area at Rome (after Torelli 1968, fig. 1)

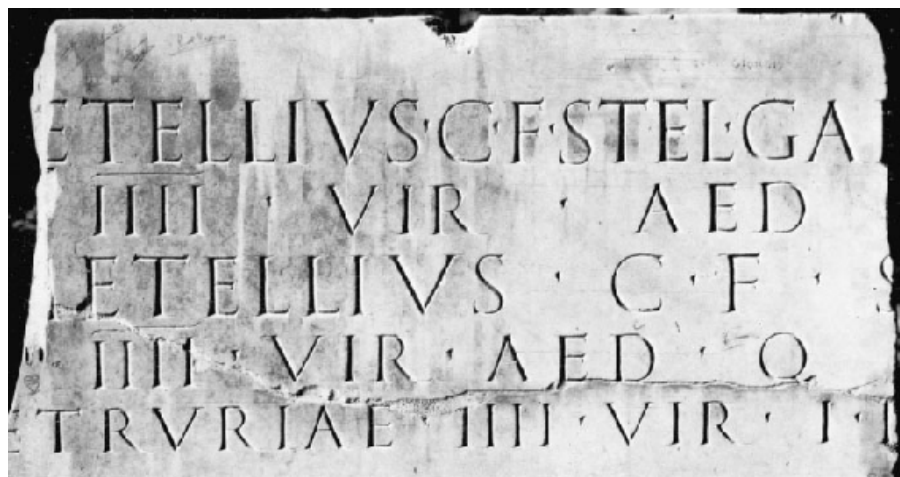


Fig. 38.11: Latin inscription mentioning C. Metellius C.f. Stell. [praet(or)] Etruriae. Cortona, Museo dell’Accademia Etrusca (after Liou 1969, pl. 6)

There was a very active participation of senators, *equites* and local dignitaries, all or almost all without a single drop of Etruscan blood, belonging to the cities of Etruria, in the life of the renewed *Fanum* and added to their careers the coveted titles of *praetor Etruriae* or *aedilis Etruriae* (Fig. 38.11).²⁰²⁴ The Augustan restoration of the league increased the number of the cities from twelve to fifteen to satisfy the ambitions of the centers that had more recently emerged into notoriety compared to the original composition of

the dodecapolis. While the aedileship was reserved to the *domi nobiles*, the praetorship was usually the prerogative of persons of senatorial rank, let alone emperor Hadrian himself.²⁰²⁵ In the Late Imperial period, following Diocletian's provincialization of Italy, the originally Etruscan festivals of the *Fanum Voltumnae* became the center of the imperial cult for the province of *Tuscia et Umbria*.

This merged the Umbrians—who had become part of the same province—with this Volsinian festival. A few years later, however, the Edict of Hispellum issued by the emperor Constantine²⁰²⁶ authorized the Umbrians to celebrate the *ludi* and festivals of the imperial cult in their own main city. The new title of *coronatus Tusciae (et Umbriae)*—parallel to the Greek title of *axeσavpιcπoπoc*;²⁰²⁷ which was awarded to the provincial *archiereis* of the Greek-speaking provinces—is dated to this period. The new title serves as evidence that the primary function of these priests was to take care of the imperial cult entrusted to the *praetores Etruriae*.

3The legitimizing past: Familial ambitions

We know very well²⁰²⁸ how important the display of illustrious ancestors was for family fortunes in Rome, especially gentes of great antiquity. In the *alae* of the noble houses the *armaria* showed the *imagines maiorum* connected by ribbons²⁰²⁹ to form *stemmata*, family trees, whose antiquity is directly proportionate to the prestige attached to them by the *communis opinio* of all, patricians and plebeians, *honestiores* and *humiliores*. With the entry of the Etruscans into the Roman state with the full privileges of the *civitas optimo iure*, the ruling classes of the individual cities, regardless of whether or not they descended from ancient Etruscan *principes*, could count on the antiquity of their own *stemmata*. The authenticity thereof rested in family archives that could date back centuries, and often included among an ancestry persons of the first rank in the *Tuscae historiae*, which we know were cultivated locally from the late republican period through the entire imperial age.²⁰³⁰ That is how it could come about that in the first century CE a poet with ancient Etruscan origins like Persius from Volaterrae could aim the pointed barbs of his satire at his compatriots who boasted the most lofty Etruscan family trees. “Or are you to puff out your lungs with pride because you come of a Tuscan stock, yourself the thousandth in the line...?”²⁰³¹ For a *domi nobilis* from one of the main Etrurian cities, the possibility of exhibiting that sort of pedigree could signify rapid access to the senate and (gods willing) the achievement of prestigious and lucrative responsibilities in the government starting with urban offices in Rome. But this was not the rule. C. Maecenas, an Arretine *eques* of great wealth,²⁰³² hymned by Horace as a descendant of kings, even refused to undertake a senatorial career to become, in the felicitous definition

of Ronald Syme, a “member of the cabinet” and one of the brains behind “the national program” of the *princeps*.

Through this research into noble ancestry, Etruria has provided us with a series of very interesting cases. The simplest stratagem, carried out time after time in every part of Etruria, is to resurrect famous names of the past. From the many cases of sought after homonymy one of the clearest is that of the Velimna-Volumnii, known from various documents from Perusia, among others. Giovanni Colonna²⁰³³ has recently offered a plausible reconstruction of the history of this illustrious family of Perusia. After the death of *Arnth Velimna*, author of the realization of the famous tomb that bears the name of the Volumnii and in which he had prepared resting-places for all the members of the family, the hypogeum was abandoned very soon, only to be reopened around 50 BCE²⁰³⁴ to accommodate the marble urn with the inscription of P. Volumnius A. f. Violens (Fig. 38.12). He was the son of a person whose name deliberately recapitulates that of a famous citizen of three centuries earlier, mentioned above, who was consul in Rome in 302. As is proven by the epigraphic and archaeological evidence from the tomb, this first-century person had aimed for an intentional revival of the *tria nomina* of the Roman consul in the name of a certainly false direct descent. To give still more credit to these (false) origins, useful under both the strictly Roman profile and the Perusian and Etruscan one, he proceeded to reopen the tomb to deposit the ashes, which led all local citizens to believe that he was to be considered descendant of the *nobiles Velimnas* of the fourth century BCE.

Another justly famous case, inspired by the series of statues and *elogia* of the *summi viri* of Rome in the Forum of Augustus, is that represented by the Latin inscriptions containing three *elogia* of people from Tarquinia’s most glorious historical times.²⁰³⁵ Considerable parts of the first and last of the three *elogia* are preserved; not much survives of the second inscription. The texts illustrate the career of these three Tarquinians between the end of the fifth and the second half of the fourth century—all praetors (i.e. *zilath*), members of *Spurinas* family one of the most famous in Tarquinia and in my opinion owners of the splendid Tomb of the Ogre.²⁰³⁶ Their names are Latinized as Velthur Spurinna Lartis f., Velthur Spurinna Velthuris f., and A. Spu-rinna Velthuris f., respectively founder of the fortunes of the family, his son, and his nephew (or younger son) (Fig. 38.13).



Fig. 38.12: Marble urn with the inscription of P. Volumnius A.f. Violens Cafatia natus. Perugia, Archaeological Museum (photo by M. Torelli)

The founder, Velthur Spurinna Lartis f., twice praetor, was the commander of the small Tarquinian contingent that participated in the 415–414 Athenian expedition against Syracuse, mentioned only as generic “Etruscans” by

Thucydides (6.88.6; 7.53.2; 7.54; 7.57.11). It is Thucydides who documents the victory—the only Athenian victory in the entire campaign—achieved by the Etruscan troops who had remained to guard the encampment, and who even raised a trophy to celebrate the victory. The *elogium* registers the Etruscan version of the events, which are presented as the first successful *traiectus* of an Etruscan army in Sicily and the granting to this army of a crown (?) of gold, possibly a version in Etruscan terms of the trophy erected at Syracuse.

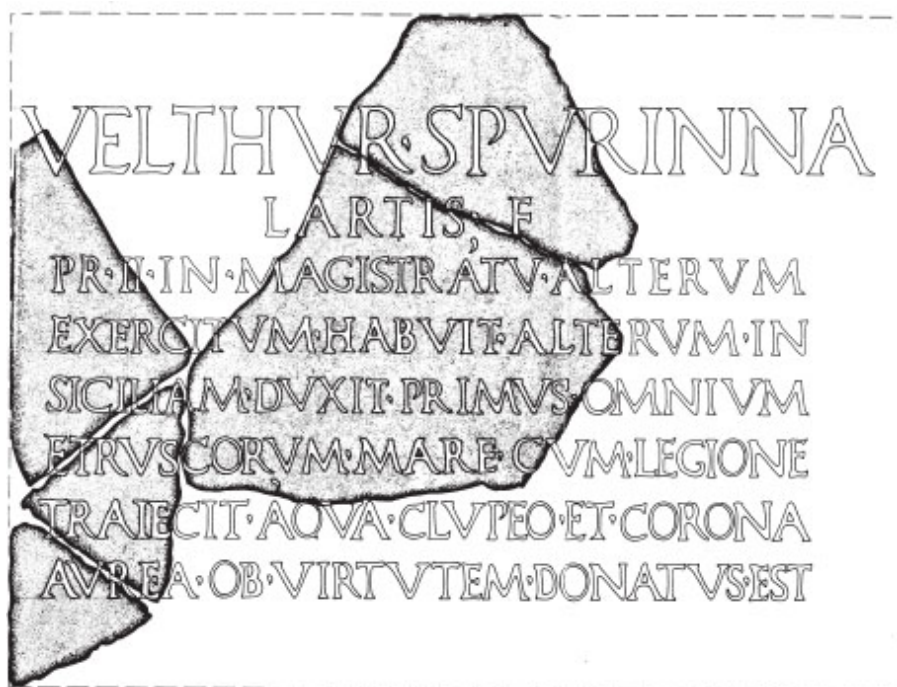


Fig. 38.13: Latin inscription mentioning VelthurSpurinna. Tarquinia, Archaeological Museum (after Torelli 1975, pl. 4)

A. Spurinna Velthuris f., thrice praetor, enjoyed recorded successes that we can easily connect with the war between Rome and Tarquinia of the years 358–353, always seen from the Etruscan perspective (Fig. 38.14). The recorded events mention the overthrow of the king of Caere and the conquest of nine *oppida* by the Latins, i.e. by the Romans, perhaps with the aid of the Falisci. The two events, read instead in the light of the Roman annalistic tradition, coincide first with Caere's defection from the traditional alliance with Rome, and second with the news of the *tumultus Etruscus* proclaimed by the Tarquinian presence at the gates of Rome. This is where the *Decem Pagi* were located, a Roman possession on the right bank of the Tiber, dating, according to tradition, back to the time of Romulus. To these deeds the *elogium* adds a report of an otherwise unknown intervention by A. Spurinna at

Arretium in connection with a *bellum servile*, an episode that has been confirmed by Augusto Campana and Adriano Maggiani.²⁰³⁷ There is also a report (now preserved in a manuscript of the Vatican Library) of an Etruscan inscription from Tarquinia that refers to the elogium of *Cilnei*, a noble woman from Arretium (Maecenas belonged to this *gens*) who was married to *Arnth Spurinas*. It is obviously a matrimonial seal of the Arretine interests of the *Spurinas*.

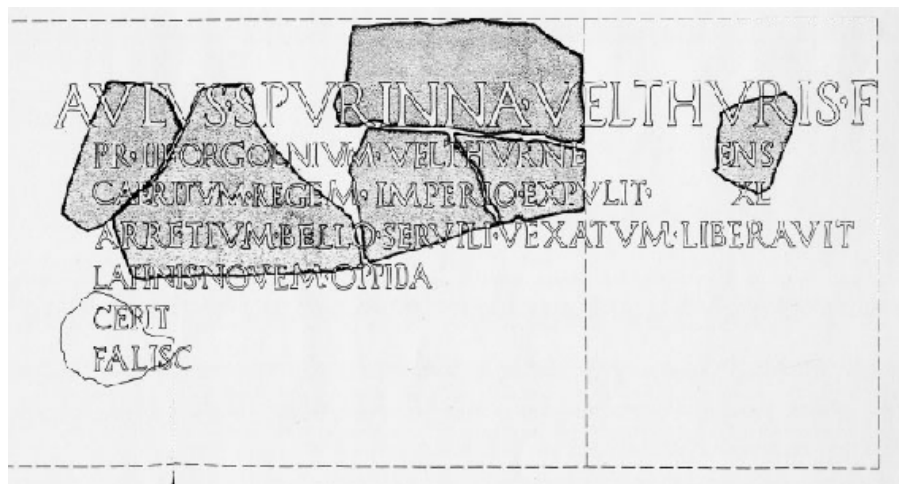


Fig. 38.14: Latin inscription mentioning Aulus Spurinna. Tarquinia, Archaeological Museum (after Torelli 1975, pl. 4)

This is not the place to discuss the various historical interpretations of the content of these *elogia*. I would rather explore how these notices were transmitted from the period to which they refer to the early imperial age, when the *elogia* of the Spurinna family were written, and try to identify the person who commissioned the monument. With relative certainty, we can attribute this undertaking to Vestricius Spurinna, who lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, and was the father or grandfather of a prominent member of the Roman senate in the first century CE, T. Vestricius Spurinna, *cos.* II100 CE. These Vestricii descended from the *Vestarcnie*, a fourth century aristocratic family in Tarquinia whose family tomb in the necropolis of the Secondi Archi²⁰³⁸ is known, with sarcophagi for only two generations and which somehow merged with the family that owned the Tomba del Cardinale.²⁰³⁹ The Augustan-Tiberian Vestricius Spurinna bore a second *nomen* because he was the son of a *domi nobilis* Vestricius, who lived from the middle of the first century BCE to the time of Augustus, and of Spurinnia, daughter of Caesar's haruspex, known to us from Cicero and other sources.²⁰⁴⁰ Naturally Caesar's haruspex was not a direct descendant of the great *Spurinas* celebrated by the *elogia*, since the line might have ended already in the last years of the fourth century. The social and political marginality of Caesar's haruspex Spurinna

and the slow ascent of the Vestricii to whom he was related tell us that the haruspex was almost certainly an indirect descendant of freedmen of the great *Spurinas gens* of our *elogia*.

A series of facts attest the premature disappearance of this illustrious fourth-century Tarquinian family. First, it appears that *Cilnei* (who was originally married to *Arnth Spurinas* in whom we should perhaps see a son of Aulus Spurinna) was remarried. Second, the sarcophagus²⁰⁴¹ of a different *Arnth Spurinas*, son of *Vel Spurinas* and of a *Thanchvil Cuclni*, was placed in the Tomb of the Partunus family. Finally, there was a deliberate, programmatic destruction of the walls of the second chamber of the Tomb of the Orcus—which had depicted the banqueting ancestors of the *Spurinas*—to make room for the new occupants of the hypogeum, the *Smurinas*. This does not mean that the archive of the *gens*, on which the notices of the *elogia* certainly depend, had been destroyed or dispersed. The probable existence of the *liber de gente Spurinnia*, similar to the *libri de gente Iunia, Claudia, Cornelia*, or *Fabia* written by Cicero's friend Atticus²⁰⁴² on the *gentes* of Brutus, Claudius Marcellus, Cornelius Scipio, or Fabius Maximus, is brought to our attention by an anecdote recorded by Valerius Maximus (4.5, ext. 1), “ante gestum ... quam civitas Etruriae daretur.” It speaks of an extraordinarily beautiful boy called Spurinna, who disfigured his face to preserve his own *sanctitas*, because his appearance aroused such desires in the women of rank, “com-plurium feminarum inlustrium sollicitaret oculos.” The anecdote is in itself of little significance, but the circumstances it reveals are of extreme interest. This is because they document private events of persons of illustrious birth (and of strict customs...), which happened long before the grant of the Roman citizenship. We must presume the existence of compilations based on memories of the *gens*, from which the author of the *elogia* must have drawn. These familial archives, together with public records of events and the religious literature underlying the *Tuscae historiae*, are one of the main points of reference of the Etruscan heritage. Etruscan heritage was still continuously used in the early imperial age for the purpose of family propaganda, however much of that heritage they proclaim, usually falsely, to have held.

The familial memories entrusted to the *tabulae* and kept in the *tablina* of the patrician houses were not the only sources that could be relied on for the purpose of glorifying their own stock. Sometimes where the conditions were met, reference could be made to objects that we know were used as vehicles of memory. These were, for example, insignia of power, or plunder from the family's military undertakings, such as the *tabulae* that “lay” in the same *tablina*, not unlike the *keimelia* in the aristocratic residences of the Greeks in the Homeric age. Such objects had an immense evocative power, and their antiquity was a guarantee of the *virtus* and *honores* deserved by the ancestors. The sculpted “thrones” in the archaic chamber tombs of Caere were identical to the *solidae sellae* of the vocabulary of the Roman augurs.²⁰⁴³ The thrones

were eternal proof of the right to the *auspicia* enjoyed by the *gens*, precisely as the images of arms and human figures expressed in relief in the Tomb of the Volumni at Perugia²⁰⁴⁴ constituted a reference to familial *res gestae*, the same as those that are recalled in the Roman patrician *domus* of insignia, trophies, and *manubiae* of war that the generals in the family displayed in the *vestibula*, *atria*, and patrician *tablina*.²⁰⁴⁵

The “Corsini Throne,” an enigmatic object found in 1732 during construction of the family chapel ordered by Pope Clement XII Corsini in St. John Lateran in Rome and preserved in the Corsini Collection, belongs to this category of object.²⁰⁴⁶ The “Throne” is in fact a replica, quite faithful in many ways, very approximate in others, of a seat with a curved back and circular base. It is in the form of the most archaic *solida sella* of the *auspicia*, and is decorated in relief with continuous friezes on the back depicting a parade of soldiers and a hunt, and vegetal friezes and a funerary cult ceremony on the base. It is clearly an imitation of an Etruscan object in embossed sheets of bronze, probably of the Archaic or Late Archaic period, in iconographic harmony with bronze works of northern Etruria. This peculiar object must have decorated the *tablinum* of a Roman aristocratic house to commemorate the glories of a stock going back to earlier centuries. It could evoke with the very form of insignia of power a past of *reges* and *principes* among the most prestigious civilizations of the peninsula (Fig. 38.15).

It was discovered in the *Lateranum*, the residence of the Plauti, one of the most eminent late republican and early imperial patrician families of Rome. Two branches of the family are known, the Plauti Silvani and the Plauti Laterani. The *Lateranum*, a princely possession where much later the cathedral of Rome was built by the emperor Constantine, belonged to this second branch, which was involved in the Pisonian conspiracy, the reason for the confiscation of the *praedia* of the family of the Laterani by Nero. The greatest fortune of the other branch, that of the Plauti Silvani, was the marriage of the first *praetorius* of the line, M. Plautius Silvanus, with Urgulania, mother of the first consul in the family, M. Plautius Silvanus *cos. ord.* 2 BCE. She was definitely of Etruscan origin, as illuminated by Jacques Heurgon,²⁰⁴⁷ perhaps a descendant of Velthur Orgolnius, the *Caeritum rex*, who, according to the *elogium* of A. Spurinna, would have been dethroned by A. Spurinna.²⁰⁴⁸ Urgulania, who succeeded in arranging the betrothal of her granddaughter Plautia Urgulanilla to the future emperor Claudius, pursued a consistent matrimonial policy for the members of her clan, both the Silvani and the Laterani, with senatorial *gentes* of the same origins, from Etruria or adjacent cities of Umbria. Known for gestures of true Etruscan *severitas*, this fearsome lady was able to count on the favor of Augustus’ powerful wife to uphold the fortunes of the Plauti. She had certainly taken advantage of her “royal” Etruscan origins to lift out of anonymity her husband’s family, whose origins were from Trebula Suffenas, an extremely obscure municipality in the Tiburtine mountains. The family had made a modest appearance in the Roman

senate in the early first century BCE, and had laboriously recorded the above-mentioned praetor during the reign of Caesar. Whether her own claims of royal ancestry were true or false, Urgulania brought a member of her family close to acquiring the imperial throne: boasting of royal Etruscan origins thus paid off.



Fig. 38.15: The Corsini throne. Rome, Galleria Corsini (photo by M. Torelli)

4The powerful vehicle of the Etruscan legacy: ***Disciplina***

A custom of obscure origin, but which had become the law of Rome, had it that the *procurationes* of the *prodigia publica* would be entrusted, with the consent of the senate, to Etruscan haruspices. Using the rhythms and hendiadys that are typical of the legal language, Cicero states:²⁰⁴⁹ “prodigia

portenta ad Etruscos haruspices, si senatus iussit, deferunto.” We do not know, however, when this sort of law would have been approved nor whether similar laws were part of the obligations awarded to the Etruscan *principes* to perpetuate the knowledge of the *disciplina*. This is the name of the variegated corpus of haruspicy writings, *libri haruspicini*, *fatales*, *fulgurales*, *rituales*, *Tagetici*, *Acherontici*,²⁰⁵⁰ an obligation confirmed by another legal text cited by Cicero: “Etruria principes disciplinam doceto.” The principle is explicitly given in the normative myth depicted on a well-known mirror from Tuscania,²⁰⁵¹ a splendid confirmation of the antiquity of the tradition of teaching the *disciplina* principally within the aristocratic families of Etruria.

This singular Roman practice of calling on Etruscan haruspices in case of *portenta* reveals the great prestige the adepts of *disciplina* enjoyed. The Etruscan *principes* could not have failed to take advantage of this contact between the two ruling classes to orient the politics of Rome in their favor, although even the Romans had doubts about the bona fides of these soothsayers. As we have seen, the incorporation of Etruria into the Roman state occurred right in the middle of a decline in the quality and quantity of the Etruscan cities’ ruling classes, the reason behind the decline in social and cultural position of the haruspices. At the same time, at all social levels of Rome, superstitions of every type spread, which brought an increasing interest in all forms of reading omens²⁰⁵² and an increasing desire to establish personal relationship with those who were the interpreters of those omens, who due to the new demand multiplied beyond measure. Even if it becomes confused with a jumble of suggestions of an esoteric nature, the speculative interest in *disciplina*, which in the different types of the *libri haruspicini* amply nourishes antiquarianism, was fed by persons of varied origin. Some were Italic, as in the case of C. Fonteius Capito,²⁰⁵³ but most were Etruscan, such as the Volterranean A. Caecina, who was active in Roman political life at the time of the civil wars, and P. Nigidius Figulus, likely from Perugia, senator in the first half of the first century BCE,²⁰⁵⁴ fragments of whose work survive in the *De ostentis* of John Lydus (see below). As for personal relationships between haruspices and prominent individuals on the Roman political scene, we know of several examples beginning in the last decades of the first century.²⁰⁵⁵

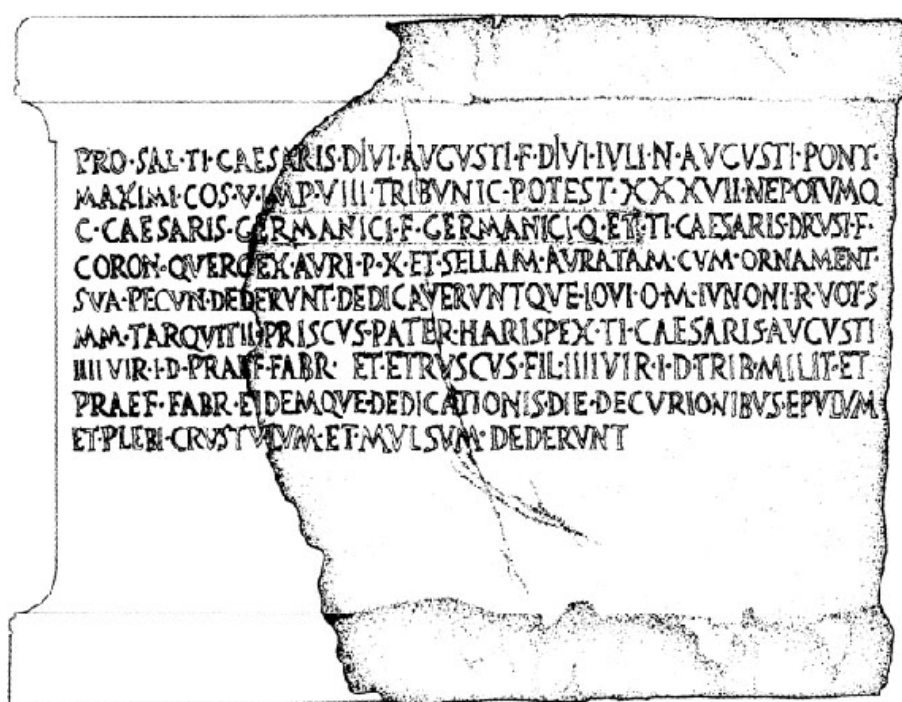


Fig. 38.16: Inscription mentioning M. Tarquitiu Priscus and M. Tarquitiu Etruscus. Tarquinia, Archaeological Museum (after Torelli 2005, fig. 2)

From the private *haruspices* of C. Gracchus, Sulla, and Caesar, we pass, with the empire, to the institutionalized form of the *haruspices Caesarum*. Recently, thanks to a new inscription from Tarquinia (Fig. 38.16),²⁰⁵⁶ we have learned the name of Tiberius's *haruspex*, the most famous writer of *disciplina* M. Tarquitiu Priscus.²⁰⁵⁷ Rather than Priscus himself, his son M. Tarquitiu Etruscus is probably the author of the reorganization, perhaps coinciding with the reinforcement of the *ordo LX haruspicum*,²⁰⁵⁸ of the college of *haruspices* based in Tarquinia that was ordered by Claudius. The history of private *haruspices* is thus bound up with the fortunes of this *ordo*, which was certainly very ancient. It was headed by a *magister* and had sixty members, who contributed to the college a fixed number of *pueri*, boys intended for instruction in the *disciplina*. The number sixty appears to relate to the composition, whether twelve or fifteen of the league's *populi*, who respectively would have contributed to the *ordo* five or four *pueri* from the families of the *principes* (although these figures conflict with the six and ten *pueri* given by Cicero and Valerius Maximus, respectively).

Still at Tarquinia, opposite the Ara della Regina temple, a group of fragmentary inscriptions on colored marble bearing the *fasti* of the *magistri* of the college has come to light in various times. The list only starts from the grant of Roman citizenship in 89 BCE and provides a sequence (that may be fairly complete) of only four *magistri*, for whom are provided the *tria nomina*

and a brief *elogium* of their professional *res gestae*. The first of these four, maybe the first in the list, is an unnamed *magister* of the second quarter of the first century, the author of *procuraciones* of *ostenta ful-guralia(?)*, *carmina* (prophecies in verse), and many *divinationes augurales*, whose *disciplina* was to be deposited near the Roman priestly college of the *decemviri sacris faciundis* (from 51 BCE *quindecimviri*) (Fig. 38.17.a). The second is P. Coelius P. f. Etruscus, of whose activities almost nothing is preserved, though they must have occupied the second half of the first century, perhaps before Volcatius, the haruspex who died soon after prophesying the end the ninth century with the appearance of the *Iulium sidus*,²⁰⁵⁹ and before the anonymous *haruspex* who predicted the death of Augustus²⁰⁶⁰ (if they were indeed *magistri* of the *ordo*) (Fig. 38.17.b).

The third, as had been conjectured by E. Bormann,²⁰⁶¹ even though he united the fragments known to him into a single *elogium*, is M. Tarquitiu Priscus, author of frequently cited Latin books of *disciplina*. Priscus certainly had a good knowledge of the Etruscan language; we now know him to have been Tiberius's haruspex. As stated in the last line of the text, he enjoyed a long career, of many, many years (at least *[tringin] ta*, if not actually *[quadragin]ta*). Beginning in 13 CE, he served in Tiberius' retinue in Illyria with a rather obscure activity in the area of the *Pagus Arusnatum* (possibly to be placed an area near the Garda Lake) and with the "invention" of his client's personal goddess, Iustitia; and the end came with the denunciation of the *comitia iniusta* of Sejanus in 32 CE.²⁰⁶² The fourth is the son of Tarquitiu Priscus, M. Tarquitiu Etruscus, successor to his father in the reign of Caligula or Claudius, who, as we have seen, together with Caesennius (the *cos. ord.* of 61 CE?) was responsible for refurbishing with colored marble the meeting place of the *ordo*²⁰⁶³ near the heroic tomb of Tarchon, a cenotaph merely glimpsed by the excavations under the altar of the Ara della Regina temple.²⁰⁶⁴ It is possible that this place was considered the location of the *ager Tarquiniensis*, from whose land was supposed to have emerged the *puer prodi-gialis Tages*,²⁰⁶⁵ who was credited with having taught Etruria the arts of hepatoscopy and other forms of divination used by haruspices. Among the manifestations of the centuries-long contact between Rome and Etruria through the haruspices, Tarquitiu Priscus is the last to have had major political success. Although the *ordo LX haruspī-cum*, the *haruspices Caesarum* and the *haruspices Augustorum* continued to be spoken of,²⁰⁶⁶ the political relevance of the *disciplina* thereafter died out, probably in combination with the fading away of the direct transmission of the cultural heritage of Etruria.



Fig. 38.17: *Fasti* of the college of LX Haruspices: a. fragment 1; b. fragment 2. Tarquinia, Archaeological Museum (after Torelli 1975, pl. 8–9)

Thanks to transmission related to the study of divination by hepatoscopy and the observation of *ostenta*, haruspicy and the literature connected with it, though in forms little controlled and always a bit barbarized, spread widely in the empire, far beyond Etruria and even Rome itself. It was long destined to remain not only a form of popular divination (we even hear of *haruspices legionis*!) which would recur at particular moments, but also a memory of an ancient custom preserved in cultural environments whether lofty or less cultivated. In the late empire it spawned fierce conflicts with the ever more successful Christianity.²⁰⁶⁷ The two aspects—the popular and the cultured—

come to light in the final throes of the old world.²⁰⁶⁸ In terms of the popular aspect of haruspicy, it suffices to recall the appearance in 408 CE at the gate of the City of some haruspices coming from the Umbrian city of Narnia, claiming that they were capable of warding off the threat of Alaric at the gates of Rome solely by the practice of the ancient rites.²⁰⁶⁹ Similarly, it is worth noting the “Etruscan” haruspices mentioned by Procopius; or again the haruspices condemned by the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633.²⁰⁷⁰ For the role of the *disciplina* on the cultured level, we turn to two learned men at the threshold of the Middle Ages. Martianus Capella, in the West, managed to gather echoes of haruspical doctrine. John Lydus, in the East, still had access in the Constantinople of Justinian to good antiquarian sources from many centuries earlier, and explored the “silver heirloom” of a past, of which the *basileus* of Byzantium still demonstrated need and of which the doctrine of the *ostenta*, the ultimate heritage of the *disciplina*, was fully a part.²⁰⁷¹

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CIE Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum.

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

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IV. Civilization

Early Iron Age

Lars Karlsson

39Hut Architecture, 10th cent.-730 BCE

Abstract: The development from a large oval Proto-Villanovan hut placed in a cut channel—via the compact Villanovan hut with substantial wattle-and-daub walls—to the rectilinear hut of the Orientalizing period, built with traditional “hut materials” but on a new plan took about 500 years. In the second half of the Orientalizing period, terracotta roofs were introduced as well as quarried ashlar blocks in walls and foundations. With the Archaic period, Etruria abandoned its prehistory and entered the architectural koine of the Mediterranean world.

Keywords: Early Iron age hut, oval hut, rectangular hut, cinerary urn

Introduction

In his introduction to “the origin of the dwelling house” in Book II, Vitruvius writes: “And first, with upright forked props and twigs put between, they wove their walls. Others made walls, drying moistened clods which they bound with wood, and covered with reeds and leafage, so as to escape the rain and heat.”²⁰⁷² His words are a good introduction to Etruscan building construction, which will be discussed in this chapter.

The sources for our knowledge of prehistoric hut architecture are first of all the archaeological excavations conducted since the 1950s. There perishable materials used in the construction of huts, however, are difficult to detect during an excavation. We uncover the bedrock cuttings, stone socles and daub fragments for the construction of the huts. From these we can only attempt to restore the huts themselves.

In the Early Iron Age, people began making their cinerary urns in the shape of huts, both in terracotta and in bronze. These are the main source for our reconstructions of the huts’ walls and roofs together with the few preserved house models from Greece. Shepherds’ huts, especially from the Roman *campagna*, further furnish information about this architecture of intricately twisted branches and plaited twigs.²⁰⁷³ The *campagna* hut fits the description of Vitruvius; it consists of a palisade wall of closely placed posts, which are tied together at the top by a very long “osier-tie” running around the hut. The roof rafters are then tied to this osier-tie ring and bound together at the top. Because the ring is self-contained, the hut does not need internal supports. For the sake of clarity, this chapter has been divided into three chronological periods. According to Swedish archaeologists, at some sites the culture called Proto-Villanovan continues uninterrupted into the Villanovan period.²⁰⁷⁴ In

general terms, the development suggests an increased use of durable building materials: primarily wood in the Proto-Villanovan period, and stone socles and sun-baked clay in the (more advanced) Villanovan period. In the Orientalizing period, these two materials are further developed in combination with the rectilinear house plan and the use of larger, but still unworked blocks in the foundations.

1The Proto-Villanovan period 1.1 San Giovenale

1.1San Giovenale

Many remains of prehistoric huts were discovered from 1956–1965.²⁰⁷⁵ In Area D, Hut 1 measures 10.4 m in length and has a maximum width of 5.28 m.²⁰⁷⁶ The remains consist of cut channels in the tufa bedrock occasionally combined with thin lines of rocks placed outside of the cut channels. In the interior two rows of postholes indicate a three-aisled inner space. The huts are oriented southwest-northeast and have floors placed a couple of centimeters above the bedrock. Along the walls there is a dais—an elevated platform. The entrance to the huts was on the shorter southwestern side, as can be understood from a 60 cm long interruption in the channel. (Fig. 39.1).

In Area F East, several segments of cut channels from four oval huts were found under the Archaic houses, also oriented southwest-northeast.²⁰⁷⁷ The cut channel has a width of about 10 cm. At the bottom of Oval Hut 1 a hearth was found with pottery of the earliest Proto-Villanovan type. Two charcoal fragments were dated surprisingly early, to between 1400–1200 BCE.²⁰⁷⁸

Two huts were excavated in Area E. Oval Hut I measured 8–8.5 m in length and about 5 m in width.²⁰⁷⁹ It was built in a cut channel but in the northwest, as the bedrock drops off, it stood on a foundation of tufa chips placed on a bed of white river stones.

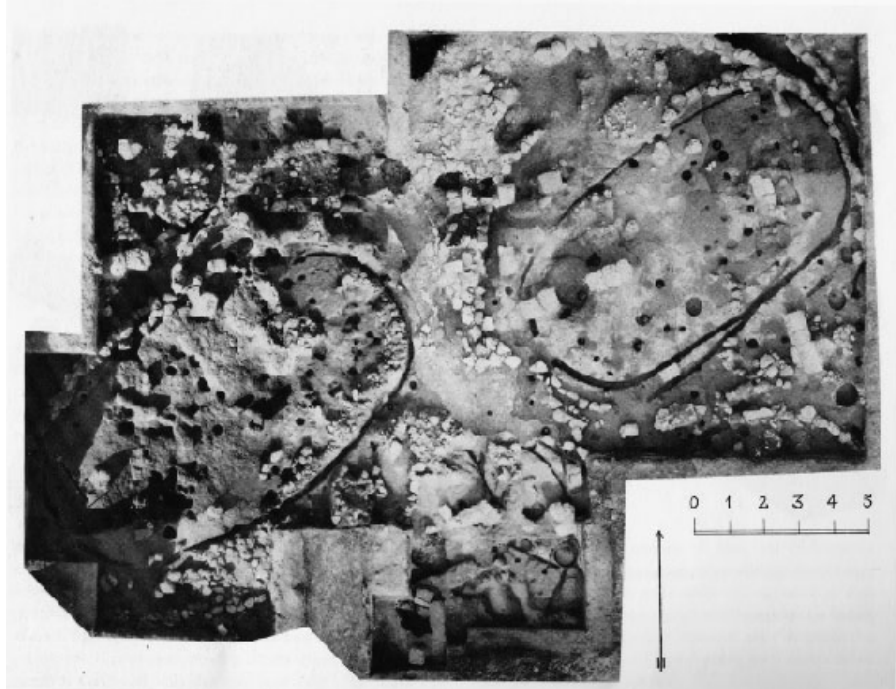


Fig. 39.1: San Giovenale. Area D. Tower photograph (from Malcus 1984, pl. II:1)

White river stones also covered the floor of the hut.²⁰⁸⁰ Postholes suggest a three-aisled plan. Another hut of the same size and with a cut channel can be traced in the southeastern part of the trench. The opening for the door can clearly be seen on the shorter western side. This hut is oriented in the normal southwest-northeast direction, while Oval Hut I is oriented more strictly east-west.

Finally, in the southwestern parts of the Borgo excavations there was the remarkable discovery of a large channel cut along the edge of the tufa plateau.²⁰⁸¹ This channel was cut to hold the standing logs of a palisade. The channel was 0.30–0.40 m wide and about 0.60 m deep. Behind the channel, on the city side, a series of postholes located about one meter from the channel were cut in the bedrock, presumably to support diagonal struts, which buttressed the palisade from the inside.²⁰⁸²

1.2 Sorgenti della Nova

The excavations at this site from 1974 have uncovered a Proto-Villanovan settlement with three different types of dwellings. Two of these are cave dwellings, but the third consists of oval huts with cut channels with a three-aisled interior on three pairs of posts (Fig. 39.2).²⁰⁸³ They are oriented

southwest-northeast. One of the huts measures about 11 x 8 m.²⁰⁸⁴

2A restored Proto-Villanovan hut

The Proto-Villanovan hut was built standing in a bedrock-cut channel with a width and a depth of about 10 cm. The plan was oval, but the short sides are flattened in order to give to the hut as broad and as wide an interior as possible (Fig. 39.3). The hut is normally oriented in a southwest-northeast direction with a door opening of about 60 cm in the southwest. The huts are large, measuring more than 10 m long and more than 5 m wide, normally with a ratio between length and width of 2:1. The evidence from Vitruvius and from the huts on the Roman *campagna* suggests that the walls were built with upright standing props placed at short distances from each other. The spaces between the props were filled with interwoven branches and twigs, and covered with leaves. The evidence from the palisade channel of San Giovenale suggests that the props could also be placed close together to form an impregnable “palisade wall.” This made the walls stronger and prevented strong winds from blowing through them.

The interior space was divided by two rows of three posts each into three aisles, the central of which was the widest, at about 2 m. The three pairs of posts were placed about 2.5 m from each other, giving the central higher space of the hut—the “clerestory”—an open space of about 7.5 x 2 m.²⁰⁸⁵ The first and last pair of interior posts carried a horizontal beam, on which rested the hut’s front and back roof rafters. This formed triangular openings in the hut’s roof, which allowed for smoke from the hearth and braziers inside the hut to escape. The rafters on the long sides of the hut were tied together in pairs and were probably not connected by means of a ridgepole, as many hut urns show a convex roofline. The roof was covered by thatch, or an Italian weed called *canne* (reeds).²⁰⁸⁶ In order to keep the material on the roof, wooden bars were placed crossing at the apex of the roof.

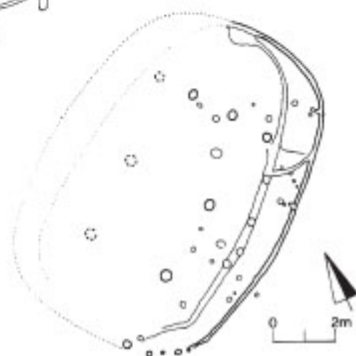
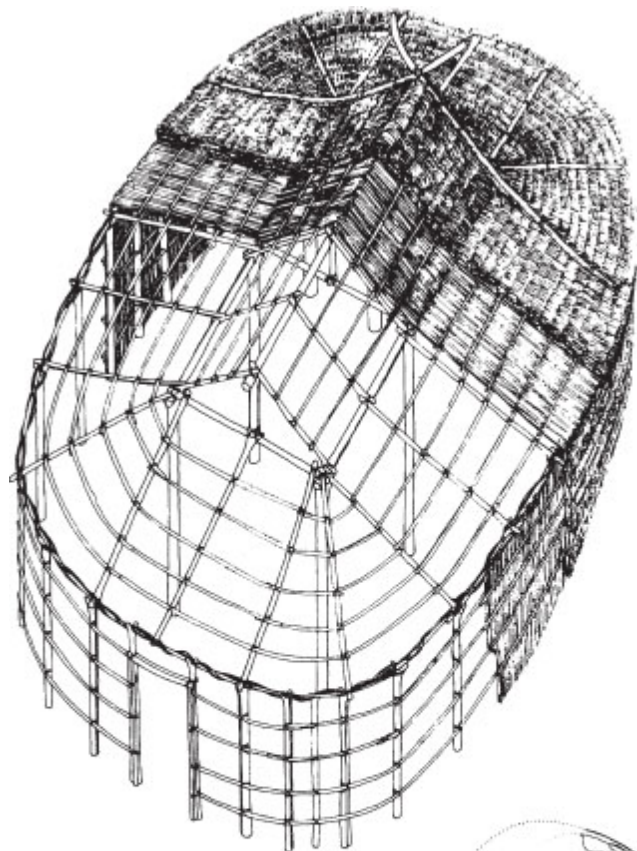


Fig. 39.2: Sorgenti della Nova. Elliptical Hut Ab. 2 in Sector III (from Negroni Catacchio and Domanico 2001, fig. 3)

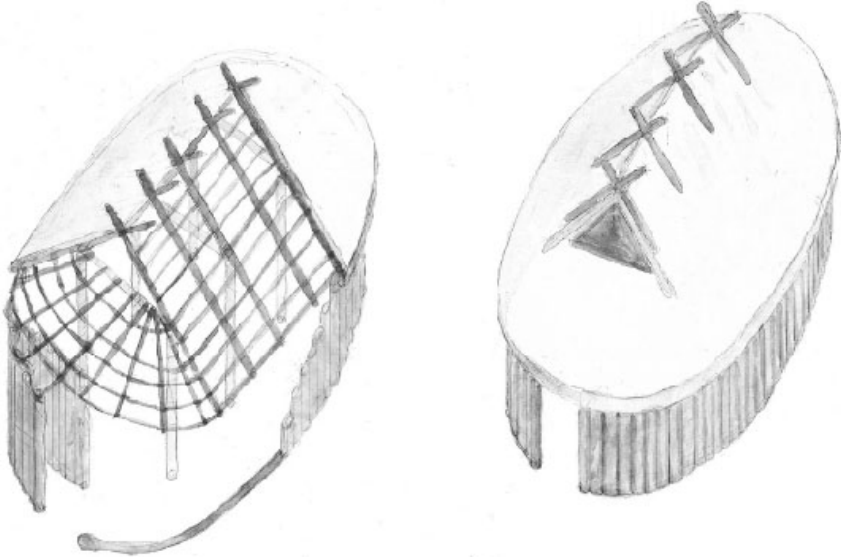


Fig. 39.3: Restored view of a Proto-Villanovan hut. Note the standing logs placed tightly together in the rock-cut channel (drawing by J. Blid Kullberg, 2011)

3The Villanovan period

The Villanovan huts, which can be found immediately below the Archaic settlements, are often destroyed by the heavy leveling that was done for the stone foundations of the Archaic houses. In Etruria, only segments of these oval or round huts have been found.²⁰⁸⁷ In this period some huts were still built with walls standing in cut channels in the Proto-Villanovan way, but by the eighth century, huts on stone socles seem to be the more common practice.

3.1San Giovenale

Scattered traces of huts built on stone socles can be recognized at San Giovenale. In Area F East, six segments of stone socles were recorded together with large amounts of loose stones and pebbles from floor levels. In connection with these, Villanovan pottery and a total of 363 daub fragments were found, many with impressions from branches and twigs.²⁰⁸⁸

In Area E, Oval Hut II was built on a level about 1 m higher than the Proto-Villanovan Oval Hut I and was completely built with walls on a limestone rubble socle. Only the western section of the hut was preserved. The diameter of the western rounded end of the hut would have been about 6–7 m and its placement indicates that the hut was oriented southwest-northeast. The floor

consisted of tightly packed tufa chips and pebbles. Clay was discovered on the limestone wall ring, and was interpreted as disintegrated revetment daub with impressions of branches and twigs.²⁰⁸⁹ On the floor eighth-century pottery and a lid of an Italo-geometric pyxis were found, indicating that this hut may have remained in use into the Orientalizing period in the first part of the seventh century.²⁰⁹⁰

3.2 Cortona

A well-built stone socle of a curvilinear hut was found at Cortona on Via Vagnotti.²⁰⁹¹ The wall was almost a meter thick, indicating a very substantial hut. The large post-holes in the interior must have been for supporting the roof—or rather, the central higher section of the roof with the smoke holes.

3.3 Veii

The traces of huts under the altar area of the Portonaccio temple consist of two lines of cut channels;²⁰⁹² one is an oval segment belonging to a hut with large postholes inside. However, the other is almost straight and may have been a wooden palisade with a line of supporting wooden props behind it, very similar to the situation on the Borgo of San Giovenale. Furthermore, a segment of a similar hut with a cut channel and postholes inside was found by the Northwest Gate.²⁰⁹³ The possible four large postholes inside reflect the typical Villanovan roof arrangement.

3.4 Caere

An eight-meter long oval channel was found under the temple at Sant'Antonio.²⁰⁹⁴ It ends in the southwest, indicating the entrance to the hut in this direction (cf. the huts of San Giovenale). A large posthole outside suggests the existence of a porch.

3.5 Tarquinia

In the area called Calvario in Tarquinia, the excavations of 1975–1978 uncovered traces of twenty-five huts. Of those that were better preserved, four had an oval plan with three interior aisles, and seven had a rectangular plan. The excavator suggested (probably correctly) that the rectangular huts are

later, as they seemed to be aligned with a street that later crossed one of the oval huts. I do not believe that the oval and rectangular huts are contemporary and in this way reflect different functions. The oval huts are dated to the beginning of the Villanovan period.²⁰⁹⁵ One measures 10.5 x 5.6 m, with the largest measuring about 16.5 x 8.5 m (Fig. 39.4). They are oriented southwest-northeast, with the doors opening on the shorter southwestern side (two huts have a second door opening on the longer southern side).

The later rectangular huts are smaller than the oval huts, measuring about 8–9 x 4–5 m. One of the huts is furnished with two *antae* at the porch (in trench 33, Fig. 39.4) and another hut has a ring of posts standing around the hut (in trench 14, Fig. 39.4), characteristic traits of the Villanovan period. The interior has one row of two posts, giving the hut two aisles.

3.6 Monteriggioni-Campassini

Three huts, dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE, were discovered in Monteriggioni-Campassini in the 1980s and 90s. They are aligned east-west, measure about 8 x 4.5 m, and are of an oval plan with somewhat rectilinear side sections (Fig. 39.5).²⁰⁹⁶ The interior space of the huts have been cut into bedrock and the walls are built with posts standing in holes placed at a distance of about 1.6 m. The posts are placed along the edges of the recessed interior space.²⁰⁹⁷ The wattle-and-daub walls would have stood partly between the posts and partly on the raised bedrock surrounding the hut.

4 Hut urns

About 200 cinerary urns in the shape of huts have been found in Etruria and Latium.²⁰⁹⁸ The majority of these hut urns (76%) have circular ground plans, 13% have oval plans, and 11% have rectangular plans. Although they all date to the ninth-eighth centuries, it is not possible to detect a development from one plan type to another.²⁰⁹⁹

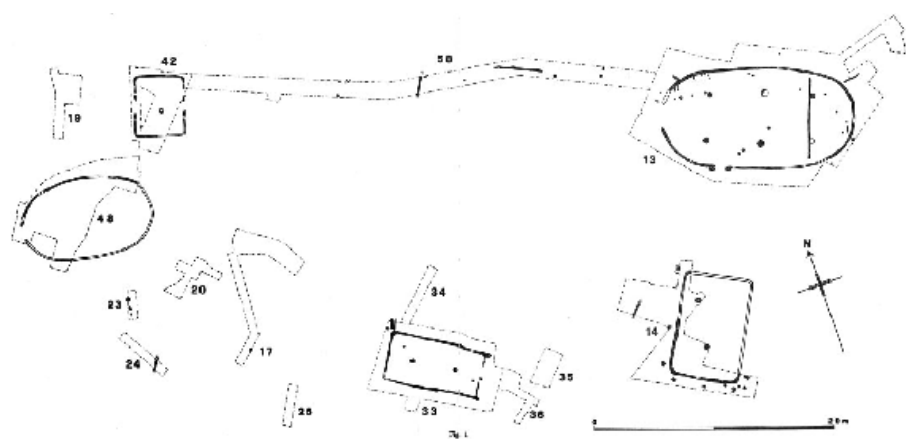
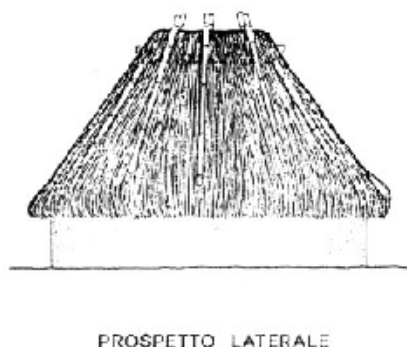
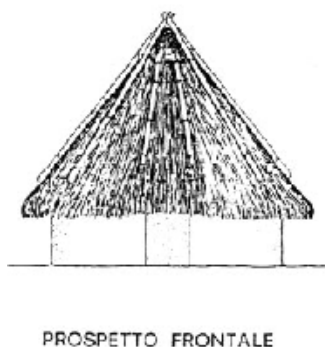
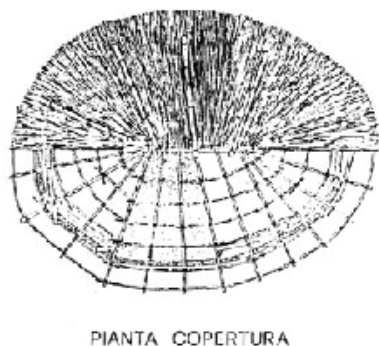
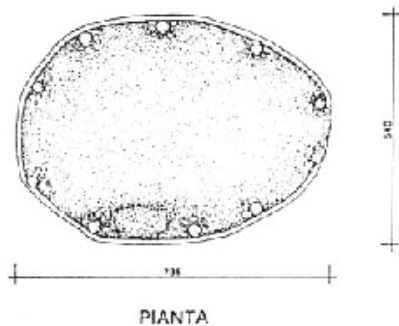


Fig. 39.4: Tarquinia. Plan of the huts in the Calvario excavation area (from Linington 1982, fig. 1).



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Fig. 39.5: Monteriggioni-Campassini, hut C (from Bartoloni 2001, fig. 8)

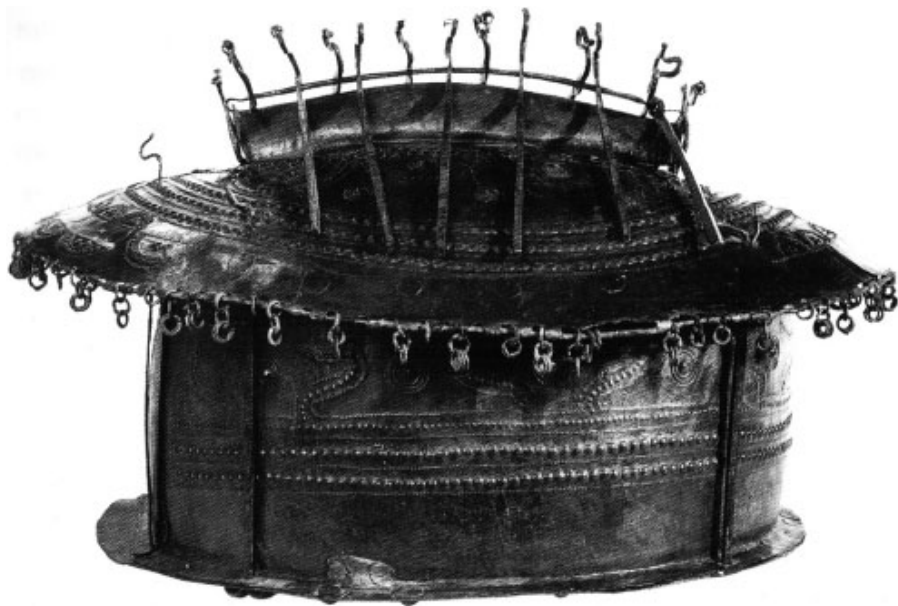


Fig. 39.6: Bronze hut urn (photo SAR-Laz)

A well-known example comes from Vulci (Fig. 39.6). The plan of the hut is oval to round, but it has a straight central roof section. The roof projects considerably over the walls on all sides. The gable sides are set back from the short sides so that the roof slopes down also in front of the gables, giving it the shape of a hip roof. Since the central part of the roof is higher than the hipped sides, smoke holes are placed in the triangular gable. The higher central part carries diagonal bars, which cross and project beyond the ridgepole.

A terracotta hut from Tarquinia reflects the intricate decorations of the developed Villanova huts.²¹⁰⁰ The plan is rectangular, but with outward-bowing sides, as the huts also show in reality. The smoke hole is rounded, indicating that the roof must have been covered with plaster. The apex is decorated with molded horns and the roof is painted with complicated Xs and cross compositions, as well as meander patterns.

5A restored Villanova hut

The interior of ninth- and eighth-century Greek colonial houses were often cut into the bedrock.²¹⁰¹ The huts also had a recessed interior in Etruria and Latium.²¹⁰² Huts from this period are not elongated ovals, but have a more compact plan, round or square with outward-bowing sides. They would have measured about 6–8 m in length and 4–5 m in width.

The walls were built with standing posts anchored in the bedrock or in the

stone socle. The space between the posts was filled with interlaced twigs and branches (wattle). Clay (daub) was then fixed on the twigs and leaves, and left to dry in the sun, the technique being called “wattle-and-daub.” The surface was made smooth and was then covered with plaster. The walls were often about 25 cm thick. Because the clay and the plaster were sensitive to water and rain, roofs were made to project far out over the walls. A “porch” was added on the west entrance side. Often the porch is built under the projecting roof. In these cases, the entrance wall was set back to form a space in front of the door. Roofs were heavier than before, as they were also covered with sun-dried clay. The roof often rested on four large posts (instead of the six typical of Proto-Villanovan construction). The posts went up to the roof and supported openings, both in the front and in the back. As the roof was covered with clay, these smoke openings were now shaped into round or oval windows. The thatch-covered roof was crowned by wooden crossbars and decorated with birds. It is possible that in the early huts, these roof rafters were crossed above the ridge of the roof, as can be seen in some hut urns. In the more developed huts, the roof was probably so heavy that the rafters did not continue through the roof, but were tied below the ridge. The thatch was then held in place by separate crossbars.

Many hut urns have figural and meander motifs incised or painted on the exterior walls of the building, and sometimes also on the roof. This is also evident on the Greek house model from Argos, which is completely covered with decoration. In order to paint the roof, the thatch would have to be covered with clay, which would dry in the sun. Vitruvius describes this technical feature in Book II: “When in wintertime the roofs could not withstand the rains, they made ridges and smearing clay down the sloping roofs, they drew off the rain water.”²¹⁰³ The evidence supports the idea that both the exterior walls and the roofs of the huts were painted, but many hut urns also indicate plastic roof decorations in the form of birds/ducks. Are we to understand them also as molded in clay and baked by the sun on the real hut? David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway argue that tiled roofs evolved out of the use of sun-dried clay applied to the roof.²¹⁰⁴ However, Nancy Winter suggests that the akro-teria in the shape of griffins and volutes appear only on seventh-century house urns with terracotta tiled roofs, indicating that the later advanced terracotta akroteria did not originate in forms sculpted in sun-dried clay, but may have originated in wooden elements of the hut roof.²¹⁰⁵ This issue is complicated, but one clue may come from the excavations of Area F East at San Giovenale, where ten fragments of bands of relief cordon were discovered.²¹⁰⁶ They are made from a light dried mud rather than from clay. This is possibly the material that Vitruvius writes about in his introduction (“drying moistened clods”).²¹⁰⁷ I have suggested that these pieces are traces of the hut’s exterior decoration. They are in the shape of cordons and are very similar to the cordons decorating Archaic Etruscan *kalypteres* tiles and the apex of the Perachora house model.

6The Orientalizing period

The remains of Villanovan huts are difficult to trace, but the evidence from the Orientalizing period is even more difficult to find. A well-dated rectangular hut from San Giovenale is the best example of a transitional building, pointing back to the construction techniques of the Villanovan hut, but anticipating Archaic architectural planning.

6.1San Giovenale

The Orientalizing rectangular houses in San Giovenale can be found under the Archaic ashlar-built houses. The pottery discovered on the river stone beds in House I in Area F East date to the middle of the seventh century, or to around 675–625.²¹⁰⁸ The building is a rectangular hut, measuring in total 12 m (approximately forty ancient feet) in length, which includes the front porch's 3.8 m projection. The building has a width of 5.9 m (twenty feet), which equates to a ratio between length and width of 2:1. The foundation of the walls is cut out of bedrock and forms 0.45–0.55 m wide wall-bases. These rock-cut wall-bases form *antae* on both the front and the back of the building, very similar to the plan of the *cella* in the early Doric temple. Postholes along the upper surface of the wall-bases indicate that the upper parts of the walls were built using a wattle-and-daub technique.²¹⁰⁹ Four large postholes in front of the building indicate a projecting porch. Large postholes outside the *antae* on the building's rear reflect the large postholes in the porch, between which ran a horizontal wooden beam. Like the Villanovan hut, the interior of the house is recessed about 60 cm (two feet). On the even bedrock floor in the main room, river stones were placed along the three side walls forming beds with a width of ca. 1.25 m. No roof tiles could be associated with the Orientalizing hut phase. The roof material must have been thatch.

A similar rectangular hut was found at the Northwest Gate in Veii in 1957–58. It measures 11.40 x 5 m, and very closely reflects the size of House I in San Giovenale with its 2:1 ratio between the house's length and width. The pottery inside did not include bucchero, suggesting a date in the second quarter to the middle of the seventh century.²¹¹⁰

The best parallel to the Orientalizing rectangular hut is the contemporary Cer-veteri chamber tomb, the Tomba della Capanna.²¹¹¹ The main chamber of this tomb has a rectangular plan. The ceiling is convex and reaches almost down to the benches attached to the wall. The curved surface and the low-reaching roof suggest that the model for the roof material was thatch. The main room has benches running around the walls. The inner room has the same arrangement of benches, which were built with smooth river stones, just as at San Giovenale.

Conclusion

The development from a large oval Pro to-Villanovan hut placed in a cut channel—via the compact Villanovan hut with substantial wattle-and-daub walls—to the rectilinear hut of the Orientalizing period, built with traditional “hut materials” but on a new plan took about 500 years. In the second half of the Orientalizing period, terracotta roofs were introduced as well as quarried ashlar blocks in walls and foundations. With the Archaic period, Etruria abandoned its prehistory and entered the architectural *koine* of the Mediterranean world.

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Cristiano Iaia

40 Handicrafts, 10th cent.-730 BCE

Abstract: This chapter illustrates the main fields of craft production in the area characterized by the Villanovan culture (Etruria and adjacent areas) from the points of view of typological and technological developments. The sociopolitical and economic framework is that of incipient or embryonic urbanization, the “proto-urban phenomenon,” that occurred between the late tenth and late eighth centuries BCE.

Ceramics include handmade vessels (chiefly biconical funerary urns and their lids) ornamented with geometric patterns in the Villanovan style, as well as more specialized vessels decorated with metal stripes. Only in the advanced Early Iron Age 2 (eighth century) were wheel-made ceramics introduced under the influence of immigrant Greek potters.

The best-known handicraft in Iron Age Etruria is bronze working, a productive field that encompasses a broad range of artifact classes and shapes. Indirect evidence from the study of artifacts attests to specific stages in the metalworking process, demonstrating a high level of specialization and complexity in the organization of labor. The great variability of formal features and techniques, and the different levels of elaboration in Villanovan bronze production are exemplified by cast objects, such as fibulae and weapons (swords), and by hammered items such as sheet bronze armor and vessels. Sheet bronze production is considered particularly representative of the high level of Villanovan craftsmanship and of the close connection between metalwork and the display expressions of new elites within the proto-urban communities. It is also pointed out how iron production, though giving the name to the period, did not become especially important in local economies before the mid eighth century. Other minor materials, especially amber, gained great importance in the framework of elite consumption and trade, which led to a highly sophisticated production of ornaments and symbolic items in the latest stages of this period.

Keywords: Levant, Central Europe, elites, pottery, bronze

1 Pottery

Our overview on craftworks in late protohistoric Etruria begins with pottery, which in quantitative terms is the main material category in the archaeological record. Generally speaking, and without a real distinction in technological and compositional terms, in Etruria of the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, pottery vessels principally comprised two classes of handmade *impasto* ware: coarse ware, including vessels for daily domestic functions, such as cooking stands, bowls, jars, and dolia (very large, wide-mouthed vessels without neck or handles)²¹¹², and a better-quality ware, encompassing a great range of ceramic forms from tableware to ritual paraphernalia. The latter class is generally made of a dark burnished *impasto*, fired under a reducing atmosphere.

In most cremation burials, and partly in non-burial contexts of the early

stages of Villanovan Etruria, mainly biconical cinerary urns and other related vessels (especially bowls with in-turned rims) can be found, with complex geometric decoration made by impression, incision, and stamp (Fig. 40.1.1–3); this ornamentation follows a limited range of variation which is universally referred to as the “Villanovan style.”²¹¹³ This class of pottery cannot strictly be considered workshop production, but rather should be labelled “semi-domestic” manufacture. Conversely, a more specialized character is revealed by pottery ornamented with metal sheets (mainly tin) applied to the sides using adhesives, employing a technique well known both north of the Alps and in Italy since the late second millennium BCE. A class of vessels ornamented this way, the *orcioli a lamelle metalliche*,²¹¹⁴ in all probability jugs or cups associated with the consumption of liquids, has mainly been found in the principal centers of southern Etruria as well as in Vetulonia and Populonia (Fig. 40.1.4); it shows recognizable formal regularities, in particular homogeneous patterns of decoration.

We possess only limited information regarding technological aspects of Villanovan ceramics: archaeometric studies are lacking, while a few data concern the use of temporary firing installations in the form of “pit-kilns,” though with an internal division into sectors.²¹¹⁵ Sometimes—for instance at Bologna—such kilns are vertically divided into a fire- and a cooking-chamber by using partition, perforated, floor;²¹¹⁶ this more sophisticated technical device might have improved the quality of the final result in terms of surface homogeneity.

Not until the early Phase 2 of the Iron Age do we see in southern Etruria the start of a much more varied pottery production. Specific issues are raised by the appearance of numerous drinking vessels of the Greek Middle and Late Geometric ware, mainly, but not exclusively, of Euboean production. The manufacture of the latter was promptly imitated by immigrant potters, giving rise to a new class of wheel-made painted tableware, including various types of *skyphoi* as well as other forms such as jugs and cups.²¹¹⁷ The introduction of wheel-made ceramics, though it did not really lead to “mass production,” was conducive to greater diversity in the pottery craft, influencing even the manufacture of the more widely consumed *impasto* pottery, which from the second half of the eighth century was becoming more standardized with the aid of the wheel.

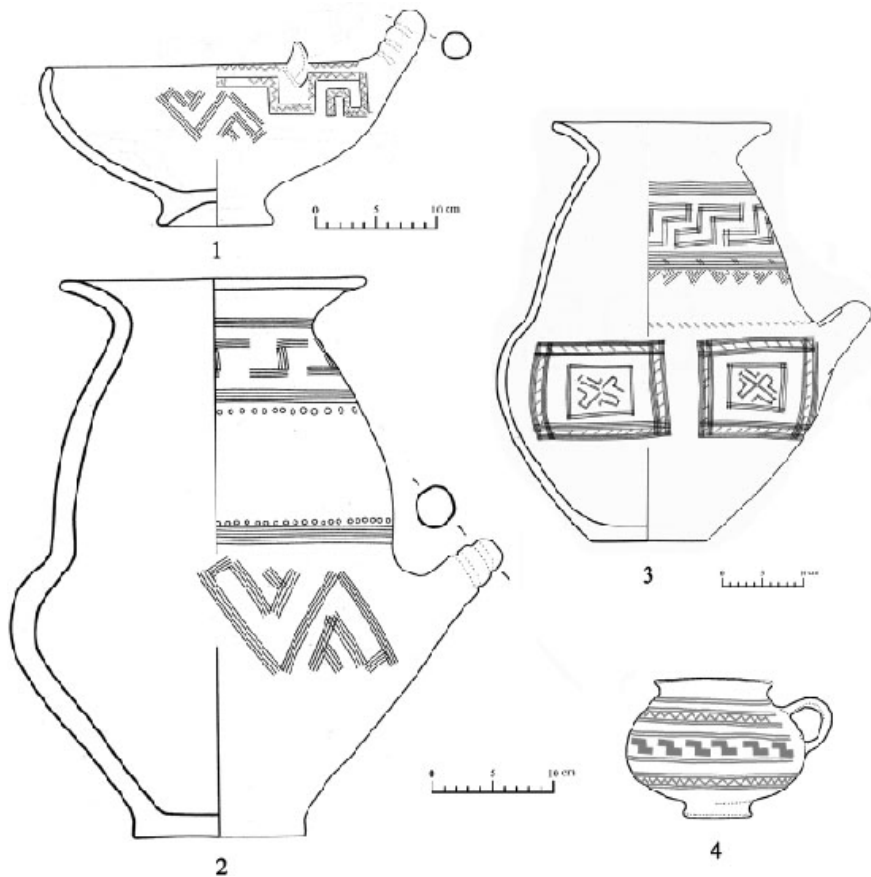


Fig. 40.1: Ceramics from Early Iron Age southern Etruria, Phase 1 (after De Angelis 2001, with modifications)

2Bronze metallurgy

The scant evidence from Italian Early Iron Age settlements makes it very difficult to provide a clear picture of the spatial organization of metal manufacture sequences. This is particularly true for the vast so-called “proto-urban” sites, which were to develop into cities during the seventh century.

In southern Etruria, only the minor settlement of Gran Carro near Bolsena, dating around 900–850, has provided some evidence of small-scale metallurgical activities *in situ*²¹⁸ such as molds, bronze jets and droplets, and several finished objects made of bronze and lead. They point to the existence, even in minor sites like this, of local secondary production that ranged from tools to simple ornaments and fibulae.

Some findings from Felsina (Bologna) can help in reconstructing limited

aspects of the metalworking carried out in the proto-urban centers of Villanovan Etruria during the second phase of the Early Iron Age. In the eighth century, Felsina was a huge agglomeration containing several areas for different stages of metallurgical production²¹¹⁹. In this regard the most interesting, albeit indirect, evidence is the hoard recovered in Piazza San Francesco, which comprises nearly 15,000 bronze objects (and just three made of iron) deposited in a large jar around 700 BCE (but containing many objects from throughout the eighth century, and some that are older). This outstanding accumulation of metal objects includes more than 4,000 axes²¹²⁰ and many other tools, several fragments of weapons, horse gear, and sheet vessels. After the tools, quantitatively the most impressive of all classes is the fibulae, numbering more than 3,000 pieces. Particularly useful for the interpretation of this hoard are the copper ingots and the great array of scrap metal, which also includes far older objects (e.g. an Early Copper Age dagger of East European provenance),²¹²¹ especially unfinished bronze artifacts that had been thrown away and subsequently collected as waste products.²¹²² They evidence specific stages in the metalworking process, demonstrating a high level of specialization and complexity in the organization of labor. The ingots had been intentionally fragmented to form a stock for refining copper in the smelting process, while fragmented objects were probably intended for recasting. The latter procedure had great economic significance, because it allowed bronze craftsmen to recycle an already existing bronze reserve without the necessity of gaining new stocks of copper and tin.

2.1 Fibulae

In the field of metal ornaments and dress accessories, the main geographical areas in which the Villanovan culture developed show some common features and many local variations.

Bronze fibulae, found especially in female burials, were the most widespread metal items linked to clothing from Bologna to the Villanovan centers of Campania. The Villanovan workshops developed a particularly remarkable production of arch bow fibulae with a spiral catch-plate made by hammering (Fig. 40.2.1),²¹²³ which toward the end of Phase 1 was becoming solid, with complex incised decoration consisting of geometrical motifs reminiscent of the Villanovan style of contemporary ceramics (Fig. 40.2.2–3).²¹²⁴ The role of south Villanovan bronze workshops in improving and enriching the manufacture of fibulae with a disc catch-plate is also apparent from a specific class of fibulae with disc catch-plate and a composite bow with bronze graduated discs (Figure 40.2.1), or of alternating bronze/amber/bone discs (Fig. 40.2.2), whose shape resembles a leech.²¹²⁵ These kinds of fibulae, including a variety of specific local types, are widely distributed across southern Etruria and in the Villanovan centers of southern Campania

(Pontecagnano, and especially Sala Consilina), with more limited specimens outside

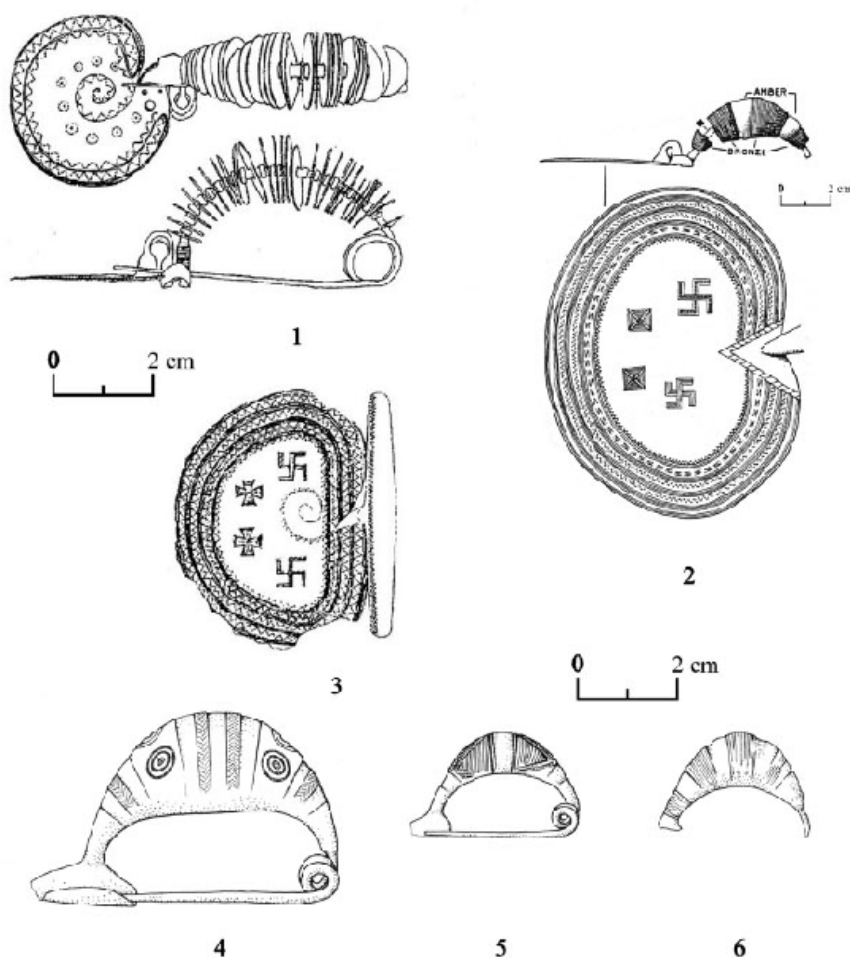


Fig. 40.2: 1–5. Bronze fibulae from Early Iron Age southern Etruria (1, 3 after Falconi Amorelli 1966; 2 after Hencken 1968; 4–6 after Cavallotti Batchavarova 1967)

It was during Phase 2 that the manufacture of bronze fibulae in Etruria and nearby areas saw remarkable growth in scale and quality. From the technological point of view, whole casting of the bow of the fibula to a great extent replaced hammering, at least as far as arch bow fibulae are concerned.²¹²⁶ The fibulae might have been cast using either *bivalve* molds with an internal terra-cotta core, or the lost wax technique. The result was a casting that was further refined through clearing, polishing, and the adding of incised and engraved decorations.

As demonstrated by observations of casting wastes from the San Francesco hoard at Bologna,²¹²⁷ this technique allowed metallurgists to create two fibulae at a time and to reuse the same core for several additional castings of

hollow pieces. A rarer technique, not recognizable from simple naked-eye observation of finished objects, was lost wax casting, which was particularly suitable for pieces including plastic or deeply engraved decoration.²¹²⁸

Such techniques, except the lost wax technique that yields single pieces, greatly enhanced the speed and economic effectiveness of manufacture, allowing development toward a sort of mass-production of fibulae. At the same time, craft intensification and quantitative increase in producing these daily items were complemented by a tendency toward experimentation and inventiveness that was, in turn, favored by the start of processes of centralization within incipient urbanism. Indeed, at the transition between Phase 1 and Phase 2, the bronze workshops of Etruria seem to have elaborated new forms of fibulae that would be widely appreciated in the subsequent Orientalizing period throughout Italy and beyond, the “leech” bow fibulae. Beginning in the middle of Phase 2, their manufacture, with either a solid or a hollow bow, was particularly abundant and varied. They include complex decorative patterns showing panels with zigzags and concentric circles that were for the most part made before casting, with the aid of tools such as gravers or punches (Fig. 40.2.4–6). The manufacture must have been in series, as indicated by the numerous sets of fibulae of varying size but with identical or very similar shape and decoration.²¹²⁹

2.2 Bronze swords

Another important category of metallic production in Villanovan Etruria is bronze swords. Among the large class of flange-hilted swords (Ger. *Griffzungenschwerter*), Early Iron Age Etruria especially adopted the “Italic” T-hilt swords, very short weapons whose general shape derives from types of Late Bronze Age date.²¹³⁰ During the late Phase 1 and early Phase 2, “Pontecagnano” type swords played a special role. Found especially in southern Etruria (Tarquinii, Vulci) and Pontecagnano in Campania, these weapons have a triangular blade with fine incised decoration and in most cases were accompanied by finely decorated bronze sheaths (Pontecagnano type sheaths), a feature almost exclusive to the “Italic” flange-hilted swords (Fig. 40.3.1–3).²¹³¹ As a rule, the front face of these objects presents incised figural scenes, representing in the main field a man armed with a lance in the act of hunting various animals, such as red deer or boars (Fig. 40.3.2–3). According to Patrizia Gastaldi,²¹³² the Pontecagnano swords and the associated sheaths are to be attributed to a workshop located at Pontecagnano itself, where the earliest example of this type is documented.

2.3 Sheet bronze working

Sheet bronze manufacture, including highly elaborate objects made of laminated bronze, such as elements of armor, belts, and prestige vessels, is no doubt the most developed and distinctive craft category in Etruria and nearby regions during the Villanovan period. A point worth considering is that this kind of craft requires complex division of labor and the existence of a wealthy elite to be fully supported. Because of the high skill level, the remarkable time consumption, and the substantial quantity of raw material that this craft requires, the sheet bronze industries in Early Iron Age Italy chiefly emerged in situations of rapid upsurge of proto-urban centers, especially in southern Etruria and at Bologna, with increasing intensity beginning in the eighth century.

In the late tenth and the ninth centuries, prior to the introduction of bronze shields and breastplates, the helmet was the only category of metal armor known in Etruria and throughout Italy. The earliest examples of bronze helmets, found at Tarquinii and Populonia, dating to both early and late Phase 1, are akin to the central European class known as *Glockenhelme*, or *glockenförmige Helme mit gegossenem Scheitelknauf* (rounded bell helmets with cast knobs; Fig. 40.3.4).²¹³³ Much more sophisticated was the production, by the latest part of Phase 1, of hemispherical bronze helmets, entirely covered with rich geometric decoration (Fig. 40.3.5). Strictly speaking, they should be considered ceremonial headgear for outstanding individuals rather than defensive armor. The decorative patterns, organized into square or metope-like panels, include a mixture of Sun-ship bird motifs that belong to the Late Bronze age iconographic repertoire (see [chapter 44](#) Iaia), and other cultic symbols, such as the solar disk, and were created with repoussé and stamp techniques.

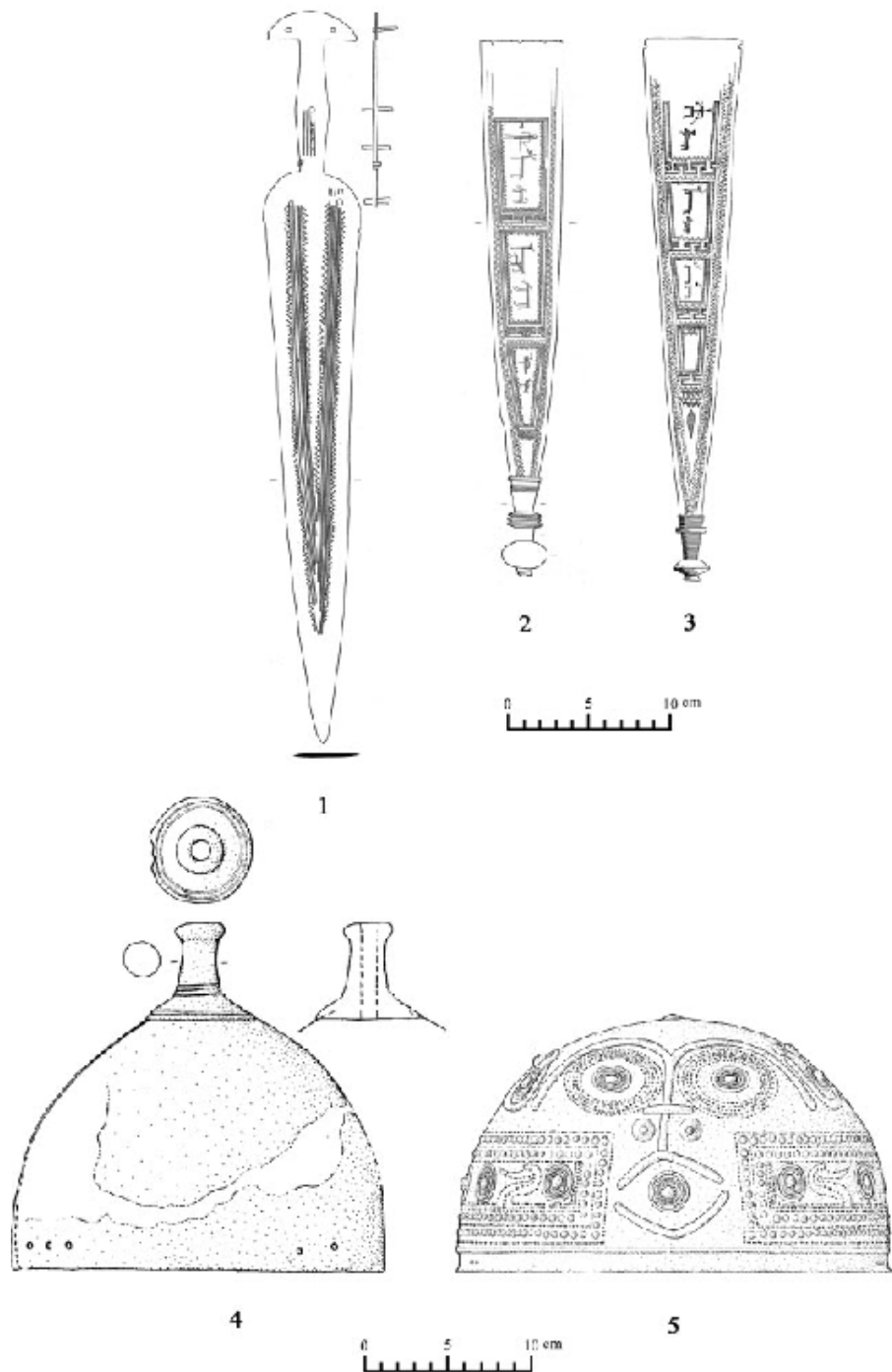


Fig. 40.3: 1. Pontecagnano type sword, from Pontecagnano; 2.-3. Pontecagnano type sheaths from Pontecagnano and Tarquinii; 4. Round bell helmet from Populonia; 5. hemispherical helmet from Tarquinii (1.-2. after Gastaldi 1998; 3. after Hencken 1968; 4.-5. after Iaia 2005)

The most refined of all types of armor in Etruria were the bronze crested helmets with pointed cap,²¹³⁴ which are probably an innovation by the Villanovan metalworkers of southern Etruria (Fig. 40.4.1–2). From the beginning (possibly around 850 BCE), they were constructed by overlapping two separate halves made of sheet bronze and riveting them together. Elements intended to hide the fastening-points, such as the two rectangular plates with protruding false rivets placed on the forehead and the back, were transformed into ornamental additions; some workshops, probably at Tarquinii, would decorate them with stamped ornaments in the form of concentric circles.²¹³⁵ In the course of time, apparently during the eighth century, the embossed decoration on the cap and crest developed from simple geometric patterns to a sort of “baroque” style, with the addition of stamped circles symbolizing the sun (*Ring-buckel*) and the inclusion of the iconography of the Sun-ship bird (Fig. 40.4.2).²¹³⁶

The second most important element of armor in Villanovan sheet bronzecraft was the shield, which was especially intended for ceremony and display. The first type to appear was the “double-eight” or *Ancile* shield, known in only a few exemplars, from Norchia, Veii, and Bisenzio.²¹³⁷ It consisted of two separate round shields linked together by a third long sheet, using a complex fastening system. All the elements were richly decorated with repoussé ornaments resembling those of the crested helmets, and accompanied by round breastplates decorated in the same way.²¹³⁸ Around 800–770, simple round shields made of a single sheet of bronze appeared, as a rule decorated with embossed ornaments (Fig. 40.4.3). This innovation was accompanied by the increased development, especially during the second half of the eighth century, of large decorated items (up to 0.90–1.00 m in diameter) of exceptionally thin (ca. 1 mm) bronze sheets. They became the most typical symbols of power in warrior burials of the eighth century. Their manufacture seems to have been concentrated in southern Etruria, but the distribution of identical examples over a wider area, including Verucchio north of the Apennines, points to the existence of traveling smiths who brought the technique far from the original source.²¹³⁹

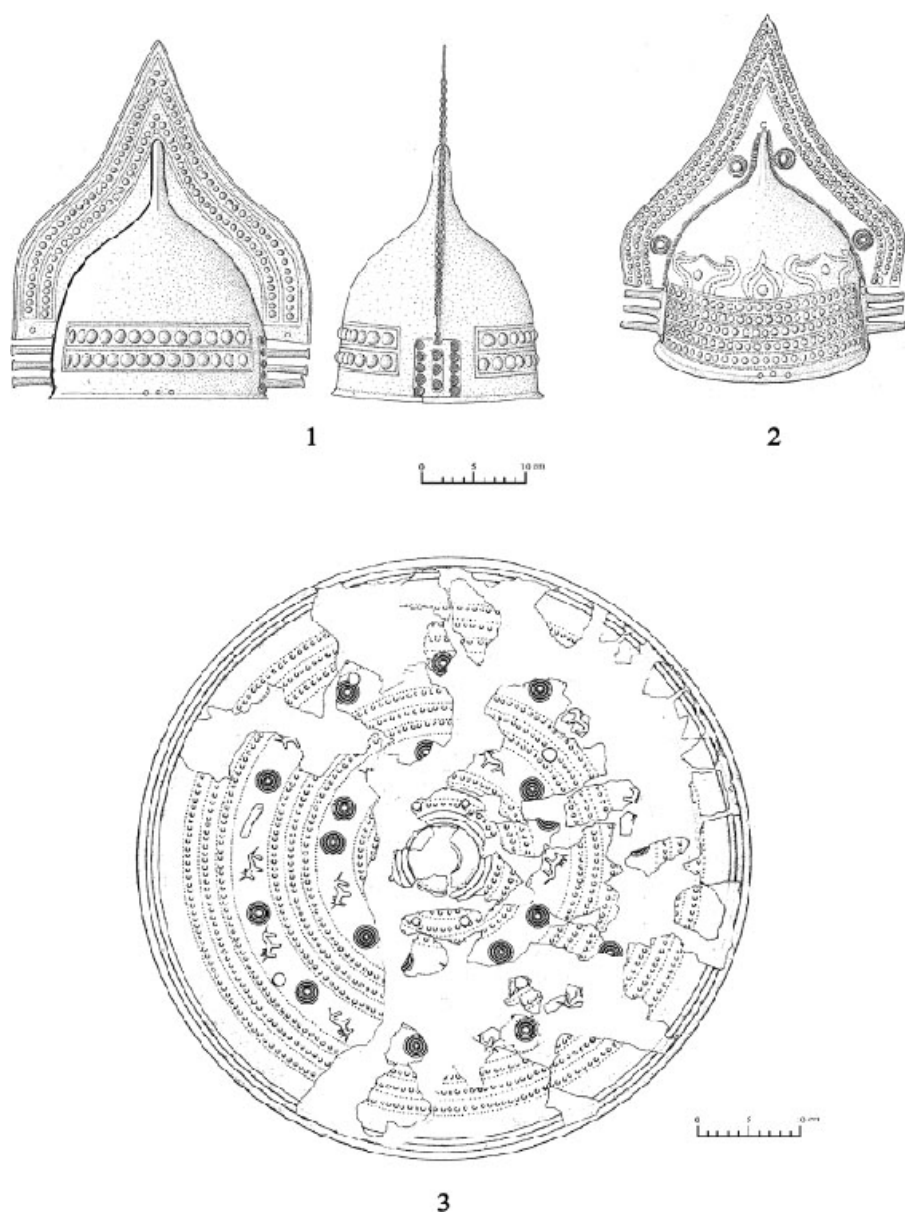


Fig. 40.4: 1–2. Bronze crested helmets from southern Etruria; 3. bronze shield from Veii, tomb Quattro Fontanili AA1 (1–2 after Iaia 2005; n. 3 after Franco et al. 1970)

The first bronze vessels of Villanovan manufacture can be found in the ninth century. They are numerically limited, though technically remarkable; they include ceremonial vessels such as small cups, conical bowls, and incense burners. Around 800 BCE or slightly earlier, the hammered bronze products of southern Etruria and Bologna improved considerably in quality and elaboration of manufacture. Stillfried-Hostomice cups (Fig. 40.5.4), great cinerary urns of biconical shape (Fig. 40.5.1), and necked amphorae on a

Central European model appear in wealthy burials of members of the proto-urban aristocracy.²¹⁴⁰ These vessels were ornamented by embossing with elaborate patterns including “bird-boats” and solar motifs (Fig. 40.5.1–2), such as we have already seen in hemispherical and crested helmets; they mark the progress of metalwork toward a level of quality never attained in earlier phases (at least in continental Italy).

Around the decades 760–720, stamped motifs made by punching were becoming more widespread in the production of laminated bronze in southern Etruria. Sometimes these elements were organized into concentric patterns to adapt them to the shape of the decorated item.²¹⁴¹ Workshop manufacture began in this area. It included different classes of artifacts, from armor to vases, linked to consumption by a fully developed aristocracy. In particular, some highly specialized workshops located at Veii and Vulci produced shields, belts, and vessels (necked amphorae, flasks: Fig. 40.5. 6–7), all decorated with stamped motifs representing horses.²¹⁴²

Another important category of sheet bronze objects, elliptical belt plates, has its origins in southern Etruria.²¹⁴³ These are fine elements of jewelry, found as part of the ceremonial clothing in wealthy female grave-groups throughout Phase 2, especially at Veii, Tarquinii, Vulci, and to a lesser extent at minor centers. A different product, though closely connected to southern Etruria, is known during the eighth century at Felsina and Verucchio, from where it was probably later transmitted to some areas of northern Italy.²¹⁴⁴ Very specific to these objects is the ornamentation, including mainly figural motifs and geometric frames, which were realized principally by engraving and secondarily by embossing (Fig. 40.7.1). They follow a rigid decorative scheme that can be seen as a clear cosmological representation, according to traditional Urnfield iconography: nine relief bosses in the middle of the belt are flanked by bird-boat motifs or, more likely, by allusions to the wagon of the sun pulled by birds, a fact also highlighted by the use of solar elements ambiguously referring to wheels.

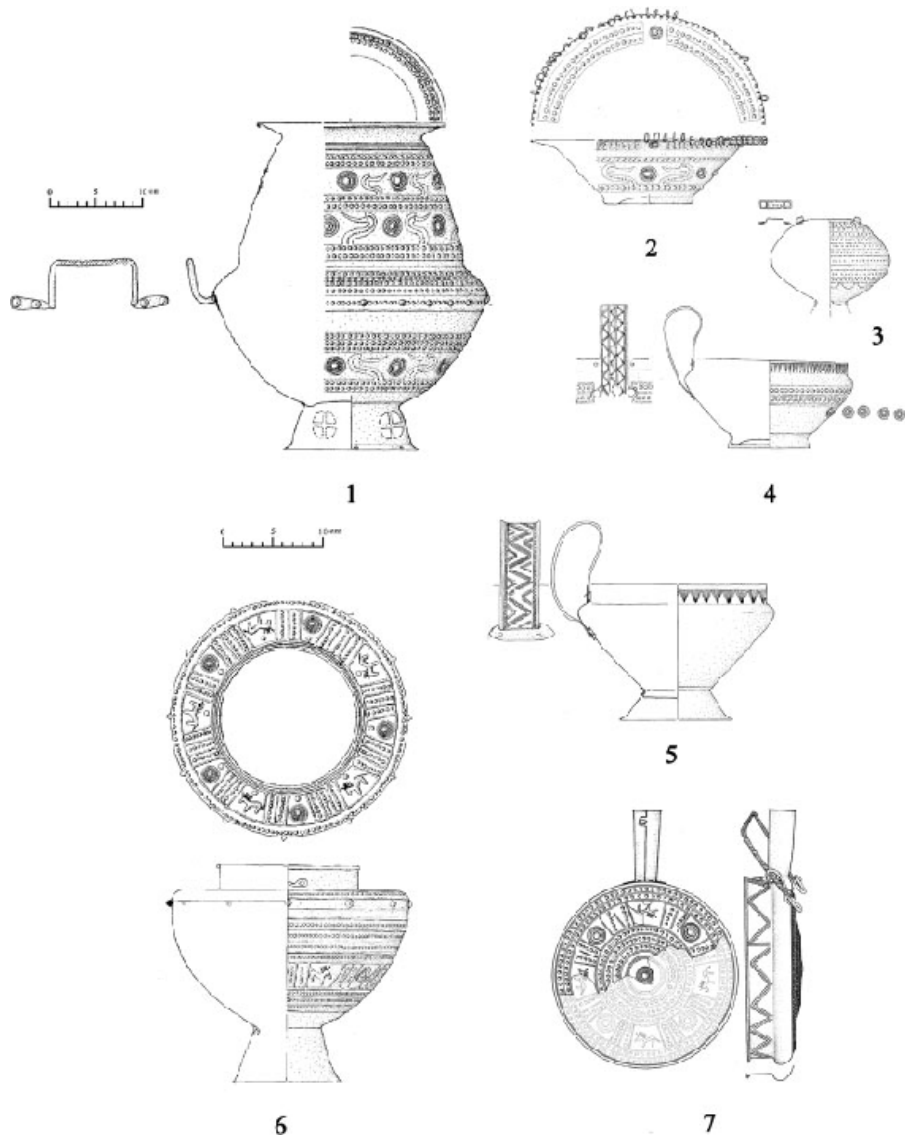


Fig. 40.5: Bronze vessels from burial contexts of southern Etruria, Early Iron Age phases 1–2 (after Iaia 2005)

3Iron metallurgy

Contrasting with the use of bronze, the Early Iron Age in Italy cannot be defined properly as an “age of iron” before late Phase 2, or the eighth century. This is particularly true in Etruria, a region with plenty of metal resources in its northern-central portion; in fact, at the moment there is no clear evidence

of systematic working of the famous deposits of iron ore on the island of Elba near the coast of Tuscany, at least before the seventh century.²¹⁴⁵

During the Early Iron Age Phase 1, iron objects in Villanovan contexts are very restricted, although with variable numbers per site. In Etruria proper, the only center with adequate evidence is Tarquinii,²¹⁴⁶ where iron objects belong to two categories, serpentine bow fibulae of the “Sicilian” or “southern” type (Fig. 40.6.3) and swords, suggesting a close link of this material with manifestations of male status. The iron swords are mainly of the “Italic” T-hilted shape akin to many bronze examples (Fig. 40.6.2), and a similar situation can be detected at Pontecagnano in southern Campania.²¹⁴⁷ By contrast, the other important Villanovan center of southern Campania, Sala Consilina, where swords and fibulae could frequently be made of iron, seems more influenced by the Oenotrian area (Calabria and Basilicata).²¹⁴⁸ Hence, at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, across most of Italy (maybe with the exception of Calabria) iron was employed chiefly as a precious and unusual material, and the quantitative scale of its impact on local exchange systems and economy was weak.²¹⁴⁹ Artifacts tended to imitate the shapes of the dominant bronze objects and were probably manufactured by bronzeworkers.

This situation was partly reversed during the decades 770–720. From this period on, the wider adoption of iron weapons (mainly spears, daggers, and knives) seems to be strictly linked to the emergence of a complex military organization, as is suggested by the different combinations of weapons in burials.²¹⁵⁰ This was, possibly, a much more effective response to the growing importance of warfare and concerns for territoriality. Furthermore, there are important indications that during the eighth century the role of iron was becoming pivotal in the practical and economic fields too. An interesting novelty was the spread of iron tools, such as knives, chisels, and axes,²¹⁵¹ documented in some male and female burials, particularly in Campania around 750–730. There, most tools and offensive weapons were made of iron, even reflecting cultural influences from the southernmost peoples of Italy²¹⁵² and from the Greek immigrants.

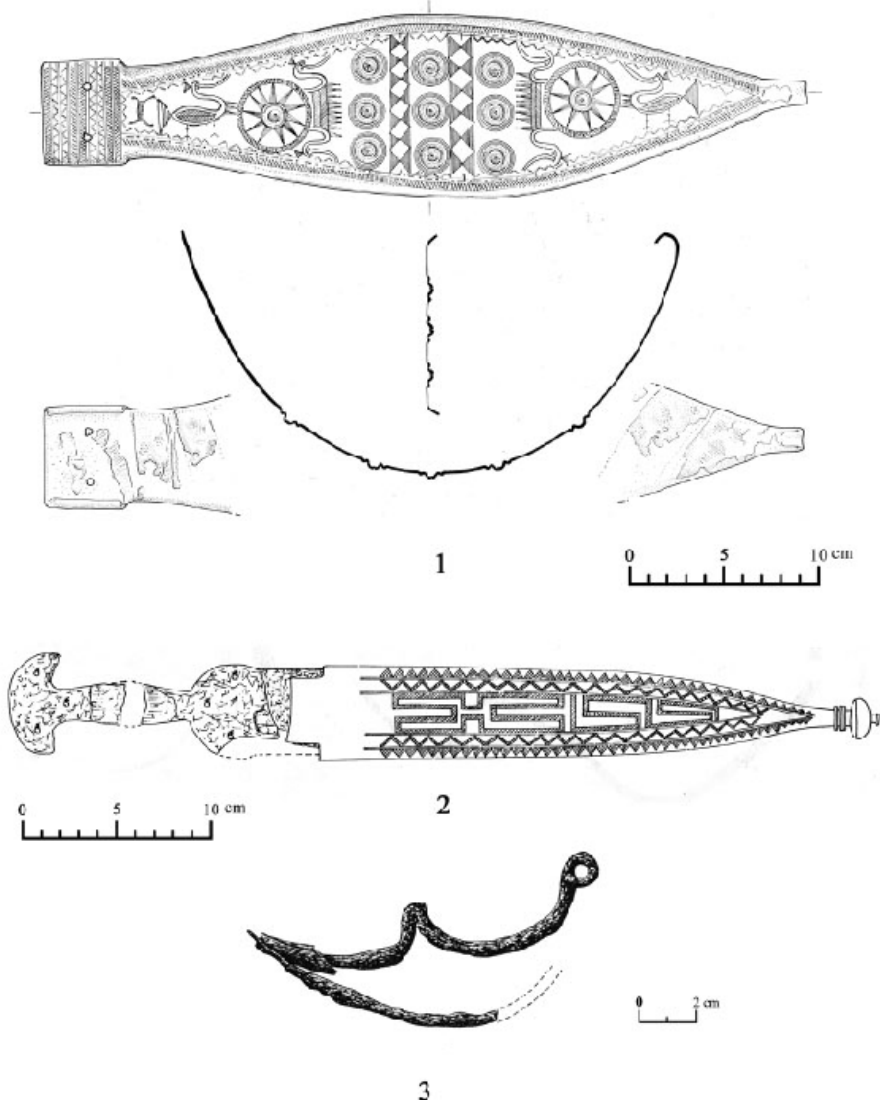


Fig. 40.6: 1. Bronze belt from Veii; 2. iron sword with bronze sheath from Sala Consilina; 3. iron serpentine fibula from Tarquinii (1. after Bartoloni and Pandolfini 1972; 2. after Kilian 1970; 3. after Hencken 1968)

40Other materials

Although the bronze metallurgy of Early Iron Age Etruria has attracted most of the interest of scholars, other materials attested in burial contexts deserve attention. They can be labeled “precious materials,” connected to long-distance trade and highly specialized production, and their consumption took

place mainly in the context of elite display. Gold objects are very rare in early Villanovan burials: from ninth-century southern Etruria a few solid gold fibulae, and more common bronze fibulae wrapped with gold wire, are known.²¹⁵³ Much more widespread are bronze items gilded with golden foil, such as the circular sheet pendants called *bullae*, a kind of ornament well attested in female and child burials of the late ninth to the eighth centuries especially at Tarquinii and Veii.²¹⁵⁴ The same technique was used in manufacturing the thin geometrical bronze sheets, gilded with gold leaf and provided with embossed decoration, found at Tarquinii in the wealthy warrior tombs Impiccato 1 and 2: their function was evidently the lavish decoration of an element of clothing.²¹⁵⁵ It was not before the second half of the eighth century that more elaborate gold objects, such as beads with granulated decoration and serpentine or draco fibulae, were manufactured, under the increasing influence of Oriental metallurgical traditions.

It is impossible to completely understand the significance of amber in the Iron Age without considering its enormous importance as the exotic material *par excellence* during the preceding period, the Bronze Age.²¹⁵⁶ After some decades of decreasing imports of raw materials and production of amber ornaments, following the abandonment of the main Late Bronze Age transit point for the amber trade in Europe, Frattese di Fratta Polesine (Veneto), this material again assumed a considerable role toward the late ninth and especially in the eighth century during the emergence of proto-urban centers in Etruria and adjacent areas. The northern center of Verucchio, in Romagna, has universally been considered the main mediator of the north Adriatic amber trade in Italy in the Early Iron Age, although its most substantial manufacture of amber objects did not start before the mid eighth century.²¹⁵⁷ Previously, some innovative amber workshops were located in southern Etruria, for example at Veii,²¹⁵⁸ where since the start of Phase 2 some fibulae with a disc catch-plate had had the leech-shaped bow assembled from amber and bone segments, sometimes with gold inserts.²¹⁵⁹ During the same century, the repertoire of amber elements in very complex necklaces for women, complemented with metal and glass items, was becoming much more varied: it included not only simple beads, but also more elaborate forms, such as drop and trapezoidal pendants, animal and anthropomorphic figurines, etc.²¹⁶⁰

During the second half of the eighth and the early seventh centuries, Verucchio may have emerged, though only for a brief period, as the most important center for manufacturing amber objects in Europe. Judging from the rich funerary evidence, their local consumption was not restricted to the higher echelons of society. They included a wide range of elements, from items for individual adornment made entirely of amber to ornamental additions on metallic and pottery vessels, bronze weapons, horse trappings, and various symbolic tools.²¹⁶¹ The only Etruscan center which in the same period appears to match Verucchio in this field is Vetulonia.²¹⁶² A major contribution of the Verucchio workshops, from the technological point of

view, seems to have been the introduction of carved amber objects, such as openwork pectorals and spindles. Furthermore, quite typical of the same workshops is a great variety of exceptionally elaborated multi-material fibulae, including many kinds of insertions, with painted internal decoration as well (Fig. 40.7.).²¹⁶³

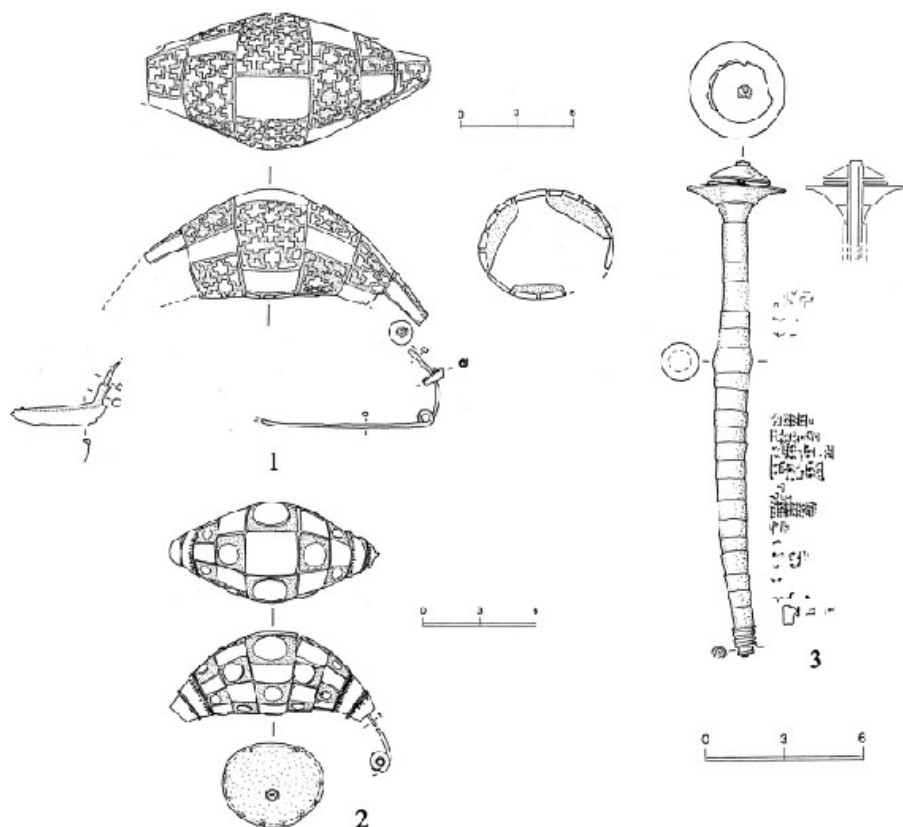


Fig. 40.7: Objects from Verucchio, partly made of amber (after Forte 1994 with modifications)

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Carriers, Motifs and Contexts of Images as seen on Bronze-Sheet Belt-Plates.”
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del Giglio.

Marco Pacciarelli

41Society, 10th cent.-730 BCE

Abstract: The Early Iron Age (EIA) protourban centers of Etruria were formed nearly at the same time, and in relation to each other. Accompanying their formation was the development of a common culture, which is best known archaeologically from the funerary ritual and style of tomb goods in the “Villanovan” cemeteries. The most significant and common cultural feature of the so-called Villanovan archaeological facies is the cinerary urn with high convex neck and rounded shoulder, and with a well-delimited range of comb-incised geometrical decorations. The urn is usually covered by a bowl, or, in a part of the male graves, by a helmet-shaped pottery lid. It is not a coincidence that the highest occurrence of this ritualistic/stylistic “code” has been found at Tarquinia, probably the epicenter of the protourban and “Villanovan” revolution (in consonance with the complexity of the topographic organization, and also with some Etruscan legends, like those regarding the national heroes Tarchon and Tages). In some way, the Villanovan cultural koine—albeit not precisely a unitarian culture in every respect—foreshadows the construction of a new identity, in connection with the radical geopolitical reorganization that determined the birth of the major communities of Etruria.

Keywords: Iron Age Etruria, protourban communities, process of urbanization, early Rome

1The protourban communities and the Villanovan cultural *koiné*

The Early Iron Age (EIA) protourban centers of Etruria were formed nearly at the same time, and in relation to each other.²¹⁶⁴ Accompanying their formation was the development of a common culture, which is best known archaeologically from the funerary ritual and style of tomb goods in the “Villanovan” cemeteries. The most significant and common cultural feature of the so-called Villanovan archaeological facies²¹⁶⁵ is the cinerary urn with high convex neck and rounded shoulder, and with a well-delimited range of comb-incised geometrical decorations (metopae or N-motifs on the shoulder, and meanders or triangles on the neck).²¹⁶⁶ The urn is usually covered by a bowl, or, in some of the male graves, by a helmet-shaped pottery lid.²¹⁶⁷ It is not a coincidence that the highest occurrence of this ritualistic/stylistic “code” is to be recognized at Tarquinia²¹⁶⁸ (Fig. 41.1), probably the epicenter of the protourban and “Villanovan” revolution (in consonance with the complexity of the topographic organization,²¹⁶⁹ and also with some Etruscan legends, like those regarding the national heroes Tarchon and Tages). In some way, the Villanovan cultural koine—albeit not precisely a really uni-tarian culture in every respect—foreshadows the construction of a new identity, in connection

with the radical geopolitical reorganization that determined the birth of the major communities of Etruria.

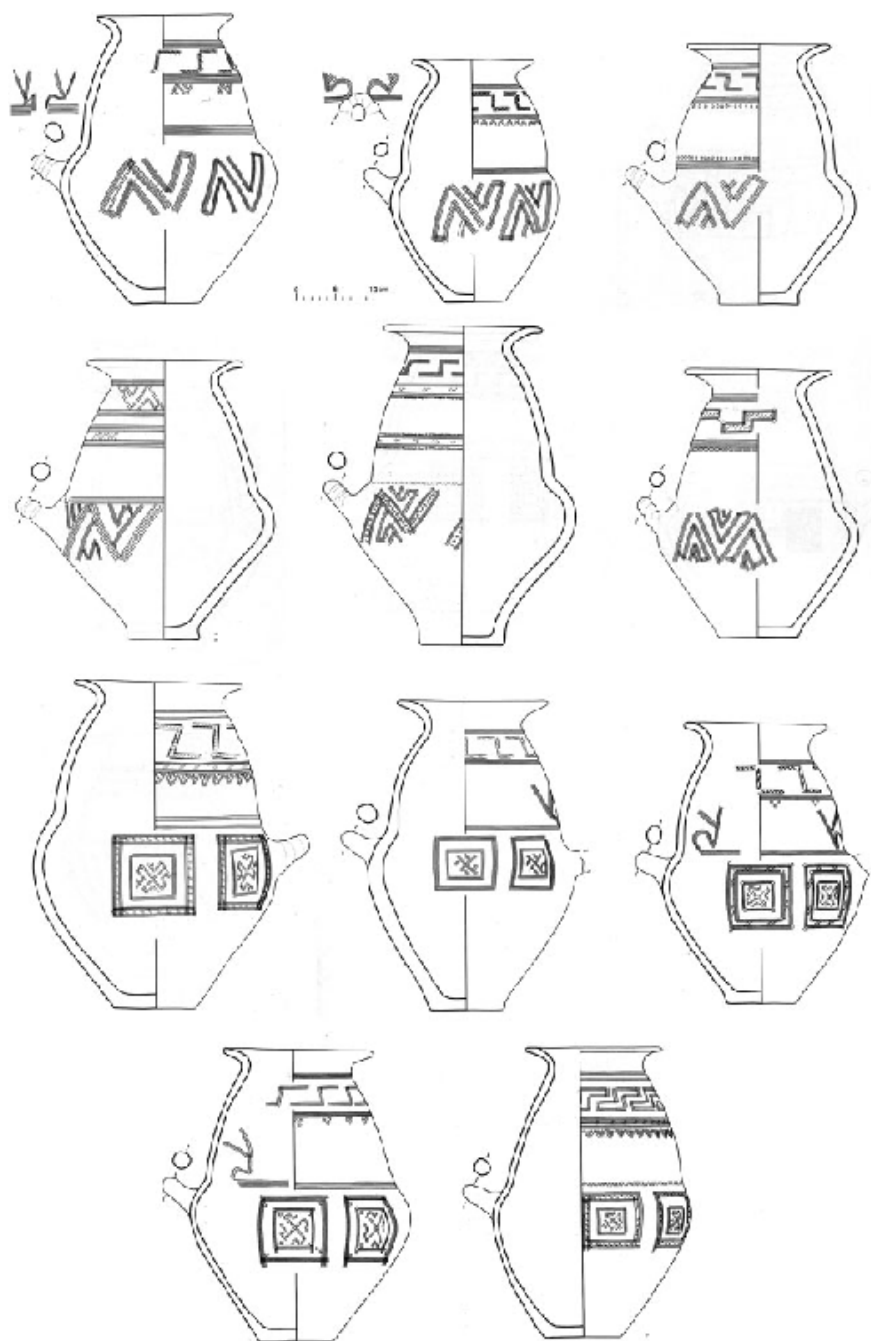


Fig. 41.1: Sample of villanovan cinerary urns from the cemetery of Le Rose at Tarquinia, showing a significant stylistic convergence (after Iaia and Pacciarelli 2012)

The development of protourban sites in Etruria had its origins in later Final Bronze Age (FBA phase 3),²¹⁷⁰ and really took off at the beginning of the EIA. This process also influenced events in other regions. In Campania, the three great EIA centers of Capua,²¹⁷¹ Pontecagnano²¹⁷² and Sala Consilina²¹⁷³ seem to have been directly inspired by the “Villanovan” model, not only in terms of material culture (although they have their own versions of main artifact classes, which implies that they were strongly rooted in local traditions), but also at least in part in terms of their size (though there are some differences, to be seen in the presence, in the first phases, of some distinct settlement areas).

A high demographic consistency may also be deduced for Bologna.²¹⁷⁴ In the first phase of the EIA, the population was distributed in some distinct villages, each with its own necropolis. During the second phase, around 750 BCE, an enormous (180 hectares) fortified center was founded, marking the beginning of the urban community of *Felsina* (modern-day Bologna).

Other communities outside Etruria showing clear Villanovan features—especially in the earliest phases—are Verucchio,²¹⁷⁵ near Rimini, characterized in the decades around 700 BCE by a richness likely tied to its control of the amber trade, and of Fermo,²¹⁷⁶ in the Marche region.

2Revolutionary social, economic and political changes between the FBA and EIA, connected with the formation of protourban centers

Unfortunately, we know relatively little of the FBA necropolises. It seems that in Etruria, however, at least from FBA phase 3, the cemeteries have groups of tombs containing both male and female burials (e.g. in the cemetery of Poggio della Pozza at Allumiere, on the Tolfa Hills), and perhaps already representing family groups. At the same time a major role has been played by warriors, marked in Etruria by the common use of helmet-shaped pottery urn lids.²¹⁷⁷

This evidence from the FBA is sparse but suggests that the communities were in flux before the development of protourban societies. Such a transition must have been the product of changes over a long period.

Developments during the Bronze Age include the formation of a warrior elite as well as a more general process of economic change—clearly visible, for example, in agricultural and craft production—linked to the activity of the productive classes. This is evident within communities in which the traditional links based on extended kinship, reciprocity and “tribal” egalitarianism must have been weakened by the development of new forms of economic exchange based on weighed metal, individual accumulation, and relationships of subordination cultivated by the emerging elites.²¹⁷⁸

The modification of the economic structure was interwoven with changes in

sociopolitical relations that were linked to developments in warfare and related activities.

Unfortunately, the data for this are scarce. However, considering the data for peninsular Italy, during the course of the FBA, the diffusion of long spearheads is linked with a progressive shortening and decrease in the importance of the sword, which presupposes the transition to a form of combat based on ranks of warriors with spears.²¹⁷⁹ While individual skills and knowledge were still important, this type of combat placed a premium on group coordination and organization.

A number of elements provoked a spiral of changes, some gradual, some probably “revolutionary.” These elements included 1) the emergence of increasingly complex families (probably because the families began to contain members in subordinate positions) with greater autonomy and productive capacity; 2) tensions over access to land; 3) political and military organizations ideologically based on equality and the inclusion of a wide sector of the population and various communities; 4) the resulting transformations in the nature of power, which increasingly tended to be more shared and “public”; and the ideological implications of this.

This socio-political restructuring—dating to the later FBA and crystallizing with the beginning of the EIA—led to a marked weakening or cancellation of the residual privileges and “personal” powers of the previous elites, and to the formation of societies entirely structured around the community of the warriors, the *populus* (as it was called in ancient Rome). The warrior class was organized in egalitarian groups, presumably at least in part via forms of political collegiality, and via associations of intermediate level between the individual household and the protourban community. A subdivision of the latter into minor groups is demonstrated by the existence of several cemeteries, often characterized by a specific identity in the ritual.²¹⁸⁰ These groups, constituted by several families, are probably something similar to the *curiae* of early Rome. These were fundamental social units, responsible for assuring the military recruitment, the organization of the assemblies (Lat. *comitia curiata*), and probably also the framework of economic cooperation necessary for the flourishing of the warrior class.

Some of the changes described above also took place in other regions. In Calabria, significant new settlements were established, such Torre Galli, which is situated on the edge of the Poro plateau, a location that allowed direct access to arable land and control of maritime trade routes. At the cemetery of Torre Galli, dated to the phase 1 of the EIA, we see the clearest new organization, based on the widespread diffusion of the role of warrior in the male population, and on the generalized use of the spear.²¹⁸¹

The main epicenter of the protourban development was southern Etruria, partly because of its abundant natural resources and favorable geography. Possibly already in the FBA, trade, economic, political and military processes existed, focused on sites such as Tarquinia and Vulci. These are situated on

large plateaus near river mouths on the Tyrrhenian coast, an area that from the FBA developed long distance maritime trade involving Sardinia.²¹⁸² Already by FBA phase 3, but especially in the EIA1, there is evidence along the coast of the intensification of the production of salt or salted goods.²¹⁸³

Changes in the forms of use and possess of the land may also be hypothesized. According to Renato Peroni and Giovanni Colonna,²¹⁸⁴ it has been thought that the “extensive” occupation of these protourban centers in Etruria (on large defensible and cultivable plateaus) could have been linked to the allotment of each landowner’s land.²¹⁸⁵ However, it is obvious that these lots, like the *bina iugera* of early Rome, must have been quite small, being sufficient only for basic subsistence. They were, therefore, integrated by the lands (probably partly private and partly public) in the surrounding territory.

3Evidence from the Villanovan cemeteries in the first phase of the Early Iron Age (EIA1)

Analysis of the types of interments and of the spatial arrangement of the Tyrrhenian EIA1 cemeteries allow us to reconstruct some of the main aspects of social structure.

The clearest and most generalized distinction is that of gender. The male graves contained a razor and signs of a warrior role, including weapons (mainly a spearhead and, more rarely, a sword) and sometimes defensive (or symbolic) armor, like the frequent helmet-shaped pottery lids. These elements are never found in the female graves, which instead contain utensils tied to spinning (pottery spindle-whorl and sometimes bronze spindle or distaff) and weaving (bobbins), and several types of ornaments. The most common are fibulae (those with a serpentine bow are only common in male tombs), hair coils, necklaces (with beads made of glass, amber, metal, stone, bone, etc.), and bracelets (which are sometimes also associated with men).

The differences in wealth and rank—emerging mainly in later phases of the EIA—are signaled for the men by complex weaponry (sword, and especially bronze helmet, and later pectoral and shield); for the women by precious ornaments (in amber, gold and silver) and a bronze girdle; and for both genders by metal vases, horse bits and chariot parts, metal spits and firedogs, and precious amulets (often of *faïence*).

In some cases, the funerary area is structured as a single unit, not clearly divided into separated family groups, as it seems at Tarquinia-Villa Bruschi, an important cemetery almost wholly excavated by Flavia Trucco. In this case, the social unit reflected in the cemetery was probably something similar to a Latin *curia* or to a Greek *ghenos*.

In other cases, we clearly see a division of the funerary space into small clusters of tombs, clearly relating to families. Inside these, there is usually a

couple of tombs—one female and one male—with more significant grave-groups. When these clusters last for more than one archaeological phase, it is possible to recognize a principal couple for each phase. This is the case of the burial group of Bisogno at Pontecagnano. At this site there is a principal male tomb for each phase—the earliest phase IA features a razor; the latest IA features a helmet-shaped pottery lid; IB features a sword—and also one or two female graves with a *parure* of ornaments more complex than average.²¹⁸⁶

In some cemeteries, we see small family clusters put together to form a larger group (an extended family or a descent group similar to a *gens*?), such as the two large collections of tombs in the Sant'Antonio cemetery at Pontecagnano.²¹⁸⁷ In this case there is only one tomb with a sword per major group.

The cemetery Le Rose at Tarquinia of the phase 1 of the EIA, also contains family clusters, each centered on a pair of tombs placed close together. There is a male tomb with a pottery helmet (often also with a stone receptacle and small vases) and a female tomb with a more-complex-than-average set of objects (spindle whorl, hair coil, and one to three fibulae)²¹⁸⁸.

The transition to a social structure in which the family unit began to play a key role happened simultaneously with the geo-political restructuring at the beginning of the EIA. At this stage, the family structure is generally complex and already similar to the *familia* or *oikos* of the historical period. Renato Peroni sees this as an important transition, and one that is characteristic of his *protourban communities*.²¹⁸⁹

4Signs of a hierarchy at the beginning of the Iron Age at Tarquinia and other protourban centers

The existence of a complex politico-military hierarchy is to be recognized at Tarquinia, where all the most complex tomb-groups of EIA1 come from the necropolis at Arcatelle. The richest male tombs comprise signs of high politico-military status, such as the bronze helmets—three with apex and one of the crested type—along with horse bits in one tomb, and in another case sword, spearhead, bronze vases and fibula with wrapped gold wire (Fig. 41.2). Two complex female burials of EIA1 from Arcatelle yielded particular metal vases. In one of these grave-groups there is an exceptional symbolic bronze wagon (Fig. 41.3—certainly a cult item—in the form of a horned bird (another horned head is on the lid), and in another a silver pyxis. The latter grave is also rich in ornaments, comprising forty-one fibulae (one of which is made of gold), a number never found in EIA1 graves, and an amber and glass necklace. These data indicate that the Arcatelle cemetery, at least in EIA1, must have been used by the leading group—a chiefly *ghenos*?—in the

community.²¹⁹⁰

Other Villanovan centers may also have had a similar hierarchy. At Populonia, for example, the high status tombs are circular dry-stone chambers under tumuli; the tomb-goods from one included two bronze helmets.²¹⁹¹



Fig. 41.2: Tarquinia, cemetery of Arcatelle: part of grave goods from a male tomb of the first phase of Early Iron Age (after Iaia and Pacciarelli 2012)



Fig. 41.3: Tarquinia, cemetery of Arcatelle: exceptional ritual bronze vessel from a female tomb of the first phase of Early Iron Age. (after Hencken 1968)

5Development of a stratified society during the second phase of the Early Iron Age (EIA2)

The development of different levels of wealth and rank began with the formation of the protourban centers, and accelerated sharply during EIA2, as can be seen by the different categories (Figs. 41.4–6) of tombs from the cemetery of Quattro Fontanili at Veii.²¹⁹² The tombs not only reveal “horizontal” divisions by role and gender, but also marked “vertical” distinctions of social rank. The latter includes individuals of both genders and all age classes from elders to infants, and thus social status during EIA2 seems to have been regularly acquired via inheritance.

The males of the highest rank are represented by the category of *corredo A*, subdivided in the two sub-categories: A1 and A2. In the burials of the first,

there are a sword and a pair of spearheads, along with prestige objects like metal vases, spits— obviously tied to the sphere of the meat-based banquet— and often a pair of horse bits and sometimes also pieces of a chariot). Burials of the second category is composed mostly by infants and young males, buried with a small spearhead and some prestige items similar to those of A1 graves.

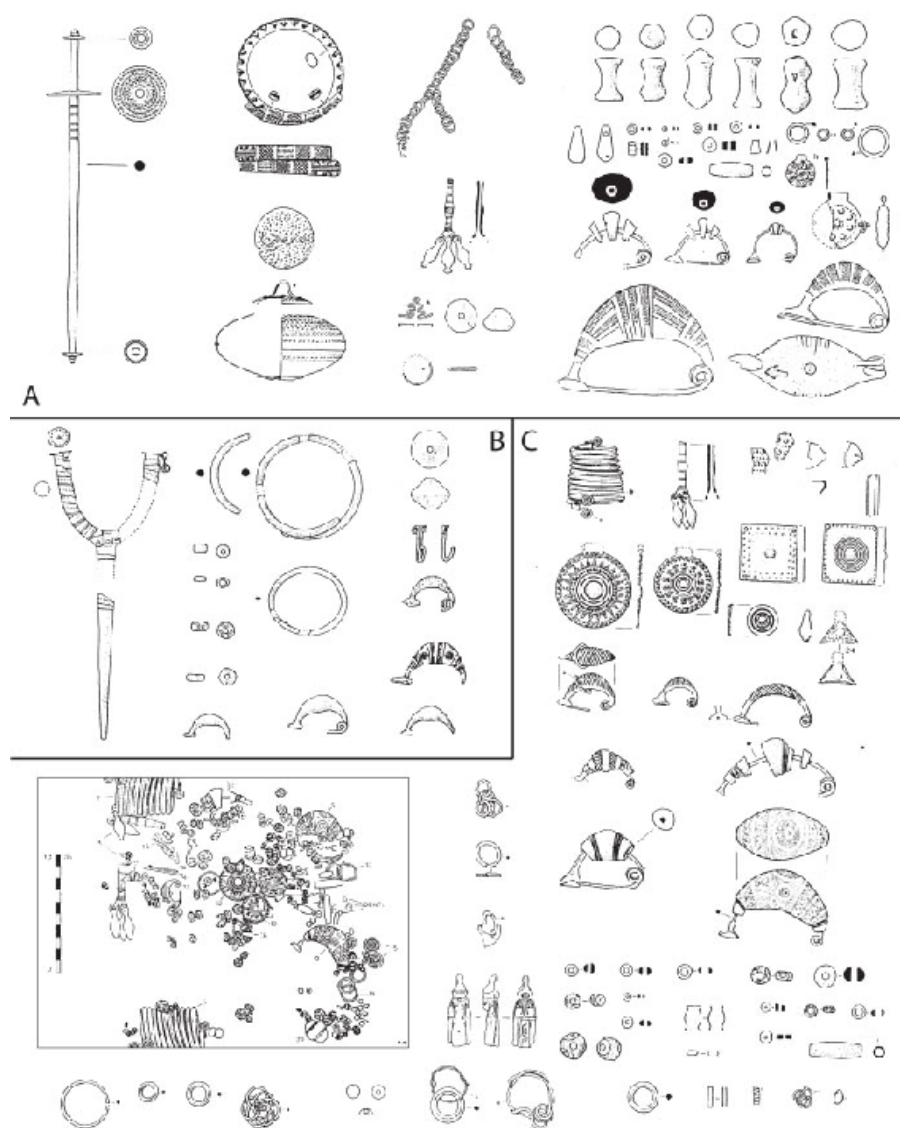


Fig. 41.5: Veii, Quattro Fontanili necropolis (mainly EIA2): high rank female grave-groups. A: t. KK10–11, aged 25 (category B); B: t. JJ17–18, adult and child (category C); C: t. EE 7–8B, aged 3–4 (category D) (after Pacciarelli 2001)

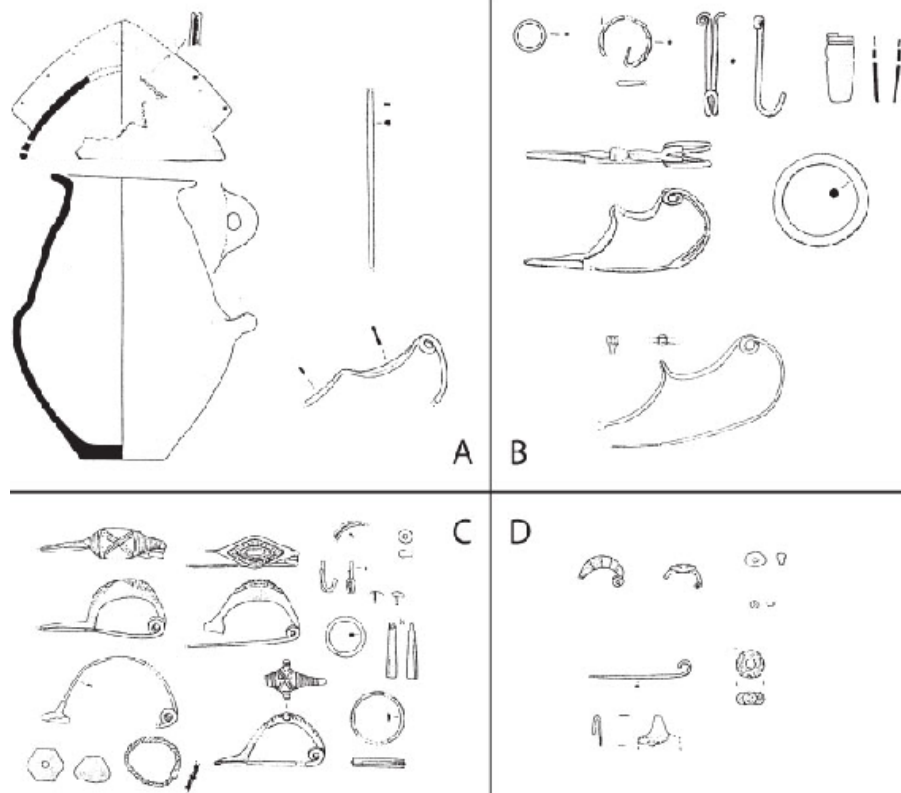


Fig. 41.6: Veii, Quattro Fontanili necropolis (mainly EIA2): low rank grave-groups (A-B, males; C-D: females). A: t. Z9, aged 15–19 (category E); B: t. GG14–15, aged 1 (category F); C: t. JJ8, aged ca. 50 (category H); D: t. KK13–14, aged 3–4 (after Pacciarelli 2001)

The most complex male *corredi* comprises two chiefly burials: tombs AA1 and Z15A. These are characterized by a sheet bronze cinerary urn and other metallic vases, a crested helmet and other exceptional pieces of bronze armor, like a shield in AA1 and a pectoral in Z15A, along with many other prestige items. Because of their high status—and considering the different chronology (Judith Toms’ phase IIB for AA1, IIC for the other)²¹⁹³—these males were likely chiefs of the whole community (*ghenos* or *curia*?) that used the Quattro Fontanili cemetery, during the middle decades of the eighth century (approximately between 790/770 and 740/720 BCE).

High-ranking adult females (category B) have *corredi* including thread spools, amber necklaces, gold and silver ornaments, bronze girdles, distaff and vases, and sometimes horse bits. The mostly female high-status infant graves (category D) have a spiral bracelet and personal ornaments, which are sometimes precious and in large quantities.

Actual weapons are thus a mark, from birth, of the males of this dominant social group—undoubtedly the emergent Etruscan aristocracy—which

represents itself as the interpreter of the warrior values of the *populus* (in late Etruscan language *rasna*)²¹⁹⁴ and further distinguishes itself by a lifestyle linked to the values of the meat-centered feast, ownership of horses and the use of chariots. All of this requires wealth, which would have come from exploitation of local land and resources, especially areas some distance from the settlement, in some way corresponding to the *agerpublicus* (from *poplicus*, i.e. “of the *populus*”) of ancient Rome. The *ager publicus*, which was appropriated rather than properly owned, formed the basis of the aristocratic families’ wealth over a long period.²¹⁹⁵

The thread spools found in rich female tombs of combination B are further proof of the source of this wealth: wool and/or linen. These tombs not only exalt the domestic values associated with spinning and weaving, but also contain many high prestige goods such as amber necklaces, and bracelets etc.; items which also occur in several category D infant tombs.

The second level of social rank is represented by adult males generally buried only with a razor and/or pottery urn cover in the shape of a helmet, and a serpentine fibula (category E), and probably also by male children with serpentine fibula (category G) or serpentine fibula and knife and/or small metal point (category F). The adult women of this rank have a single spindle whorl and some fibulae (category H), and the babies have only a certain number of beads, mainly of glass (category I).

A third rank—perhaps of servants or dependent laborers— is also represented by some graves, in which were placed very poor *corredi*, consisting only of pots (category K) and sometimes a few beads (category J).

Evidence for the organic formation of high-ranking groups, at least from the beginning of EIA2, comes from the spatial arrangement of the Quattro Fontanili cemetery. Some areas have concentrations of tombs of the highest-ranking individuals— both males and females of various ages—close to which lie tombs of lower-ranking males and females.

The Veian cemetery of Casale del Fosso,²¹⁹⁶ mainly dating to EIA2, is also spatially arranged into groups, apparently belonging to extended families. Each group contains a single tomb whose goods include a sword, and various burials either with a spearhead or necklace and bracelet.

The forms of ostentation of rank and wealth described above were made possible by the economic success of the “Etrurian system,” and of Veii in particular. They can be seen as the outcome of competition and the differential accumulation of goods by different family groups, as well as the concentration of authority and power in the hands of the heads of the richest extended families (*patres familias* according to Roman terminology). These are probably the men with A1 tomb goods, while the children buried with weapons and the women and babies of categories B and D must be their close relatives.

The political importance of a certain number of *patres* (probably those directly descended from the original heads of the extended families) may have

partially led to the concept and practice of private rights over what was originally public land. At first, such rights would have been impermanent, but gradually became consolidated until finally the community permanently lost control of the land.

One of the motors of the rapid and growing socio-economic transformation of EIA2 was undoubtedly also the flourishing of trade and exchange fed both by the enormous protourban sites, obvious places for “permanent” markets and craft production, and by the elites demand for prized goods. The increase in production and exchange of goods was certainly aided by the activities of the Greeks and Levantines in the Tyrrhenian area, especially with the foundation of Pitheculae in Campania. However, Pitheculae was not founded until later in EIA2, after the beginning of these socioeconomic changes, which therefore must have had a local origin linked to indigenous developments in social structure.

The rapid evolution of protourban societies with complex organization is well testified by the development of a further and uppermost social group. This dates from the EIA2 phase, but only reached maturity at the end of this period. The wealthiest tombs of Quattro Fontanili belonged to this small social group, among which were the aforementioned male tombs AA1 and Z15A (Figs. 41.7–8), and female tombs which from phases IIB-IIC contain exceptional quantities of prized goods. Two of these were tomb EE7–8B, which contained belongings of a young female child, and Yalpa2197 of phase IIC, whose location close to AA1 may be not accidental.

The process of emergence of a princely class, common to various protourban communities, reached its culmination at the end of EIA2—that is to say at the beginning of the Orientalizing period—with the appearance of very high-ranking burials such as the Tomb of the Warrior at Tarquinia.²¹⁹⁸ From this very rich *corredo* come not only complex weaponry and many prestige items (horse bits, several bronze vases, and precious metal vases and fibulae) but also an exceptional sign of a very high politico-military role: a large pectoral with a richly ornamented gold plate.

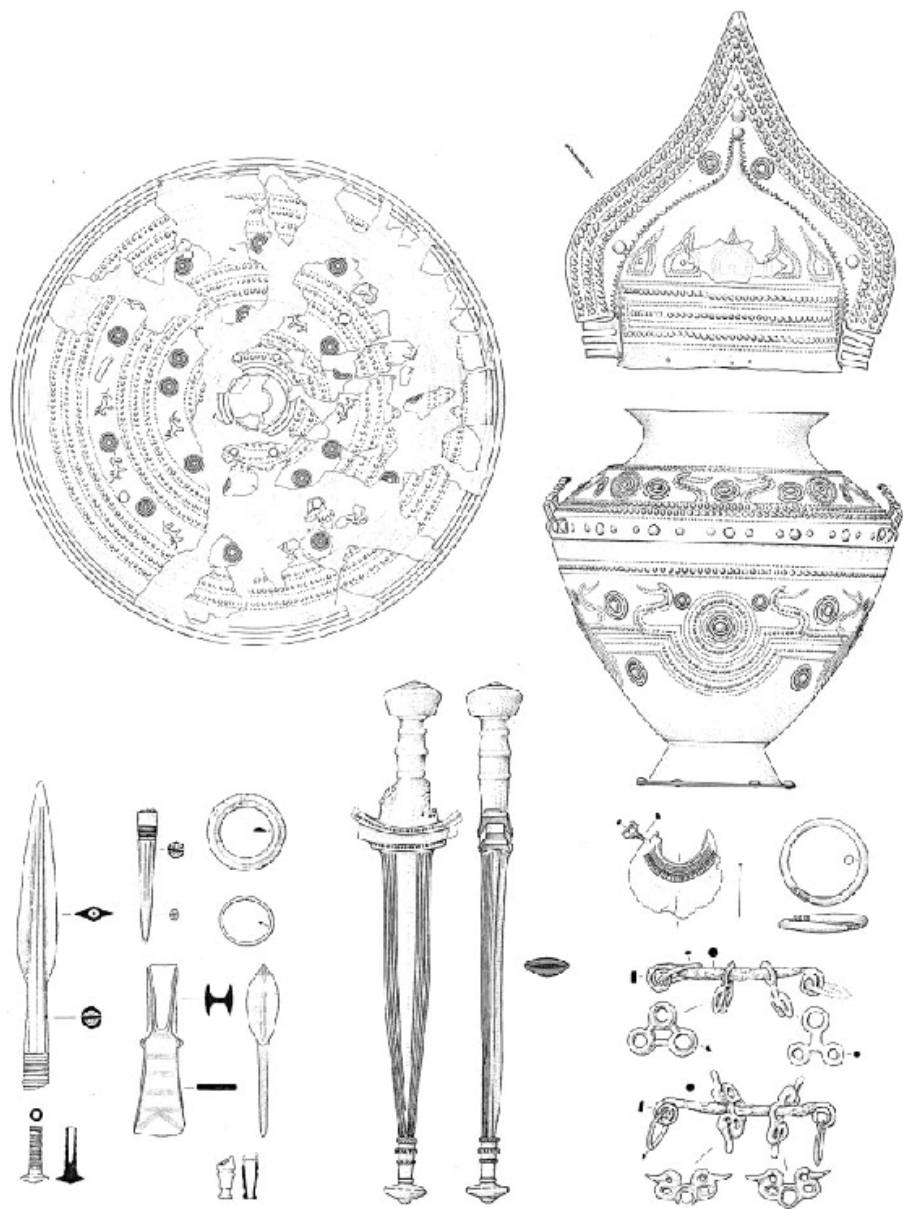


Fig. 41.7: Veii, Quattro Fontanili necropolis, tomb MI (after Pacciarelli 2001)

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Tiziano Trocchi

42Ritual and cults, 10th cent.-730 BCE

Abstract: Funeral practices in the ancient proto-urban communities in Etruria are characterized by an early predominant use of cremation, which was later replaced by burial between the late ninth and eighth centuries BCE. Particular attention was initially paid to avoid mutual dependences and inequalities that led to funeral rituals with strong egalitarian traits—burials within extremely simplified structures and with few grave goods. The initial rigor of funeral rituals was gradually replaced by more complex ritual ceremonies, which show the early emergence of an embryonic social stratification.

With the transition to the advanced stage of the Early Iron Age, there was a general increase in the size and articulation of burial spaces. Individual characterization of the deceased is more and more increasing. The anthropomorphism of the urns became a typical mark of elite cremation burials, and can be connected to the need to restore individual role and social status. In the final stage of this period, funeral practices were increasingly linked to the self-affirmation of an aristocratic group of people at the top class of the social hierarchy. The leading figures of this social class represented themselves through attributes that show their military, religious and political prerogatives.

Among the few data about ruins of worship structures, the most famous are those of Pian della Civita in Tarquinia, where the finds of food offerings are reminiscent of female fertility cults, while two burials—which were certainly consecrated to the gods—suggest the practice of cruel and sacrificial rituals. In the number of worship tools found in funerary contexts, we have to mention the multiple-container vases, whose function can be related to the offering of preparation of food and beverages during religious ceremonies. Among the figurative documents with sacred value we remember in particular the plastic decoration on the bronzed cinerary in woman's grave 22 in Olmo Bello necropolis in Bisenzio, interpreted as a sacred dance around a monstrous death god, performed by a group of warriors, probably on their return from war. These features give origin to a complex cultural view, in which the emerging elite seem to wish to claim a privileged relationship with the underworld gods and with the divine forces governing nature and fecundity as a guarantee of social and political stability.

Keywords: Early Iron Age; funeral rituals; cremation burials; religious practices; worship tools; social status

1Funeral Ritual

1.1.The initial stages

Funeral events and practices in the ancient proto-urban communities living in Etruria are characterized by an early predominant use of cremation, which was later replaced by burial between the late ninth and the eighth centuries BCE.

Burial became increasingly dominant—especially in Southern Etruscan and Campanian necropolises—already in the eighth century. In contrast, cremation remained in use longer in northern Etruria and across the Po valley, where burial appeared only during the seventh century.

As for the meaning of cremation in relation to the concept of afterlife, we can emphasize that cremation in itself was considered a medium with a strong significance for the rite of passage, particularly by the change of the defunct physical state. This change may involve the concept by which the deceased is accepted into a different world, detached from the living one, where he/she becomes completely devoted to the gods.²²⁰⁰

The early spread of cremation in Etruria has been linked to funeral customs of the Late Bronze Age communities. We can assume that during the transition between the two phases, the origin of great proto-urban communities has led to a redistribution of agricultural resources in the hands of individual family groups.²²⁰¹ Particular attention was initially paid to avoid mutual dependences and inequalities between those groups that led later to funeral rituals with strong egalitarian traits that included strict rules for body treatments, and burials within extremely simplified structures and with few and selected grave goods.

Le Rose necropolis in Tarquinia, which can be dated to the ninth century, is an example in which we can find this kind of ritual. The graves appear to be arranged in small groups spanning a maximum of two generations, without any real unit linked to hereditary lines²²⁰² and with very few indications on family and social roles.²²⁰³

Even during the earliest phases, and due to rapidly changing social dynamics, the initial rigor of funeral rituals has been gradually replaced by more complex ritual ceremonies, which show the early emergence of an embryonic social stratification.

In this regard, we have to examine as a first step the actual tomb structure. The graves of the first phase do not initially have any clear distinctive sign in their structure, which was usually made from a simple circular pit-tomb, and which housed the jar of ashes, represented by the typical ceramic biconical vase. However, a more attentive analysis of some cemeteries led to the observation of some more elaborate tombs beside the other simpler grave structures. In some southern Etruscan places,²²⁰⁴ there is documented evidence of cylinder ovoid-shaped cases, lytic boxes or stone slab-covered pit-tombs. Some grave markers shaped after hut roofs and after knobbed helmets have been found in the Selciatello Sopra necropolis in Tarquinia.²²⁰⁵ Where it was possible to compare the elements of these kinds of structures with the grave goods, it was observed that those structures usually coincide with plainer indications of role with respect to the average, such as the spindle whorls in women's graves²²⁰⁶ and the weapons in men's.²²⁰⁷ The rapid achievement of such a structural complexity used in funeral rituals becomes very clear, and with it, we can identify the internal dynamism of a society

testing a rapid development of new models of aggregation.

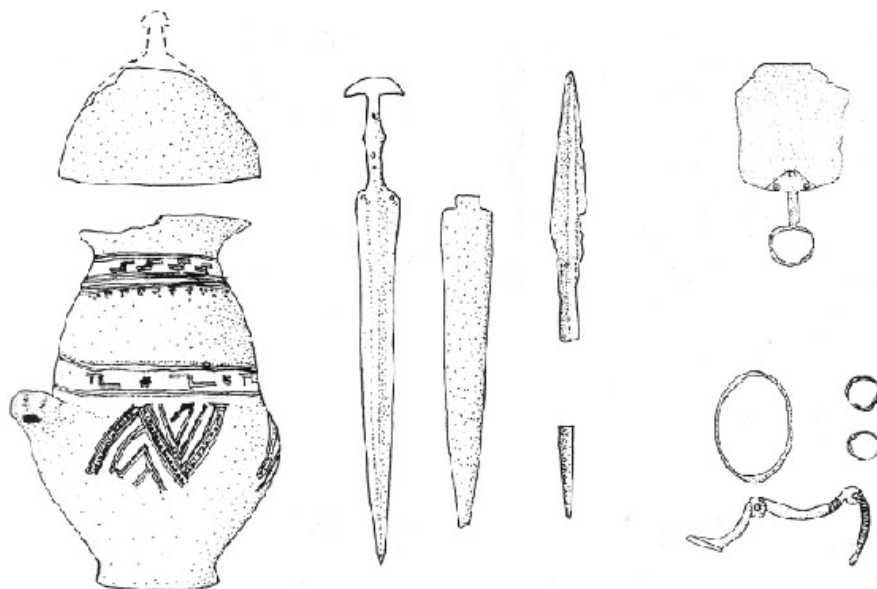


Fig. 42.1: Male tomb group from the grave Selciatello 75 of Tarquinia (after Iaia 1999, fig. 9 A)

This observation can be further supported by a brief examination of the data on the elements of the burials, which are composed by the urn of ashes and the items included in the grave goods.

The most commonly urn of ashes is certainly the biconical vase, usually with a horizontal handle or two handles, one of which broke during the ritual. This use has been interpreted as a rite of passage and as a sign of consecration²²⁰⁸ to the gods associated with the vase itself and therefore of the deceased's ashes.

Normally the jars are covered by a one-handled bowl, but in some contexts differences regarding the covering of the biconical jar were observed. The urn lid made as a symbolic ceramic helmet was commonly found in several early necropolises (Fig. 42.1). In Grotta Gramiccia necropolis in Veii, e.g., sixty percent of graves containing male markers showed this kind of covering.²²⁰⁹ Here, in some children's burials, we can find helmet lids that indicate the possibility of characterizing men as warriors as early as their childhood, maybe for hereditary rights. These rituals are clear signs of the evolution of new and complex social relationships and structures.

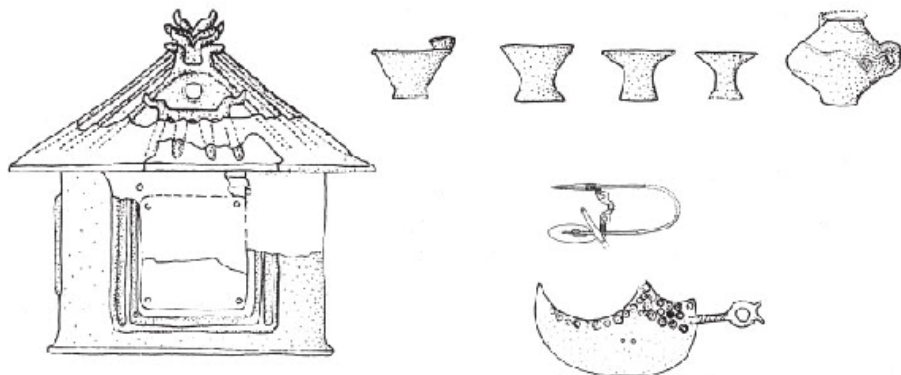


Fig. 42.2: Male tomb group from the grave Impiccato 25 of Tarquinia (after Iaia 1999, fig. 8 A)

Ceramic helmet-shaped lids with a small hut roof on top, used as coverings, have to be interpreted in the same way. The addition of the roof of a hut, a symbol of the family home, enhances the symbolic value of the urn. It combines two roles for men— that of a warrior and that of the father of the family, who holds a sort of right of citizenship within the community.²²¹⁰ A first definite indication of social standing is then added to the role of warrior. A special remark has to be reserved for burials with hut-shaped cinerary urns (Fig. 42.2), which are common in the oldest burials in Latium vetus and quite rare in Etruria, where we can find a few examples of men's graves.²²¹¹ It has been suggested that this kind of urn can be reconnected with a priestly function of the deceased²²¹² or with the high social standing of people with an upper-class status, indicating an early form of political authority. The cinerary urn ultimately becomes the bearer of symbolic meanings and the object of marked identification with the dead, with his attributes of role and status and sometimes with the family home as a primary component of his identity.

Regarding the graves goods, we can observe that most of the early burials do not have any vascular set of items, while during the ritual the deposition of items was almost exclusively of personal goods. These were typically one or more *fibulae*, in many cases placed into the cinerary urn.²²¹³ We can also find spinning tools—more rarely weaving tools—other than ornaments, in women's graves and, from the late ninth century, razors in men's graves. These forms of expression are quite limited; in the initial stages, burials without any grave goods prevailed almost everywhere.

1.2The advanced stages

With the transition to the advanced stage of the Early Iron Age (eighth century) it is possible to more precisely define the ritual models.

As for the relationship between ritual and structure, there was a general

increase in the size and articulation of burial spaces and a growing connection between the grave structure and the symbolic and communicative complexity of the funeral ritual itself.

In southern Etruria, where burials were more widespread, rectangular graves were enriched with one or more lateral *loculi* (Fig. 42.3). The case of Veii²²¹⁴ is emblematic; in this area a steady enlargement of graves along with the use of large wooden coffins can be observed from the first half of the eighth century. Then, we can find graves with their lateral *loculus*, which is usually used for placing pottery goods, or even graves with a double *loculus*, used to house mortal remains and their pottery set.²²¹⁵

A spatial analysis which has recently been carried out on a group of cremation burials in Verucchio²²¹⁶ has led to the recognition of a modular partition of the great pit-tombs inner spaces, which can be assimilated to rooms such as:

- The *main chamber*: the deepest part, dedicated to the cinerary urn;
- The *grave hall*: usually the middle part or the space round the urn, but detached from it;
- The access *dromos*: the highest part of the grave, often overlying a layer of wooden planks.

This division, combined with a distributive analysis of the mortuary equipment, has made it possible to suggest interpretative hypotheses about cremation, referring to the grave structuring. It has also contributed to a better understanding of the reasons for the great abundance and increase in the use of banquet vases and pottery—meaning an increase in eating and drinking on the part of the rising aristocracy during funerary rituals.

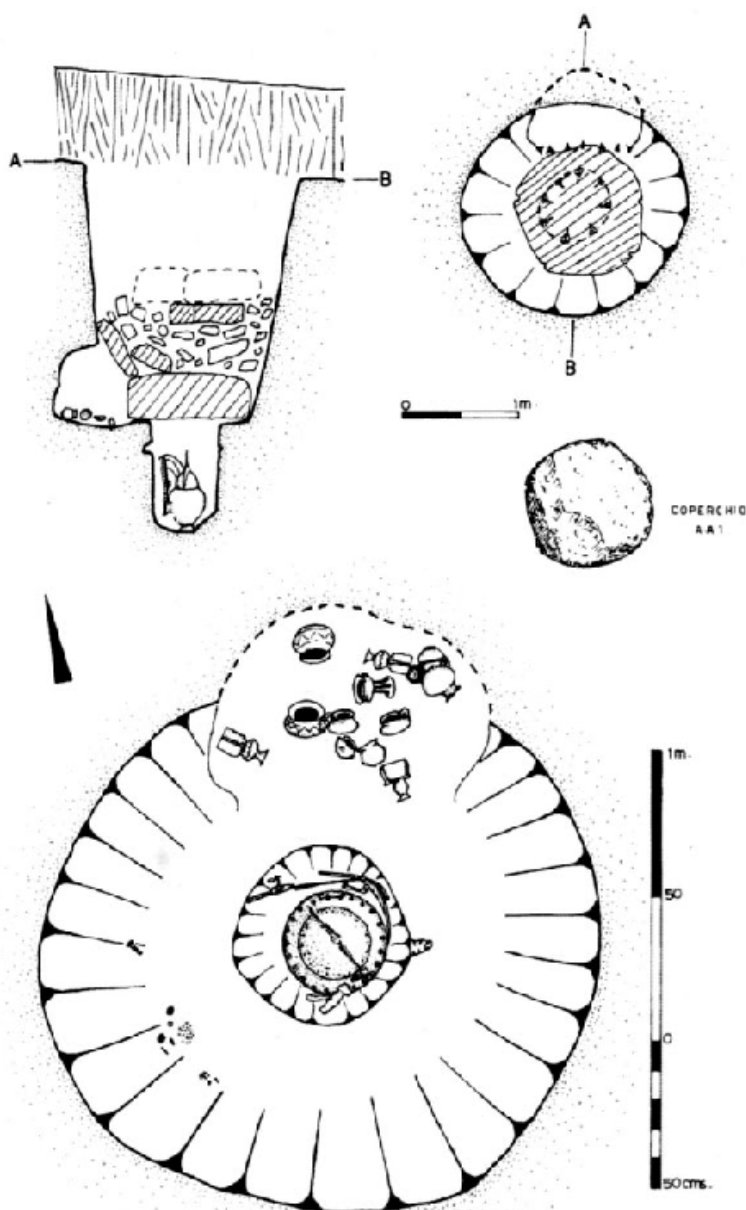


Fig. 42.3: Plan of the grave AA1 of the Quattro Fontanili necropolis in Veii (drawing SAR-Laz)

The presence of pottery has been observed in several different areas of the graves, that presented different features and meanings. In the *grave hall* intact banquet pottery²²¹⁷ is often placed with its furnishing. The space therefore seems to define the deceased as a “social person” who had a place in a highly ritualized elite ceremony, and was ultimately transferred to the afterlife. In the *main chamber*—an area reserved for the cinerary urn and the grave goods—

and the *dromos*, the presence of pottery made useless during the rite has been observed. Thus, the intact pottery found in the *main chamber* suggests a perpetual function, a sort of everlasting banquet of the dead, while in the other two spaces, we recognize the material remains from the banquet of the living, celebrated during the funeral ritual,²²¹⁸ to consecrate the deceased's passage to the afterlife.²²¹⁹ These are various constitutive moments of a complex funeral ceremony, which links eschatological features to fixed social rituals.

The deceased were buried in personal graves with individual characteristics reflecting their social status. The anthropomorphism of the urns became a typical mark of cremation burials of the rising elite and can be conceptually connected both to the desire of softening the destructive power of cremation²²²⁰ and the increasing need to restore and enhance individual prerogatives of role and social status. At this stage, where the burial is prevailing, the choice of the crematory ritual is often linked to ideological reasons. In the necropolises at Veii²²²¹ and Pontecagnano,²²²² cremation remains have been found in the graves of prominent warriors who would have had a very high social status. Cremation seems to have been a conceptual choice, intended to dignify with a strongly traditional rite the individuals belonging to the highest level of a fully aristocratic society, which seems at the same time to have been prematurely inspired by the typical heroic Homeric Greek burial.²²²³

Among the best-known cases of cremations from this period are the graves of warriors I and II in Poggio dell'Impiccato necropolis in Tarquinia.²²²⁴ The funeral urns were found lying down—as if to emulate the burial position of a body—covered with a crested helmet in grave I and with a bronzed half sphere shaped like a human face in grave II. Both vases had golden foil fragments on their surface, probably used to decorate a fabric meant to wrap the body. The intention of personalizing the jar of ashes using clothes and goods in grave I and by a funeral mask in grave II²²²⁵ appears now clearly. Evidence of the practice to personalize the ashes container is known in Veii, where women's cinerary urns were found near bronze plaque belts,²²²⁶ and similar items were even found in Vulci,²²²⁷ Pontecagnano,²²²⁸ Sala Consilina,²²²⁹ Bologna²²³⁰ and Verucchio.²²³¹

The emergence of remarkable elite graves can be noticed from the third quarter of the eighth century in conjunction with a diffused medium-high-quality of the grave goods. This proves the establishment of a dominant group and the process of its internal structure.

In the Quattro Fontanili necropolis in Veii, we observe a highly important cremation grave, the AA1 (Fig. 42.3), dated to the mid-eighth century.²²³² The grave goods are composed of a ceramic banquet set and several personal belongings that indicate the deceased's role and social status, including a bronzed cinerary urn covered with a crested helmet, four ceramic vases of established worshipping value (It. *calefattoio*)²²³³, a small round bronze shield, horse bits, a short sword, a spear and a winged axe.

Another example is tomb 39 in the Benacci Caprara necropolis at Bologna.²²³⁴ Dating to the second half of the eighth century, it housed a bronze cinerary vase and a luxurious bronze pottery set, in which we can find a large bronze vessel of high cultural value (It. *presentatoio*). There were also horse bits, a sword, a curvy blade knife—probably associated with cutting meat and so with sacrificial practices—and three winged axes, one of which has symbolically a large curved cutting edge.

Clearly, then, in the final stage of the examined period, funeral practices were closely linked to the self-affirming need of a small aristocratic group of people at the top of the social hierarchy.²²³⁵ The leading figures of this social class represent themselves through attributes that can show their prerogatives. The aristocratic banquet is an essential theme, which is glorified by the opulence and preciousness of the pottery,²²³⁶ and the military bravery is exalted by weapons and the emphasis on the utilization of horses.²²³⁷ Added to this “basic level of funerary language”—common to the emerging classes—is the symbolism of the sacred rituals administration, emphasized by tools connected with sacrifice and worship. The emergence of a symbolic way to indicate political power—represented by the axes—helps complete the picture. It has been observed that in Etruria axes were not only tools for cutting woods or weapons used in war²²³⁸, but they soon gained the role of a sign of power as well as of a sacrificial tool, which is a concrete and tangible power, handed down within the family line.²²³⁹ All these attributes (military, priestly and political) have been made eternal by funeral rites, which acted like a real performance²²⁴⁰. The attributes celebrate and glorify the dead as mythical ancestors, helping to define the upper-class social status of the deceased.²²⁴¹

2Forms of worship

Data related to structural ruins of buildings are extremely limited for the period at hand. We have to take into account different resources that can indirectly enlarge our data on religious practices primarily including objects placed in some elite burials, which emphasize the rights of the grave owner to worship. Moreover, we have to consider some exceptional figurative examples, showing plain religious features.²²⁴²

The most important worship structures are those in Pian della Civita at Tarquinia²²⁴³, an area that practiced religious rituals from the half of the tenth century. A natural pit with ritually placed pottery and offerings of firstlings and cereals has been found there, as well as the remains of a hut that probably housed furnishings for worshiping practices. From the ninth century, a fence was added to the sacred area, in which the body of a supine child was found²²⁴⁴. At the beginning of the eighth century, the sacred fence was rebuilt

using stones and the body of an adult man²²⁴⁵ in the same position was placed near the pit. Food offerings are reminiscent of ancestral female fertility cults, while the two burials, which were certainly consecrated to the gods, suggest the practice of cruel and sacrificial rituals.

Between the Early Iron Age and the Orientalizing period, we can observe significant traces of worshiping in the suburban area of Banditella nearby Vulci, where a spring water yielded finds belonging to the Middle and Late Bronze Age²²⁴⁶. From the Early Iron Age this site became a place of worship, building a large wall in front of the spring, in order to form a triangular basin. Ritual elements are placed along the banks, including miniature pots and several pieces of jewelry. It is quite difficult to interpret the data precisely in regard to the worship features; there were only a few similar worship places in the early stages in Etruria, while sacred springs in Latium vetus have many similarities, even from a structural point of view.²²⁴⁷

Among the worship tools found in funerary contexts, widespread multiple-container vases (Gk. *kernoi*) were widespread. This kind of vases includes “candelabra” shaped pottery, multiple-neck vases and double or triple containers.²²⁴⁸ The interpretation of these elements such as worshiping tools has been confirmed from long now. Their function can be related to the offering or the preparation of beverages and food during ceremonies. Wheeled cult ritual chariots had particular importance, and have been understood as incense burners or supports for containers that held purifying water.²²⁴⁹ The most ancient example of these objects has been found in grave 2 in Olmo Bello necropolis in Bisenzio belonging to the eighth century; they were used until the Orientalizing period²²⁵⁰. Bronze *presentatoi* from the area of Bologna—on foot trays with trapezoidal fins and central basins²²⁵¹—are thought to have been used as ceremonial chariots. This is also true for the *calefattoi*,²²⁵² square-shaped pierced vases with long vertical central necks, which were very popular in the ancient Latium, but also used in the Etruscan area, especially in Veii and Pontecagnano. These objects most likely served the worship of deities—one of which could be the Etruscan version of the Roman goddess *Ops*—connected with the female functions of producing and preserving wealth. This function is symbolized by the offer of food.²²⁵³

Some cups with elevated handles closed by a double circle, and with a central female figurine surrounded by small animal figurines (Fig. 42.4). This kind of cup has to do with female deities worships.²²⁵⁴ This pattern is reminiscent of sacred subjects derived from the Near East; the “naked goddess” model, connected with the female body as a generator,²²⁵⁵ can be linked with the theme of the mistress of the animals (Gk. *potnia theron*) and her relation with nature and fertility. Most of the cups in question come from the graves of women who probably used these same sacred tools as ritual officiates. That seems to be confirmed by the representation of a high status woman in the famous and complex depiction of the Bisenzio chariot, who holds a similar cup in her hand, seemingly during a sacrificial offer.²²⁵⁶

Among the sacred objects, it is worth noting a well-known cinerary lid found in Pontecagnano (Fig. 18.1).²²⁵⁷ At its top, it depicts a scenes of two seated plastic figurines—a man and a woman with monstrous faces and palmed limbs embracing each other—which has been interpreted as a sacred marriage union (It. *ierogamia*)²²⁵⁸ between the deceased and an underworld goddess, who, passing her arm around his shoulders, introduces him to the afterlife, and turns him into a hero. The deceased's monstrous shape indicates his physical shape.²²⁵⁹



Fig. 42.4: Bronze cup with central female figurine from the grave 2 of the Olmo Bello necropolis in Bisenzio Rome, Villa Giulia Museum (photo SAR-Laz)

The plastic decoration on the bronzed cinerary urn in female grave 22 in the Olmo Bello necropolis at Bisenzio proves the savage and monstrous aspect of the gods of the underworld (Fig. 16.1).²²⁶⁰ At the top of the jar lid is a monstrous chained figurine, with webbed limbs and its snout prognathous. Seven spear wielding ithyphallic (with one exception) male figurines perform a ritual dance around the chained figure. On the shoulder of the vase is another ritual dance, in which nine male figurines armed with shields and spears move toward a separate scene in which a man is holding a cow by its tail while facing a great warrior armed with a club and a spear. Both scenes have been interpreted as a sacred dance (Gk. *pirríchia*) around a death god, performed by a group of warriors, probably on their return from war, as it seems to indicate that the figurine of the prisoner could be sacrificed to appease the gods. The cow group has been interpreted as a sacrificial scene of underworld deities. The sacred dance has been linked to the classical Latin tradition of the *Salii* colleges of priests and their warrior nature.²²⁶¹ This practice might be related to the *octobralia*, the ritual dances performed by the *Salii* in October at the time of the return from war. It has been suggested²²⁶² that the warrior and cow scenes can be related to the episode of Geryon's cattle robbery in the Heracles saga.²²⁶³ It could thus be a very early reception of the Greek myth in Etruria, surely made through the first Euboean colonies in Italy, which influenced the iconographic choices of an expanding Etruscan aristocracy.²²⁶⁴

These elements demonstrate the emergence of an original religiosity closely connected with the relationship between man, nature and death. The presence of water worship, and the worship of fertility goddesses and monstrous underworld deities serve as the primary proof of this new kind of cult. An important role in the administration of the liturgies must have been played by women of the emerging-classes, as we can see from the huge presence of worship tools in women's graves and from figurative themes. All this can be added to the adoption in second half of the eighth century of patterns and iconographical frames derived from the Near East and the introduction of Greek mythological features.²²⁶⁵ Finally, forms of worship in Etruria seem to have, at this stage, a very strong relationship with the common ritual practices in Latium vetus. These features give origin to a complex cultural view in which the emerging elite claimed a privileged relationship with the underworld gods and the divine forces governing nature and fertility as a guarantee of social and political stability.

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43Economy, 10th cent.-730 BCE

Abstract: In economic terms the clearest features for Etruria during EIA1 (1000/950–800 BCE) are:

- The increasing role of a landlocked network of exchange crossing from northeast to southwest Italy with Etruria at its core. This network was managed by part-time traders who gained advantages over the rest of the population by dominating exchange and communication.
- The growing exploitation of the local metal ores due to a gradual substitution of copper-alloy tools and weapons by those of iron.

For EIA 2 (800–730 BCE) there is evidence for:

- Accelerated population growth.
- Craft specialization on account of politically motivated demands of the emerging upper classes for prestige goods.
- The definite opening of the existing exchange network to overseas merchants/craftsmen from the Levant and Euboea.

Food, shelter and clothing are the three economic necessities of life. In Etruria, everybody seems to have had access to these necessities. Shelter during the whole Early Iron Age consisted of huts that were probably constructed with communal labor by extended families or by clans. Clothing and textiles were produced in most households, mainly as additional—though labor-intensive—tasks for women. For the rest, the production of food or agriculture constituted 90–95% of the labor. The remaining 5–10% was for activities such as mining, metalworking, salt production and a limited amount for trade and political-religious services.

Agricultural land in Etruria was predominantly collective and probably belonged to clans. Some rising families within each clan, possibly those managing long-distance exchange, started to control labor of their fellows and thus claimed part of the productivity. For economic progress, it seems to have been essential that the rising upper class found ways to collect and dispose of surplus production. This probably gave rise to economic inequality in return for social-economic protection.

Keywords: Exchange network, craft specialization, land, agriculture

1Introduction

An economy represents the “hardware” of a society and region. It entails the

distribution and exploitation of resources, the organization of labor, demography, appropriation, customs of local and regional exchange, and the consumption of food and goods that are produced and imported. As such, an economy is interlocked with its social and political order. The collective socio-political structure in Etruria will be referred to when necessary, since it structured its economic development but is not discussed independently. For convenience, the Early Iron Age in Etruria is divided in two phases: EIA1 (1000/950–800) and EIA 2 (800–730). During EIA1, economic development shows a gradual increase in scale that accelerated during EIA 2, a period that is partially characterized by overseas contacts and exchange. These contacts brought with them a social hierarchy in Etruria that became more visible in the form of exceptional female and warrior tombs containing local luxury goods, status symbols and some overseas imports.

This chapter presents a general reconstruction of the economy in Etruria from 1000 to 730, which is a challenging exercise in overall interpretation.²²⁶⁶ An extensive discussion on local differences between coastal and interior or northern and southern Etruria is not feasible here. Society in Etruria changed considerably during these centuries, a transformation that is brought to light by archaeological data that reveals evermore differentiation. Regrettably, our knowledge of EIA 1 is still sketchy. Two economic features for this period stand out nevertheless: the establishment of a sound interregional, overland network of exchange, and the steady replacement of copper-alloy tools and weapons with iron ones.

2Demography

A major event in Etruria during the tenth century is the concentration of the population on larger plateaus at central sites that became the nuclei of the future Etruscan city-states.²²⁶⁷ Many smaller Final Bronze Age sites were deserted in favor of much larger plateaus.²²⁶⁸ This territorial restructuring of Etruria does not seem to have been accompanied by a sharp increase in population. The minor Final Bronze Age sites typically housed communities of around 100 people, though higher populations are estimated for some settlements. The larger plateaus, some of which are between 100 and 200 hectares, housed a dispersed population of a few hundreds during the tenth century. They were probably organized in small groups or clans, which are denoted by surveys that often show concentrations of EIA 1 ceramics on specific plots of these plateaus. The rise of a number of prescribed burial grounds surrounding these settlements from EIA 1 onwards, indicates that the groups within them were distinct.²²⁶⁹ If one were to include the people from the large adjoining territory, the population per main settlement might be raised to a few thousand for EIA 1, many of whom probably had a mobile,

semi-permanent lifestyle.

The archaeological evidence from tombs and surveys dated around 800 suggest that several of the larger primary settlements—especially those in southern Etruria— had reached a population of around 1000.²²⁷⁰ EIA 2 is documented as a period of exceptional growth and by 725, this figure could have doubled, at the most. Including groups living in the territories around these central settlements, it has been suggested that some of the chiefdoms/early city-states accommodated over several thousand permanent residents during EIA 2.²²⁷¹ Consequently, the demography is reconstructed as a gradual increase in population during EIA 1 that accelerated in EIA 2.²²⁷² These higher population numbers contributed significantly to the economic growth of Etruria.

3Agriculture, resources and their exploitation

The economy of Etruria depended largely on agriculture.²²⁷³ Its soils are generally fertile, and labor was organized around transhumance and a seasonal farming calendar. Animal husbandry of cattle, pigs and sheep, along with the cultivation of plants such as barley, spelt, emmer and bread wheat, was the basis of the agricultural economy. The occasional remains of wild species and fish in tombs and settlements indicate that meals were augmented with such foods. Other uncultivated foodstuffs such as nuts and fruits supplemented the diet.²²⁷⁴ The archaeological evidence for Mediterranean poly-culture (the cultivation of olives, vines and cereals) is limited, but it might have existed on a small scale nonetheless. Wine grapes were cultivated locally.²²⁷⁵ By the Late Bronze Age, olive cultivation was well established in Southern Italy,²²⁷⁶ and olive trees might have been tended in Etruria as well.²²⁷⁷

A main economic asset of Etruria is its quantity and variety in ore deposits.²²⁷⁸ The main ore deposits are more towards the Tyrrhenian Sea than in the interior, which would have affected the economy of important inland sites such as Orvieto, Chiusi, Cortona and Arretium. Exploitation of ore deposits in Etruria started long before EIA1.

The deposits in Etruria predominantly contain copper and iron ores, and mining grew significantly during EIA 1 due to the increasing use of iron. Andrea Zifferero and Claudio Giardino associate specific ore deposits with settlement patterns while incorporating archaeo-metallurgical evidence.²²⁷⁹ A site like Acquarossa is clearly linked to the mineral deposits in its vicinity. Metal waste products, such as slag, crucibles, semi-manufactured iron and copper have been reported in some huts, which date from the eighth century onwards.²²⁸⁰ The findings imply that mining might have been a communal activity.²²⁸¹ The exploitation of tin and silver ores in Etruria remains contested.²²⁸² Gold had to be imported into Etruria, and an evident increase in

its deposition in tombs from the late ninth century until around 650 suggests widening markets and the ascent of Etruria's interregional, overseas economy.

4Territorial control over resources

The concentration of the population on the larger plateaus was accompanied by surrounding territories ranging on average between 1,000 and 2,000 sq km, although borders were still poorly defined.²²⁸³ Natural features like rivers and streams functioned as boundaries. Territorial control over resources appears to have been weak, although it increased during the late ninth and eighth century due to the rise of secondary settlements.

The extraction of the local iron ores emerged at least from 950–900 onwards, when iron gradually replaced copper-alloys as the main metal for tools, weapons and construction. Gregory Warden presents a hypothesis for the intensification of the mining activities. He suggests that mining was characterized by incipient—possibly seasonal—exploitation prior to 800, while specialized mineral production increased from 800 to 550.²²⁸⁴

In essence, this hypothesis can be considered valid, particularly for the most important mining regions in Etruria. Nevertheless, there are indications that the economic importance of mining centers fluctuated. Such centers could boom during periods of economic prosperity, and fade due to a lack of socio-political significance. The general increase in metal production is also reflected in a model presented by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, who points out that there was a continuing rise in production with a diversification of the repertoire and appearance of local typologies during the tenth and ninth centuries, indicating resident bronze industries.²²⁸⁵ Mining and working of the ores was probably a communal, part-time pursuit. There is no evidence for the hypothesis that mining was *corvée* labor by the ruled for the rulers.²²⁸⁶

Comparable economic circumstances are implied when examining data for the exploitation of coastal areas and salt pans. The district, taken as an illustration, is called Le Saline on the coast, at a distance of about 9 km from Tarquinia. Some archaeological contexts contain exclusively large vessels of red-brown impasto.²²⁸⁷ Like at other salt pans, tableware is almost absent. Similar EIA 1 and 2 sites are found nearby, which are part of a series of minor sites with specific functions for the use of lagoon environments while producing salt and raising fish. Alessandro Mandolesi interprets these coastal sites as being related to the emergence of a complex settlement system during EIA 1 with Tarquinia at its center.²²⁸⁸

5Exchange network and the role of Etruria

The exchange network with Etruria as hub is documented in the circulation of specific types of artifacts and the comparable funerary practices. This creates countless distribution maps, for example, of Sardinian finds in Etruria, of crested helmets or of particular Levantine bowls (Figs. 44.1 and 44.4).²²⁸⁹ These distribution maps imply that Etruria had become one of the core-regions in the Mediterranean and beyond from the ninth-eighth centuries onwards. The starting point for this role of Etruria as economic hub lies in a string of important settlements from Calabria to the Veneto.²²⁹⁰ It included sites on the Adriatic such as Fermo and Verucchio and settlements in Campania such as Capua and Pontecagnano. These centers, emerging during EIA 1, appear to have had an open economy with freedom of trade and few restrictions in transfer, relocation and communication. The overland network linking Etruria and the rest of Italy with central Europe is well known, although it is not usually recognized as a main economic asset, which it was; it emerged during EIA1 and remained of importance for centuries. One of the imported commodities being exchanged along this trading highway was amber that originated in the Baltic.²²⁹¹ The overland route for amber started during the Late Bronze Age and continued during EIA 1 and 2. However, the rise of the Villanovan centers from northeast to southwest Italy during EIA 1 extended the internal exchange network considerably into Campania and Calabria. This network eventually also accommodated various groups from overseas, such as Sardinians, people from the Balkans, Phoenicians and Euboeans, who arrived in Italy mainly from EIA 2 onwards.²²⁹²

Iron, a new and valued material when it became adopted during EIA 1, shows an opposite distribution pattern when compared to Baltic amber since it is found in substantial quantities in southwest Italy from the tenth century onwards and became common in other parts of Italy during the ninth century. Iron was available in Italy more than a century prior to its adoption in Europe north of the Alps. The spread of iron technology is thought to have been an overland, internal development after being triggered by contacts with Phoenicians during the 10th century BC in southern Italy as it was in Spain/Portugal.²²⁹³ The increasing use of iron in various parts of Italy would have assisted the expansion of the domestic exchange routes during the ninth and eighth centuries, as did the increasing consumption of Baltic amber.

6Practice of exchange

The practices surrounding exchange do not seem to vary much during EIA 1 and EIA 2, since clear evidence for market principles and units of weights or volume is hard to detect. Exchanges between unrelated individuals were mostly by barter or negotiation. Specific quantities of metals or salt may have functioned as early forms of currency from the Late Bronze Age onwards,

which as a standard unit of exchange would certainly have simplified the bartering process between different groups, but this remains hypothetical. Practices of exchange depart from the process of commoditization. Keith Hart has described this process as a sequence of characteristic “*stages in the progressive abstraction of social labour*.”²²⁹⁴ Production for personal use does not involve exchange but often remains an option for an individual in any society. Much of the food and many everyday goods were produced in agrarian households and were not intended for exchange at all. It remains uncertain when quantification and a market mechanism were introduced in Etruria.²²⁹⁵ There are indications that exchange by quantification developed in Italy during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, especially for interregional trade.²²⁹⁶ Archaeological evidence demonstrates that quantification with overseas traders functioned in central Italy from the eighth century onwards. Exchange by quantification might have been used during EIA1 and 2 for interregional commerce, especially in metals, while reciprocity within a clan setting was probably the preferred mode of exchange for local barter outside the family unit. During EIA 1 and 2 some commodities were the product of divided labor and the increase in craft specialization, which led to the workshop mode of production from the ninth century onwards, will have assisted the development of exchange by quantification.

7Primary evidence of production: data on the manufacture of ceramics, metal and other commodities

The primary evidence of the production of goods is comprised of the material remains of the *chaîne opératoire*, such as loom-weights, spindle-whorls, kilns, actual workshops, ovens, furnaces, ceramic wasters, metallurgical debris and other evidence directly related to production. Thus metallurgical debris from the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age sites, such as Gran Carro, Scarceta, Elceto, Sorgenti della Nova and Luni sul Mignone, indicates that metalworking was a part-time activity of resident smiths. During the ninth and eighth centuries, the production at local metal workshops was transformed significantly.²²⁹⁷ For example, there was an increase in the production of fibulae, which began to be produced in series, and thus became normal, customary goods. The major change in metalworking, however, was the general shift from copper-alloy to iron tools and weapons. In many areas, iron knife blades are the earliest sign of iron's acceptance for functional use,²²⁹⁸ which is certainly valid for central Italy during the ninth century. Iron became thoroughly employed during the eighth century. The almost complete replacement of copper alloy tools and weapons by iron ones in about 200 to 250 years in Etruria and elsewhere in Italy signifies a major economic event.

During this period, the re-smelting of scrap iron could not fulfill the increased demand because there was not enough stock. Therefore the smelting of iron ores had to be intensified. This smelting process was labor and energy intensive. Thus the transition from copper alloy to iron tools and weapons stimulated the economic evolution of the mining regions and had its effects on the rest of Etruria since it led to increasing craft specialization.²²⁹⁹

Gran Carro, a lake settlement located along the borders of Lake Bolsena approximately 40 km northeast of Vulci, provides a useful overview of the standing of metallurgy prior to EIA 2.²³⁰⁰ A small but notable number of metal artifacts, casting debris, ingots and semi-manufactured products, has been found at the site. Among these are strands of tin in a workshop and a two-piece stone mold for making small objects. The data establish the existence of a local foundry and a smithy that had access to quite a number of metals that probably derived from smelting nearby ores.²³⁰¹ The evidence from Gran Carro and from other early metalworking sites in Etruria suggests that the local mineral resources were exploited prior to EIA 2, but not on a large scale.

Populonia is another site with much evidence of metalworking from EIA 1 onwards.²³⁰² The site is positioned between various rich mineral deposits.²³⁰³ Therefore it had access to a range of metal ores. The settlement has long been accepted as one of the most important early iron production centers in antiquity, but it is worth noting that other metals were processed as well. The area immediately around Populonia is characterized by metal processing in general and not just by iron working. Bartoloni wrote that Populonia had an open economy during EIA 2 as documented by imports from Sardinia and Phoenicia.²³⁰⁴ Already in the late ninth century, the chamber tomb had been adopted as a new architectural feature, earlier than in other Etruscan centers.²³⁰⁵ According to Nicholas Hartmann, the lack of early iron and Greek imports in the area around Populonia indicates that Greeks were only interested in the ores.²³⁰⁶ This deduction is primarily based on the assumption that Pithekoussai directed the iron industry in Italy during EIA 2. This is not substantiated since iron was produced and exchanged in Italy from around 950 onwards, about 150 years before the arrival of Euboeans on the peninsula. The scarcity of Greek imports could also imply that Greek traders were hardly present in this specific region during the eighth century.²³⁰⁷

Tarquinius as a main Etruscan center is briefly mentioned because its metallurgical output indicates that full-time smiths worked at the site from EIA 2 onwards. Besides producing customary copper-alloy and iron tools, weapons and ornaments, these smiths were involved in the manufacture of elite items (bronze crested helmets, bowls, cups, various types of vessels, *incensieri* etc.) that are often associated with elaborate warrior tombs.²³⁰⁸

Much of the primary evidence on crafts and industry during EIA 1 and 2 relates to mining and metalworking. Specialization in ceramic production existed but is limited for EIA 1 and 2.²³⁰⁹

8 Organization of labor

Labor was predominantly organized according to agricultural requirements. Most of the commodities used for daily life were made in individual households during slow periods of the seasonal farm labor. For example, Margarita Gleba lists contexts in which textiles were produced and indicates that quite some households were involved in textile production.²³¹⁰ The same might be valid for furniture, basketry, most of the ceramics and some ornaments in bone and horn.

A growth in labor division is recorded for EIA 2. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that economic centralization occurred around resources, natural harbors and elite homesteads.²³¹¹ An increase in local production and consumption of goods is best documented in the extensive Villanovan burial grounds of the ninth and eighth centuries, which are foremost a reflection of the increasing inequality that accompanied the stratification process. The remarkable demand, as recorded in the Late Villanovan tombs, led to a progress in craft specialization, which can be studied as a process. Elizabeth Brumfiel and Timothy Earle described this process of craft specialization as a complex concept that involves a number of variables, like full- or part-time specialization, and individual or household specialization.²³¹² These variables have often led to simple assumptions or wearisome discussions and either/or answers, while it is more effective to look at these sets of variables as parts of a larger whole when interpreting the archaeological evidence available for production and craft specialization. Blending of tasks remained common. Full-time specialization is a rare phenomenon prior to the establishment of several workshops per craft in towns.

9 Customary and luxury goods

Specialization in everyday, customary goods mainly occurred during EIA 1 and 2 for copper-alloy and iron ornaments, tools, and weapons in the local smithies. The manufacture of large ceramic storage jars probably required specific skills and kilns. Their manufacture demonstrates increasing craft specialization though most of the ceramics were still produced in households as a part-time activity.

Luxury goods made by expert craftsmen, such as metal tableware, become more visible from EIA 2 onwards.²³¹³ One could equally point to chariots.²³¹⁴ Many of the prestige goods in Etruria followed prototypes from the Eastern Mediterranean, foremost from the Levant (Fig. 34.2).²³¹⁵ The local demand for such goods encouraged socio-economic complexity in Etruria. To quote Bruce Trigger: *“What stimulated increased economic interdependence and*

*political integration in early civilizations seems to have been the trade and craft specialization by the politically motivated demands of the upper classes for prestige goods and by expanding markets for better quality mass-produced commodities as population densities increased.”*²³¹⁶ Craft specialization in relation to luxury items is a different process when compared to specialization for “commoners.”²³¹⁷ During EIA2 the workshop mode of production is primarily visible in the manufacture of prestige goods.

10Appropriation of wealth

Appropriation of wealth increased within a context of clan relations. This appropriation was most likely based on rising control over the output of labor.²³¹⁸ It took centuries before land could be privately owned—that is, freely bought and sold; even in Roman times public land still existed.

A noticeable change in the appropriation of wealth is reflected in the transformation in hoarding shifting between communal and private interests. The first radical change is the disappearance of hoards, which merely contain copper-alloy artifacts, during the eighth century.²³¹⁹ The hoarding of copper-alloy artifacts declined with the upsurge of iron. The change is probably also associated with other regimes of hoarding. During EIA 2, one can observe two different customs of accumulating metals, this time in combination with other goods. Metal deposits and hoarding were either related to individual enhancement as marked by the high-status tombs, or, slightly later, to a communal ideology as embodied by the votive deposits at some of the sites where main sanctuaries emerged. From the late ninth century onwards, appropriation of wealth is primarily reconstructed as a result of growing control by a few over the various products of labor by the many.

11Conclusion and discussion

In economic terms the clearest features for Etruria during EIA 1 are:

- The increasing role of a landlocked network of exchange crossing from northeast to southwest Italy, with Etruria at its core. This network was managed by part-time traders who gained advantages over the rest of the population by dominating exchange and communication.
- The growing exploitation of the local metal ores due to a gradual substitution of copper-alloy tools and weapons by those of iron.

For EIA 2 there is evidence for:

- Accelerated population growth.
- Craft specialization on account of *politically motivated demands of the upper*

classes for prestige goods.

–The definite opening of the existing exchange network to overseas merchants/ craftsmen from the Levant and Euboea.

Agricultural land was predominantly collective and probably belonged to clans. Some rising families within each clan, possibly those managing long-distance exchange, started to control the labor of their fellows. For economic progress, it seems to have been important that the emerging upper class found ways to collect and dispose of surplus production. This gave rise to economic inequality probably in return for socio-economic protection. So far, the elite in Etruria are best recognized in an ever more conspicuous funerary ritual, especially from around 800 to 650. For this to happen, the upper class in Etruria had to appropriate a share of surplus production of the local resources. Patron-client relations became established and made socially arranged appropriation feasible.

The economic correlation between supply and demand is essentially regulated by the size of the population and the coverage of markets. As long as demand favors production and *vice versa*, it will sustain increasing social-economic complexity.

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Cristiano Iaia

44External Relationships, 10th cent.-730 BCE

Abstract: This chapter focuses on the main phenomena of long-distance exchange relationships in Early Iron Age Etruria. The emergence of new demographic hubs and centers of power resulted in the general growth in the circulation of raw materials and artifacts. This was accompanied by the selective transmission of foreign models of material culture, styles, technologies and knowledge. They can be differentiated according to diachronic development, direction of influences and vectors.

In the initial stages of the Iron Age the connections were mainly oriented towards central and northern Europe on the one hand, and the great Tyrrhenian island of Sardinia on the other. Most relationships were centered on the metal trade, but possibly a considerable role may have been played by other raw materials, such as amber. Connections with continental Europe were associated with the wide diffusion of bronze artifact typologies, such as antenna swords, elements of armor and ceremonial vessels, presumably transmitted by foreign smiths in the service of local elites. Relations with the Nuragic civilization, monopolized by maritime north-central Etruria, were of a different nature, involving imports of small bronze objects and a specific kind of ritual pottery vessel, the askoid jug, which was also locally imitated by Sardinian immigrants.

In the late ninth and eighth centuries, in association with the reactivation of Mediterranean colonial movements and trade, central Tyrrhenian Italy started a new cycle of contacts, mainly with people of the Near East (Levantine, Phoenician) and Greeks.

Oriental goods, especially luxury items, such as ornaments and bronze cups, but also painted ceramics of Greek manufacture, were increasingly traded. Acceleration of relationships occurred around the mid eighth century, when the foundation of trading posts and colonies by Euboeans and Phoenicians (such as Pithekoussai and Sulcis) fostered the immigration of oriental craftsmen and the transmission of exotic material culture patterns, linked to the areas of commensal practices and power imagery.

Keywords: Levant, Central Europe, elites, trade, exchange

Introduction

The great territorial and sociopolitical transformation around 930–900 BCE in the Etruscan area (see [chapter 33](#) Pacciarelli) prompted a process of increasing openness to long-distance exchange, as well as productive and economic centralization. “Exchange” in this case is intended as a very general label encompassing a wide range of situations: not only movements of raw materials or finished items, but also transmission of more intangible things, such as formal models, styles, and technological traits, as well as rituals and cosmological/religious beliefs.[2320](#)

According to an established view,²³²¹ beginning in the latest part of the Bronze Age (*Bronzo Finale*, twelfth-tenth centuries), Etruria proper gained a central role in the long-distance metal trade linking the eastern and central Mediterranean to northern Alpine Europe, a phenomenon that gave birth to intensified connections with continental areas. These external links were mediated by important sociopolitical entities in northern Italy, for example, Frattesina in the Veneto, whose precise relationships with Etruria are currently under debate. In the subsequent Early Iron Age, the picture appears more intelligible, due to a greater amount of archaeological data. The nascent proto-urban sites by nature began to attract large quantities of raw materials, commodities, and people from abroad, and this tended to create patterns of local material culture that were much more heterogeneous than in the past. For these reasons, the topic of Etruria's external relationships in the Early Iron Age is very broad and intricate.

An oversimplified but useful sequence can be outlined, in which three different waves of relations occur, each with specific characteristics and a definite chronological position. At the initial stage and at the start of the advanced phase of the Early Iron Age (late tenth-ninth centuries), particularly intense relationships with Sardinia and with central Europe are observable, while in the course of the late phases (mainly the eighth century), Mediterranean-based contacts were assuming a growing importance. In these three waves, different means, and therefore divergent paths, whether maritime or terrestrial, were employed, and this might have had specific implications for the vectors and significance of contacts.

1 Relationships with continental Europe (ca. 930–770)

At the beginning of the Early Iron Age, remarkable interactions between continental Europe and central Italy are visible mainly in the field of bronze metallurgy.²³²² An internal chain of connections and routes that exploited the main river courses northward and southward facilitated the circulation of material culture. North of the Apennine mountains a key mediator role was played by emerging central places, such as Este in the Veneto, Vadena in the lower valley of the Adige River (not far from areas rich in copper ores), and above all by the huge center of Bologna in the Po plain.²³²³ The latter, though already established as a demographic hub in the ninth century, in the eighth was reaching quasi-urban status.²³²⁴ Moreover, from the late ninth and early eighth centuries onward, the direction of influence was reversed and north-central Italy became a starting point for new dissemination of artifact models, especially across the metallurgical districts of Early Hallstatt Europe.²³²⁵

We should distinguish two different kinds, or patterns, of relations: a

“diffuse” one, and a “directional” one. “Diffuse” exchange involves other areas of Italy and concerns the sharing, by a large part of the Peninsula, of specific forms and stylistic features of bronzecraft, mainly attached to the prestige sphere, which are further attested north of the Alps. A significant example of “diffuse” relations is the Europe-wide distribution of the remarkable family of swords with solid-cast hilt, especially *antenna* swords. Of these, particularly important in Etruria is the Tarquinia type, which links all of central and northern Italy to central and northern Europe²³²⁶ (Fig. 44.1). Closely akin to the Tarquinia type, but geographically centered on the entire middle and northern Adriatic area, are the Fermo and Rocca di Morro types. Probably the oldest example of an antenna sword in Etruscan territories comes from an outstanding warrior burial discovered in the necropolis of Arcatelle at Tarquinii (second half of the ninth century in traditional chronology), which suggests that the use and funerary deposition of this kind of weapon is linked to an emerging top level of social standing²³²⁷ (Fig. 41.2).

Another significant type of antenna sword is the one called Weltenburg-Corcelettes.²³²⁸ It is documented by a few pieces at Bologna and in northern Italy,²³²⁹ and testifies to strong connections between the northwestern Alps and the northern Villanovan groups, possibly controlled by Bologna.

Even though *antenna* swords represent uncommon—albeit culturally significant—finds in Villanovan burials, in the absence of archaeometric investigations it is difficult to determine which were imports and which were local products made by artisans with a Central European metallurgical culture.

“Directional” contacts with Europe north of the Alps are best represented by style and formal characteristics of the sheet bronze production which flourished in Villanovan Etruria, earlier in the southernmost area and later north of the Apennines.²³³⁰ The sheet bronze industry has been a recurrent subject for scholars interested in highlighting long-distance connections of Italy with northern and Central Europe in the Urn-field period.²³³¹ The topic of bronze helmets illustrates the initial stages of this phenomenon. In Etruria proper, the earliest examples of bronze helmets, found at Tarquinii and Populonia, date to early and advanced Phase 1.²³³² They have some similarities with the helmet class known as *Glockenhelme*, or *glockenförmige Helme mit gegossenem Scheitelknauf* (“Bell-shaped helmets with cast knobs”), whose major concentration is in the Carpathian Basin and the middle Danube area²³³³ (Fig. 44.1). These similarities lie in their general shape, and more particularly some technical characteristics: for instance, the application of *Überfangguss*, a sophisticated technique, well known in Late Bronze Age central and northern Europe, of attaching a bronze socketed knob to the helmet, casting it directly on the sheet with the aid of a removable mold.

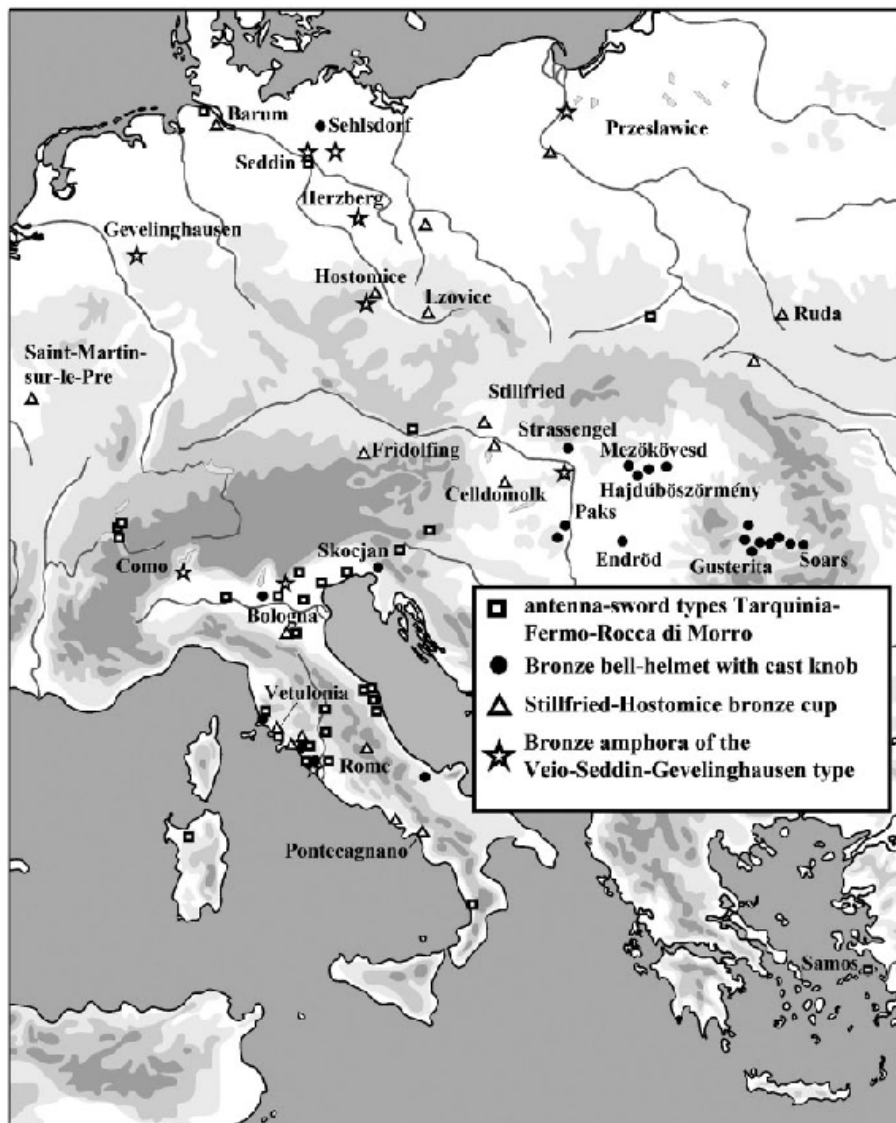


Fig. 44.1: Distribution of prestige bronze items connecting Etruria with continental Europe (10th to 8th cent. BCE)

The initial manufacture of sheet bronze vessels was even more dependent, if possible, on trans-Alpine models, techniques and stylistic patterns.²³³⁴ Most bronze cups found in Early Villanovan burials (local phases 1–2A) belong to the Stillfried-Hostomice model, a peculiar form whose finds are especially concentrated in ninth-century contexts around the middle Danube and Elbe river valleys²³³⁵ (Fig. 44.1). Manufacture of these items in Italy was geographically restricted to just a few sites: it seems to have been a monopoly of Tarquinii and Bologna, even though a few specimens have been found outside these centers, probably as imports.²³³⁶ Another important outcome of

the same bronzecraft in Etruria that reveals close trans-Alpine connections is the “necked amphora.” It belongs to a Late Urnfield and Early Hallstatt class mainly attested in the form of cinerary urns in outstanding burials or as sacred offerings in hoards, with particular concentration in northern Europe²³³⁷ (Fig. 44.1).

The most significant bronze necked amphora from southern Etruria, found in the “princely” tomb AA1 of Veii (Fig. 44.2a),²³³⁸ finds its best comparison in northwestern Germany, at Gevelinghausen²³³⁹ (Fig. 44.2b), and secondarily in specimens from northern Europe (northern Germany, Scandinavia, Poland), such as Herzberg, Przęsławice, and Seddin.²³⁴⁰ Both vessels from Veii and Gevelinghausen were decorated by embossing and stamping with a specific version of the Sun-Bird ship or *Vogel-Sonnen-Barke* motif, further linking these artifacts to a wide central/northern-European network of the Urnfield and Early Hallstatt age.²³⁴¹ Though roots of this ornamentation are well grounded in the Late Bronze Age, only from the Early Villanovan period did it gain favor in Etruria as the most specific decorative style applied to prestige bronze items,²³⁴² particularly those symbolically connected to manifestations of the utmost power, such as helmets, shields, belts, and ceremonial vessels.²³⁴³

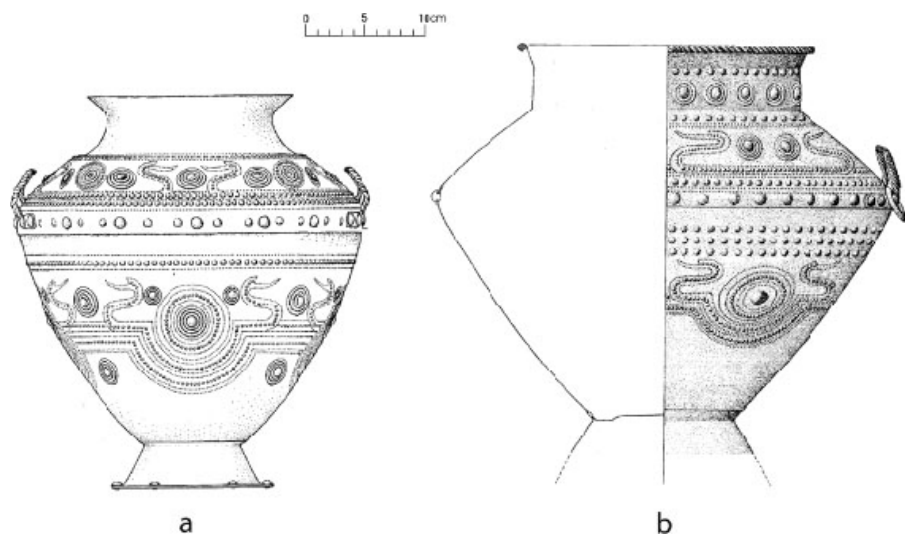


Fig. 44.2: Bronze necked amphorae of the Veii-Seddin-Gevelinghausen type. a: Veii (Rome), tomb AA1 (after NS 1970); b: Gevelinghausen (Meschede, Germany) (after Jacob 1995)

The relations illustrated above could possibly be explained by the existence of a vast network of links among regional elites, but questions arise about the precise agents of these exchanges. A possibility is that some particularly skilled metal smiths had a major role in facilitating such a relationship, for example by transmitting their particular skills to distant communities that

“spoke” a similar stylistic language. Dealing with this Villanovan-northern European connection, K. Kristiansen argued for a possible relation with the amber trade, which around 850–800 began to assume again great importance in a wider European context.²³⁴⁴ Reciprocal formal connections in northern Europe and Italy, specifically illustrated by Stillfried-Hostomice cups, Veii-Gevelinghausen-Seddin vessels, and antenna swords, seem to speak in favor of this idea. This phenomenon could have been the forerunner of north-south trade movements becoming more substantial by the second half of the eighth century. In that period Italian imports north of the Alps were steadily growing,²³⁴⁵ apparently in relation to the flourishing of Verucchio and Vetulonia as the foci of the amber trade in Europe.²³⁴⁶

2 Relationships with Sardinia (ca 930–770 and beyond)

A contemporary connection, but totally different in nature, links Villanovan Etruria to the Nuragic civilization of Sardinia, the great island of the central Mediterranean. It is mainly represented by the numerous and typologically variable imports of bronze and ceramic items in burial contexts, which are hugely concentrated in coastal north-central Etruria (Populonia, Vetulonia, and minor sites), but with substantial occurrences in southern Etruria (Vulci, Tarquinii, Caere) and Campania (Pontecagnano)²³⁴⁷ as well (Fig. 44.3). Artifacts found so far consist chiefly of small bronzes, such as anthropomorphic figurines, pendants, buttons, daggers, and *faretrine votive* (votive quivers), and exemplars of a specific ceramic shape, the askoid jug. Remarkable evidence, albeit only based on stylistic analyses, suggest a possible manufacture in the peninsula of Nuragic-type bronzes, such as buttons and *faretrine*.²³⁴⁸ Larger items, such as the exceptional bronze votive boats, whose deposition in Tyrrhenian contexts is a slightly later phenomenon,²³⁴⁹ are an equally significant—albeit rare—occurrence. On the opposite side of the Tyrrhenian sea, in Sardinia, the presence of Early Iron Age imports from the Peninsula (especially fibulae, a kind of ornament not typical of native attire) is attested as well, though on a more limited scale.²³⁵⁰

In Nuragic Sardinia, a flourishing and sophisticated bronze industry, associated with the emergence of monumental cult places, saw its starting point during the latest part of the Bronze Age (twelfth-mid tenth centuries), when it was exposed to profound and enduring influence from the Cypriot and Iberian metallurgical traditions.²³⁵¹ A recent chronological investigation of Nuragic metal hoards and votive depositions²³⁵² has led to the conclusion that this exceptional bronze workmanship reached an acme during the Early Iron Age, especially in its earliest stages (late tenth-ninth centuries). At that time Sardinian bronzecraft, though evidently separate from the metallurgical

tradition of the Peninsula, seems to have been influenced by Villanovan Etruria in some specific fields, as visible in the precise typological characteristics of bronze spearheads and the related butt-spikes (*saurōtēr*).

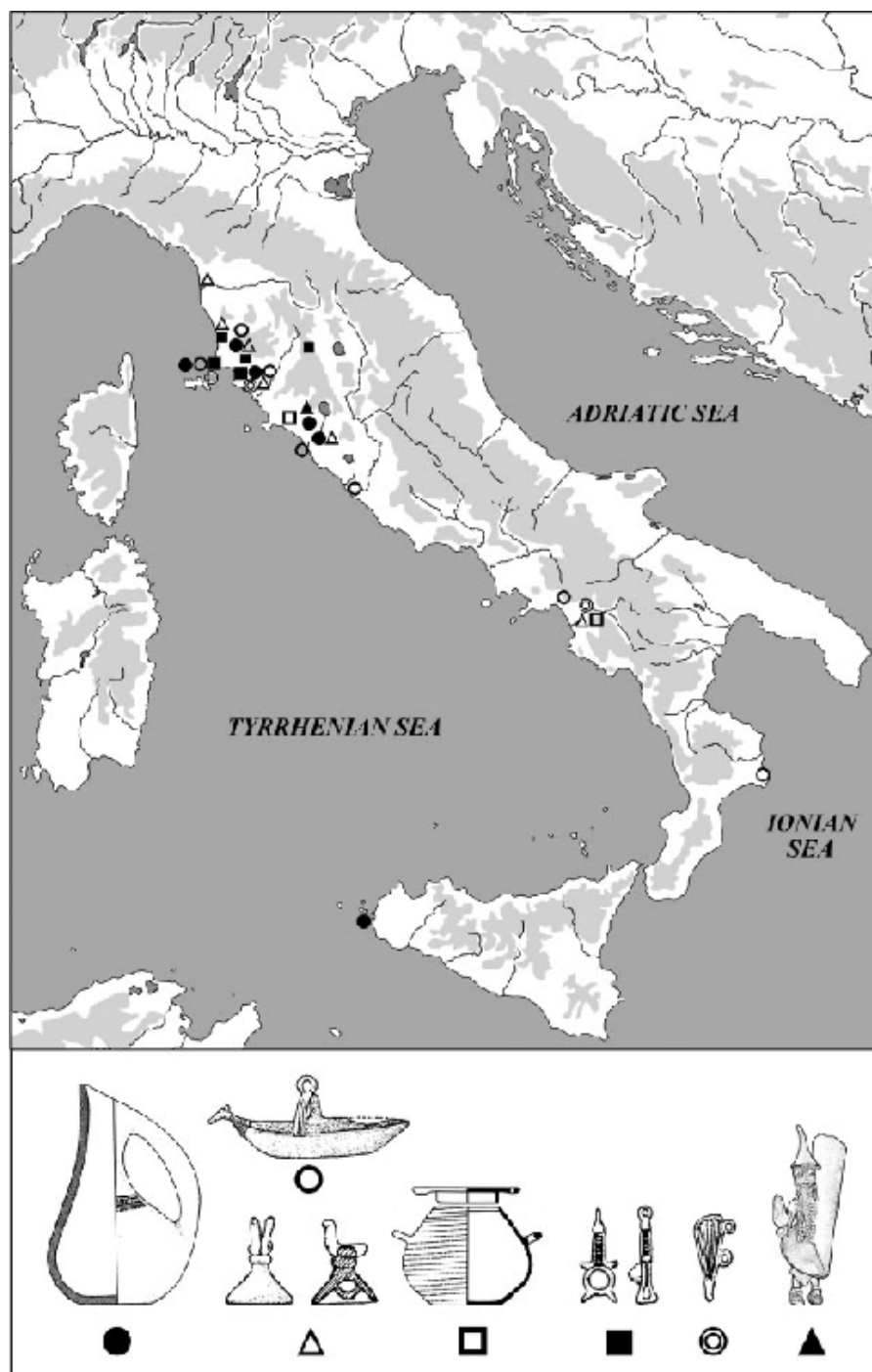


Fig. 44.3: Distribution of the main items of Nuragic manufacture or imitation in Italy, all of bronze except the first: pottery askoid jugs, votive boats, buttons, miniature containers, flask pendants, votive quivers, anthropomorphic figurines (after Falconi Amorelli 1966; Bartoloni 1997; Delpino 2002; Lo Schiavo 2002; Lo Schiavo 2008)

In this perspective, the presence of several Nuragic objects in Villanovan contexts could assume a definite meaning. In particular it suggests a maritime connection which, in the framework of a complex trade system, linked proto-urban centers committed to exploiting metal rich areas (the Colline Metallifere and the island of Elba), such as Vetulonia and Populonia, to a multitude of Nuragic communities. The latter beginning in the Late Bronze Age were intensely engaged in seafaring activities, as is increasingly recognized in recent studies.²³⁵³ The maximum intensity of this phenomenon can now be fixed, especially given the abovementioned study²³⁵⁴ and burial contexts in the Etruscan area, to the mid ninth and early eighth centuries, but with more limited continuation through the eighth century.²³⁵⁵

This Tyrrhenian connection was probably not limited to the metal trade but was profoundly significant throughout the local societies and cultures, as suggested by the presence in most Villanovan centers, but with striking concentration in the burials at Vetulonia, of askoid jugs, a typically Nuragic ceramic shape²³⁵⁶ (distribution map in [Figure 44.3](#)). Chemical analyses of the composition of the clay of examples from Vetulonia show that a high percentage of them were locally manufactured, while a few (possibly the oldest ones) were imported from Sardinia.²³⁵⁷ The most reasonable hypothesis is to see the exemplars found at Vetulonia as objects transported or reproduced by immigrants who, according to G. Camporeale, might have played a role in metallurgy.²³⁵⁸ The evidence as a whole suggests that the inclination for this ceramic shape in Villanovan Etruria was mainly due to its use in connection to alcoholic beverages, probably wine, in the framework of rites of commensality and cult activity.²³⁵⁹ Individual mobility and direct personal relationships, as in the form of marriage and gift exchange, have been suggested even in regard to the inclusion of prestige items of Nuragic manufacture (mostly small bronzes) in Villanovan elite burials, mainly female, such as the famous ‘Tomba dei Bronzetti Sardi’ at Vulci²³⁶⁰ ([Fig. 44.4](#)), or in comparable contexts at Pontecagnano.²³⁶¹

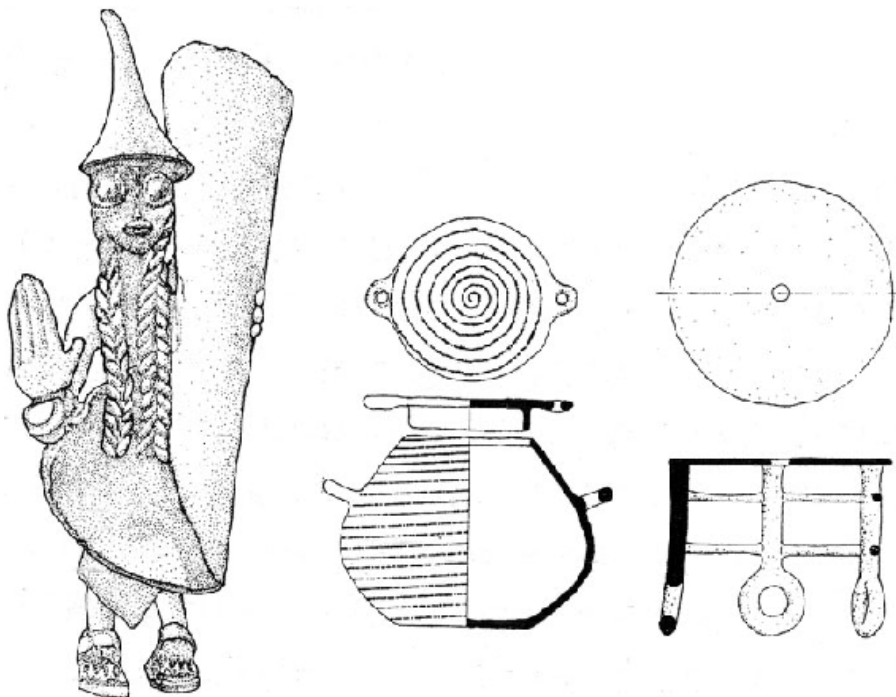


Fig. 44.4: Small bronze objects (statuette and miniature furniture) of Nuragic manufacture from Vulci, 'Tomba dei Bronzetti Sardi' (after Falconi Amorelli 1966)

There may have been many reasons for this “partnership.” Despite huge differences in social systems and cultures, early Etruscans and Nuragic Sardinians shared probably similar aptitudes at least for maritime activities, as indicated for example by the symbolic focus on boats in the ritual and cult sphere.²³⁶² This could have led to a strategy of pursuing common interests in the control of Tyrrhenian sea routes, but also to exchanges of valuable raw materials (metal, amber, salt, etc.), transfers of knowledge (metallurgical technology), and political alliances.

3 Relationships with the eastern Mediterranean (ca 830–730)

At the start of the Late Villanovan period (Early Iron Age Phase 2), Etruria saw an acceleration of processes toward settlement nucleation and sociopolitical centralization.²³⁶³ Radical transformations affected most aspects of local proto-urban communities, involving the development throughout the entire “Villanovan koine” of much more diversified economies and the emergence of new wealthy social groups, conventionally called “aristocracies.”²³⁶⁴ The growth in circulation of goods, especially luxury

items, as well as of formal models, rituals, and ideological attitudes along the Tyrrhenian shores are elements of a very complex Mediterranean-wide picture that can be fully understood only by taking into account a vast array of sources of information, both archaeological and written.²³⁶⁵ This picture is dominated by the appearance of new historical agents of Oriental origin, Phoenician and Levantine peoples and Greeks, who engaged in the reactivation of maritime trade routes, which have already been exploited by local peoples since the Late Bronze Age.

Scholars have long debated the issue of primacy, and the scale of impact on local cultures, of Phoenicians versus Greeks in the flourishing trade activities during the period 900–770. This is the stage controversially called “pre-colonization.” At the moment, there is agreement that the Near Eastern presence in the central Mediterranean, especially involving Cypriot, Levantine, and Phoenician maritime activities, was slightly earlier than the Greek presence.²³⁶⁶ Moreover, even for the later phases of the East-West connection, given the heterogeneity and archaeologically mixed character of Iron Age Mediterranean trading sites, some scholars have admitted growing difficulties in precisely discerning the ethnic identity of the “merchant agents”²³⁶⁷ who were involved in trade activities. In the framework of this trade, which may have been centered on metal procurement along the Tyrrhenian coasts, some rare specimens of luxury imports of generic Near Eastern production (Levantine, Cypriot, north Syrian) were reaching the shores of peninsular Italy, but only sporadically and irregularly.²³⁶⁸ Specifically these are bronze basins and cups, not attributable to definite workshops. A similar intermittent pattern characterizes the first Greek imports found in southern Villanovan contexts, pottery drinking vessels classified as “pendent semicircle” *skyphoi*, and Middle Geometric II chevrons *skyphoi*, with comparable specimens in Campania, Sardinia, and Sicily, though at this moment it is impossible to specify the vectors of their transmission.²³⁶⁹

A more definite aspect of trade with the eastern Mediterranean started in coincidence with the founding of new Greek and Phoenician trading posts, variably called “colonies” or “emporion,” around 770–750, that is, in southern Etruscan terms, in the local Early Iron Age Phase 2b. The largest of these centers appear to be Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia, which was founded by the Euboeans,²³⁷⁰ and the Phoenician colonial foundation of Sulcis in southwestern Sardinia.²³⁷¹ Both are particularly representative of the intermixing between Greeks and Levantine people which seems to characterize this period, and could have been responsible for the transmission of several cultural traits of Mediterranean origin (especially technical skills) to mainland Italy, notably Etruria.

From this period on, the south of central Tyrrhenian Italy became the focus of a deep cultural transformation, involving the growing appropriation and reinterpretation of numerous Oriental elements into the local material culture, mainly aimed at the nascent ruling elites’ needs for ostentation. Beginning in

the first half of the eighth century, in the wealthy female (sometimes also male) burials of affluent centers such as Veii, Pontecagnano, Cumae and Capua, a great array of small ornaments of eastern manufacture or locally imitated were deposited, including *faïence* scarabs, seals, figural pendants, and beads.²³⁷² At the same time, grave-sets attributable to top members of the late Villanovan communities comprised metal ceremonial objects which, although often manufactured according to well-established local craft traditions,²³⁷³ were employed in rituals influenced by the Oriental power imagery.²³⁷⁴ These include circular shields and chariots in military symbolism, as well as fans, spits, firedogs, bronze flasks, cauldrons, hemispherical basins, and tripods in the framework of commensal practices.²³⁷⁵ Around 750, the ceremonial equipment of the Etruscan elite was enriched by the appearance of a new vessel form directly adopted from Near Eastern banqueting customs—the bronze ribbed bowl (It. *patere baccellate*),²³⁷⁶ which was specifically linked to the consumption of wine, and also marked the introduction of new technological skills, possibly through the immigration of craftsmen.

Greek pottery craftsmen, possibly coming from Pithekoussai, were also responsible for the introduction to central Tyrrhenian Italy of a new class of wheel-made painted tableware, following stylistic patterns of Euboean origin, which included ceramic vessels such as cups and jugs.²³⁷⁷ It was especially in Campania and southern Etruria that this kind of tableware was highly prized, for example at Veii and Pontecagnano, where it is found in several burials, sometimes without any elite connotation, as part of drinking sets for wine consumption.

This opening to pan-Mediterranean connectivity that characterizes the eighth century in Etruria was not a one-way process. Evidence of circulation of Late Villanovan-Early Orientalizing metal products from Etruria appears in the East, although in the specific aspect of votive offerings found in Hellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi, Olympia, Dodona, and Samos.²³⁷⁸ Interpreting this evidence is not an easy task. Many hypotheses have been put forward, even considering the wider framework of the presence of objects from the European “barbarian” world in Greek sanctuaries. A great number of Early Iron Age bronze spearheads, many of which are possibly from southern Italy, can be interpreted as spoils of war offered by Greek colonists after victories over Italics, but this view hardly applies to elements of Villanovan manufacture such as swords, sheet bronze helmets, and shields. These are elements of weaponry employed as symbols of power by leaders of the local communities, a fact that renders likely their direct dedication by illustrious members of the early Etruscan aristocracy.²³⁷⁹ The same can be said of other prestige goods found in Greek sanctuaries, mainly of early Orientalizing date (late eighth-early seventh centuries), such as horsebits, bronze vessels and thrones, fibulae (maybe connected to the dedication of clothing), and so on.

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IV. Civilization

Orientalizing period

Mauro Menichetti

45Art, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: The Etruscan art of the Orientalizing period spans from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the sixth century BCE (around 740/720–600/580). However, the formation of what we call Orientalizing culture took much longer, and has deep roots in the latter part of the Iron Age (between the ninth and eighth centuries). This is when, inside the so-called Villanovan culture, it is possible to find clear evidence of social differentiation and a well-structured hierarchy whose leaders possessed a power that manifested itself through the possession of arms and the practice of religious rites. These new aristocrats accumulate wealth from owning land and from having an ample repertoire of prestigious goods, technologies, and behaviors that represent a superior social level, which manifests itself in a new lifestyle.

Keywords: aristocracy, Near East, painting, architecture, sculpture

Introduction

The Etruscan art of the Orientalizing period spans from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the sixth century BCE (around 740/720–600/580). However, the formation of what we call Orientalizing culture took much longer, and has deep roots in the latter part of the Iron Age (between the ninth and eighth centuries). This is when, inside the so-called Villanovan culture, it is possible to find clear evidence of a social differentiation and a well-structured hierarchy whose leaders possessed a power that manifested itself through the possession of arms and the practice of religious rites. These new aristocrats accumulate wealth from owning land and from having an ample repertoire of prestigious goods, technologies, and behaviors that represent a superior social level, which manifests itself in a new lifestyle.²³⁸⁰

At this early stage, between the Villanovan and Orientalizing periods, there are already forms of handcrafted production and exchange that include the well-documented relationships with Greece and the Near East. The value of such products is increased by the specialized skills necessary to make them, the decorative elements they represent, or their exotic derivation. In this regard, in the Orientalizing period, the Etruscan lords (*àristoi*) create a language of power that transforms the ancient warriors chiefs into *principes* who want to adopt a lifestyle similar to that of the kings and aristocrats of the Near East, Egypt and Greece, and aim at imitating the triumphant achievements of the kings or those wonderful and superhuman feats of the heroes of Greek mythology.²³⁸¹

Within this framework, Etruscan Orientalizing art can only be understood if it is included within a complex network of relationships on a Mediterranean scale. The traditional definition of “Orientalizing” shows the most visible aspects of this art, seen in relationship with the kingdoms and the city-states of the Near East.²³⁸² However, another basic reference point for the new lifestyle elaborated by the Etruscan aristocracies is offered by the Greek world,²³⁸³ which offers artisanal techniques and cultural patterns found both in the Homeric epic and mythological stories.²³⁸⁴ The relationship with the Greek world is also facilitated by the foundation of Greek colonies (*apoikiai*) in Italy, starting from the middle of the eighth century, which gave the Etruscan-Latin world a complex technology, namely writing, very likely derived from the Euboean tradition of the new colonial settlements of Pithecusae (Ischia) and Cumae.²³⁸⁵

1An international culture

From the “Bernardini Tomb” of Praeneste (today Palestrina, in Latium) comes a Phoenician circular bowl²³⁸⁶ made of gilded silver and decorated by a concentric series of images, starting from the most external stripe, delimited by a snake in a circular form (Fig. 45.1). The images depict the celebration of the king’s deeds²³⁸⁷ as he leaves the city and passes through the countryside, where he hunts, offers sacrifices to the gods, defeats monstrous figures with divine help, and returns to his fortified city. Apart from the median stripe with horses and birds, the central scene is of great interest in its representation of a king-pharaoh who triumphs over his enemies. The bowl belongs to a typology widespread in Cyprus, Crete and Greece, and in particular in Italy during the seventh century.²³⁸⁸ It gives clear evidence of the vast circulation of images enhancing and strengthening the language of power of these warrior-kings.

This sample sufficiently demonstrates how the culture of Etruscan (and Latin) *principes* of the Orientalizing period is fully integrated into a wider framework of international relationships managed by groups that, broadly speaking, can be defined as aristocratic.²³⁸⁹ The lifestyle of Etruscan aristocrats displays a language of power that tends to transform itself in a ceremonial code. The development of a prestigious lifestyle turns into a ceremony including gestures, codified actions and performances, that includes the custom of receiving gifts, the symposium-banquet and marriage, all powerful tools to form alliances and to establish socio-political ties. Furthermore, this code provides for the use of *insignia* of military, political, and religious power²³⁹⁰ (shields, clubs, scepters, *flabella*, axes and the *lituus* (Fig. 45.2), religious symbol of the *Etrusca disciplina*); the construction of a cultural memory through the celebration of one’s own ancestors; and the representation of a privileged relationship with death and the divine world so

that *principes* can present themselves as heroes.²³⁹¹ The connective tissue of this code corresponds to a display of wealth (*tryphè* or *habrosyne*). This wealth alludes to the lifestyle of the gods, and—through the exotic provenience of behaviors, techniques and objects (for example, ostrich eggs)—shows a “geography of the world” in a way similar to that of the kings of the Near East, represented while receiving the war chest or other gifts from far off lands. The almost mythological figures of Croesus, king of Lydia, of Midas, king of Phrygia, or Arganthonios, king of Tarthish in Spain, whose incredible wealth is mentioned in literary sources, will become a model for the Etruscan *principes*.²³⁹²



Fig. 45.1: Circular bowl from Praeneste (photo SAR-Laz)



Between the ninth and seventh centuries, the Neo-Assyrian Empire assumes a leading role in the Near East, together with Egypt and the small kingdoms and city-states of the Syrian-Phoenician-Palestine belt.²³⁹³ The Neo-Assyrian empire creates an extraordinary language of power through images.²³⁹⁴ The walls of the regal palaces of Kalkhu-Nimrud, Khorsabad and Quyunjik-Ninive are completely covered in slabs with reliefs whose uninterrupted sequence narrates the war deeds of kings, the defeating of enemies, the homage defeated enemies had to pay, and the lion hunt (and other wild animals) symbolizing the absolute power of the king. From the Northern Palace of Quyunjik-Ninive comes a notable relief that depicts King Assurbanipal and the Queen at a banquet, dated to around 640 (Fig. 45.3). On the right, the king is laying on a bed (*kline*) and in front of him Queen Assur-serrat is seated on a high throne with footrest. To the left, the severed head of King Te-umman is hanging from a tree and alludes to Assurbanipal's victory. The entire scene gives the impression of a very solemn and luxurious ceremony, with people delivering the war chest or servants attending the regal couple with ceremonial fans and *flabella*. The *kline* and the throne are richly decorated with inlays or *appliques* and refer to the splendor (*habrosyne*) of the furniture, paired with the consumption of luxurious drinks. As a matter of fact, the king and queen are both drinking—most likely wine—according to the grapevine covering the scene, which is similar to the golden one produced by the bronze craftsman Theodoros of Samos for the Persian kings.²³⁹⁵ The consumption of wine in the Near East assumes the ceremonial form of the *marzeah*, one of the roots from which the symposium originates, adopted by the Greek and Latial-Etruscan aristocracies.



Fig. 45.3: Relief with king Assurbanipal and detail (after Sciacca 2007, fig. 16)



Fig. 45.4: Gold ribbed bowls from Nimrud (after Sciacca 2007, fig. 13)

The goblet held by King Assurbanipal in the relief is lost, on the contrary the Queen holds in her hand a ribbed bowl. Between the ninth and seventh centuries, this typology is widespread in Assyria, Urartu, Iran and, to a lesser degree, Syria, Anatolia, Cyprus, Greece and the Iberian Peninsula; it is completely lacking in Phoenicia. But its largest diffusion is in Italy, with almost 300 samples between the last quarter of the eighth and the middle of the seventh century. The ribbed bowls convey a definite meaning as shown, for example, by their discovery also in the Nimrud royal tombs (Fig. 45.4). In the entire Middle East, the ribbed bowl has to do with the king or his court, and signals that wine and its ownership are a privileged gift to deities or a tribute offered by defeated enemies to the victorious king.²³⁹⁶

Oriental products were already circulating during the Villanovan period, but the quick diffusion of the ribbed bowls in the early Orientalizing period reveals the adoption of a real lifestyle comparing the Etruscan *aristoi* to the Middle and Near Eastern kings. It is worth to observe that ribbed bowls only

come from Etruscan high-ranking tombs.

At first the ribbed bowls are produced in the Middle East, and begin to circulate in the western Mediterranean thanks to the tight connections between Phoenician (or Oriental) trade and Greek (mainly Euboean) trade. Later, ribbed bowls are likely manufactured by Oriental craftsmen located in the western areas. Later still, we find local production of ribbed bowls by Etruscan apprentices, which reveal variations in shape and use. This process indicates a more general phenomenon connected with the features of the contemporary trade, because technologies and artisans—as well as ideas and cultural patterns—circulate together with goods. The ribbed bowls were symbol of the Middle Eastern royalty and of the linked gift system. They suddenly disappear around the middle of the seventh century, making way for different cultural patterns in the frame of the rapid change and development of the Etruscan and Roman world during the Orientalizing period. For example around the middle of the seventh century, the nobleman Demaratus of Corinth, who is forced to abandon his own city, takes refuge in the Etruscan city of Tarquinia, marries a woman of noble birth, and one of his sons moves to Rome to become King Tarquinius Priscus. These aristocracies continue to operate on a Mediterranean scale and share a common lifestyle that glorifies wealth as an instrument through which it is possible to legitimize one's own political, social, and economic power.²³⁹⁷ On the other hand, the example of Demaratus makes the increasing influence of the Greek world clear.

2The “landscape of power”: the palace and the tomb

The new power of the Etruscan *principes* becomes fully visible through two architectural structures that define the landscape in a much more incisive and spectacular way than in earlier periods. The circular hut made of lightweight materials and with a thatched roof continues to be used during most of the seventh century, but starting in the middle of the century, square planned houses are introduced.²³⁹⁸ The House of Impluvium at Rosellae²³⁹⁹ is one such house. At Acquarossa (Viterbo) and Murlo (Siena), we also find houses with stone foundations in *opus quadratum* and walls constructed of uncooked mudbricks, or wooden frames and stones able to support heavier clay tile roofs, and cut out *akroteria* where the artisan carves the shadow of a figure in clay. Moreover, in the second half of the seventh century, we find another house plan—the *pastàs* house—well known in Greece and most likely with an Eastern influence. A rectangular space, with the entrance on the long side giving access to three rooms, the *pastàs* house seems to be particularly suitable to signal the status and the prestige of the family, as effectively exemplified in the “Tomb of the Shields and the Chairs” at Caere. Two carved

thrones flank the central door, while some carved shields—no longer military armory—hang on the wall, symbolizing the family's rank and power.

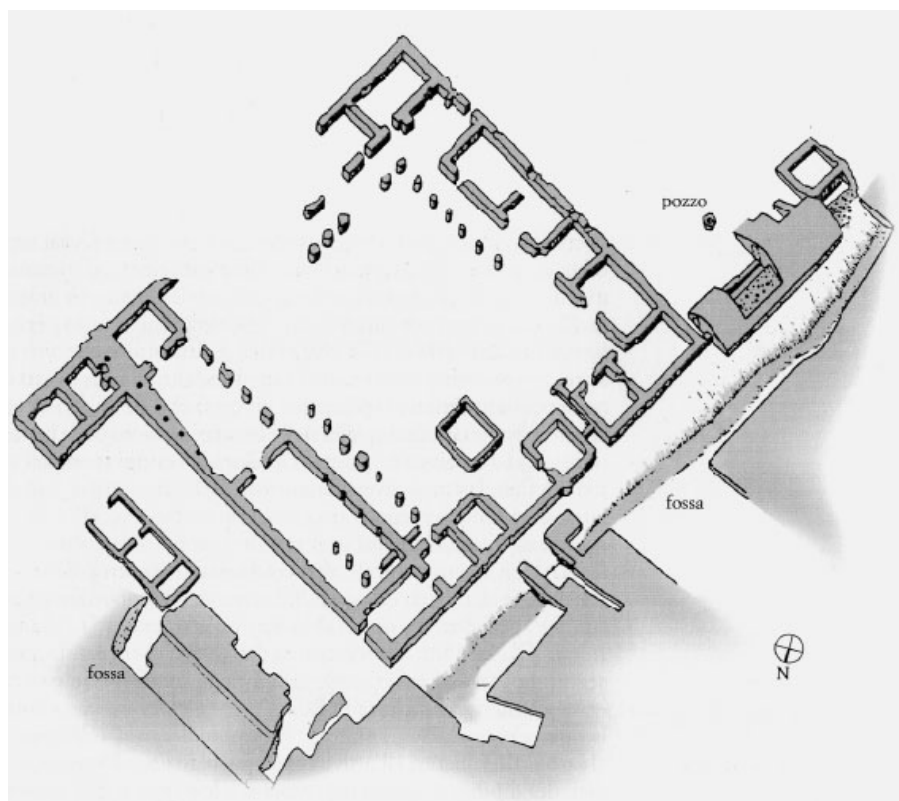


Fig. 45.5: Plan of Murlo (courtesy A. Tuck)

The transformations of this period can be fully observed in the Murlo palace, built around 590 (Fig. 45.5).²⁴⁰⁰ Around a central court with a portico on three sides is a series of rooms; on the northwestern side we find a complex of three rooms opening toward the courtyard, where there is a small building around which religious ceremonies of the *princeps*' family (*gens*) would probably have taken place. Around the courtyard, there was a series of slabs with reliefs depicting ceremonial scenes that symbolize the family's prestige. These include a banquet, horse races, a marriage procession with the bride, and an assembly of the principal gods (Fig. 45.6), the last of which was intended to show the familiarity and intimacy between the gods and the *princeps*' family. On the roof of the building and easily visible from a distance, more than twenty statues, sitting among real and imaginary animals, represent the ancestors who protect a real *regia*, and signal the power of the *princeps* throughout the territory.²⁴⁰¹



Fig. 45.6: Relief with deities from Murlo (photo SAT)

The Murlo palace requires a very high level of organization and a high quality of complex artisanal techniques. Ancient authors – in particular Pliny the Elder (*HN*35. 151–152) – shed light on these techniques. In this way we know the aforementioned nobleman Demaratus, fleeing from Korinthus, arrives in Etruria with a painter, Ekphantos, and with a team of *fictores* whose names describe their profession and skills. There is Eucheir (“good-hands”); Eugrammos (“good drawer”) and Diopos (likely meaning “good architect”). From this story, we can identify the latest architecture, painting, and sculpture techniques from the Greek world. In this context, a new form of clay decoration begins to expand, giving also the possibility of making statues, *akroteria*, and slabs with reliefs.

In addition to the palace, the tomb is the other great symbol of aristocratic power. One can observe how monumental tombs with multiple depositions replace pit tombs and well tombs. These monumental tombs resemble the inside of the house and express the strength of family ties.²⁴⁰² Since earlier times, the tombs are covered by great barrows that occupy the necropolis of Etruria’s main cities.²⁴⁰³ The cremation of the deceased—which recalls the Homeric rite noted for Patroclus funeral—is only the final step of a complex procedure that involves the transport of the dead (Gk. *ekphorà*) to the tomb where a long and complex series of ritual ceremonies take place. The areas in front of the tombs are often set up in a way that the *gens* can easily attend the ceremony.²⁴⁰⁴ In other cases, a podium with steps allows people and the religious officers to stand on the mound in order to perform the religious rites. Finally, the deposition of the body inside the tomb is accompanied by the deposition of the funerary set, the value of which is evident by the number of objects and the quality of precious materials.



Fig. 45.7: Statues from Casale Marittimo (photo SAT)

Inside the burial mound there are multiple tombs, which makes the meaning of *nomen gentilicium* (established during the seventh century) clear (Fig. 47.1). That is to say that the aristocratic groups are able to identify themselves through the presence of an ancestor, whose memory is made permanent by his *nomen*. The tumulus represents the cultural memory of the *princeps* and his dynasty, which is transmitted not only through the architectural form of the tomb, but also through its sculptures and paintings. The architectural form of the tumulus probably derives from examples found in the Near East and Anatolia, also well known in Greece, as showing the case of Salamina of Cyprus.²⁴⁰⁵ Homer also mentions a tumulus situated on a headland facing the sea in honor of Achilles.²⁴⁰⁶

The majority of accounts regarding Etruscan sculpture of the Orientalizing period come from funerary contexts. Around 680 at Ceri, near Caere, two *imagines maiorum* are carved in the interior of a tomb that derive from northern Syrian examples (Fig. 35.4).²⁴⁰⁷ The tomb of the Five Chairs in Caere dates to 640.²⁴⁰⁸ One room contains five chairs on which clay statuettes were seated, two *mensae*, two empty chairs for the dead lying in the adjacent room, a small altar and a container. The entire set is extraordinarily interesting, because it literally represents the *post mortem* reunion of the family.



Fig. 45.8: Tomb of the Roaring Lions (courtesy TPA, Carabinieri)

Two statues, recently found during the excavations at Casale Marittimo in the area of Volterra, date to the same period (Fig. 45.7).²⁴⁰⁹ The statues, made of limestone, are represented with belts and loincloths. It is still unknown whether they were ever located on the burial mound. Finally, dating back to the last quarter of the seventh century are eight limestone statues standing in a position of mourning, arranged along the *dromos* of the “Tumulo della Pietrera” in Vetulonia. All of these sculpture groups derive from Near Eastern models and might as easily have been made by Oriental artisans in Etruria as by local craftsmen deeply influenced by Near Eastern patterns. At any rate, the Etruscan *principes* love and require this type of iconography.²⁴¹⁰

Painting also enriches the decorative apparatus of the tombs. The most ancient examples come from Veii and Caere, and later on from Tarquinia. First of all, painting a tomb makes it as luxurious as the deceased’s house, and early on, its walls are embellished with vegetable elements, animals and narrative scenes.²⁴¹¹

The Roaring Lions Tomb in Veii is one of the most ancient examples of funerary painting, dating to the beginning of the seventh century (Fig.

45.8).²⁴¹² Its decoration includes outlines of ducks and lions, which reveals a stylistic influence from Greek late Geometric vase painting, mainly the Euboean tradition. The “Tomb of the Ducks,” again in Veii, clearly shows the use of outline and silhouette techniques as well.

The painting technique, based on red, yellow, white and black colors, is likely linked to techniques of other productions, like pottery, and especially the “white-on-red vases.”²⁴¹³ Caere documentation includes the “Tomb of the Painted Lions” and the “Tomb of the Painted Animals.” The paintings in the “Tomb of the Ship” probably refer to the episode of Ulysses and the Sirens. In the second half of the seventh century, among the different stylistic traditions from Near East and Greece, the Corinthian component emerges. The “Tomb of the Panthers” in Tarquinia and, more significantly, the “Campana Tomb” of Veio, which features an important narrative scene, are remarkable examples of the Late Orientalizing period.

3Wine and the symposium-banquet

Wine is a very precious drink that is appropriate to kings such as Assurbanipal or Alkynoos, who offers wine to Odysseus, a guest, and to the god Zeus.²⁴¹⁴ The historian Titus Livius recalls that the consul L. Papirius Cursor offers a little cup of wine to the gods in order to win their favor and a victory at war.²⁴¹⁵ In the Etruscan world, there is no clear distinction between banquet and symposium but the *principes* know the Greek and Eastern models, which associate the ceremonial consumption of wine with singing, music, and the use of perfumes and sets of specific bronze or fine ceramic vases.²⁴¹⁶

We probably have to distinguish between different types of wine and their way of consumption, starting from a very ancient indigenous wine, called *temetum*.²⁴¹⁷ The Montescudaio urn (Fig. 45.9), from the mid seventh century, shows an Etruscan lord banqueting in the “Homeric way,” surrounded by a servant holding the Eastern ceremonial *flabellum* in his hands, near a table (*trapeza*) bountifully set with food and a large container for wine. Early on, the Near Eastern style of banqueting with the *kline* begins to circulate, as shown by the famous Krater of Eurytios from Caere. Furthermore, the use of particular objects like the “plate-tripods” as mortars²⁴¹⁸ or graters recalls the custom of adding spices, aromas or cheese to wine, a practice well known in the Near East. Cup and practice have been described by Homer about the famous “Nestor’s Cup.”²⁴¹⁹



Fig. 45.9: Urn from Montescudaio (photo SAT)

Oriental or Phoenician and Greek wine spread the Tyrrhenian area with their set of vessels²⁴²⁰. During the second half of the seventh century, kraters and cups belonging to the Greek tradition mostly show how the symposium had become a fundamental element of the aristocratic lifestyle.

The famous Chigi Olpe, which arrived in Etruria in the mid seventh century, shows a repertoire of images that are very close to the aristocrats' hearts (war, hunting, marriage—which is referred to through Paris' judgment). The Aristonothos Krater, probably made in Caere by a Greek artisan, shows the blinding of Polyphemus by Ulysses and his companions on one side (Fig. 35.3), and a battleship scene on the other (Fig. 22.3a). The decoration with images represents a further form of *habrosyne* within the context of ceremonial wine drinking.

It is important to remember that the Etruscan way of wine consumption

produces the creation or adaptation of some vase shapes, testifying the fundamental importance of this practice for the aristocratic lifestyle. The bucchero *kyathos* from the San Paolo Tomb 1 of Caere is a magnificent sample also displaying an inscription recalling the gift system typical of the aristocratic rank.

4The principes and the heroes of Greek mythology

The language of power created by the aristocrats from Etruria (and Latium) becomes even more well structured during the Orientalizing period with the insertion of another element that makes that language stronger and more powerful to legitimize the rank of the *principes*.

The heroes of the Greek mythology—Theseus, Achilles, Odysseus, the Argonauts and Herakles—become the examples for the enterprises and the lifestyle of the Etruscan *aristoi*.²⁴²¹ The pyxis from the Pania tomb of Chiusi²⁴²² (Fig. 45.10), which dates to the end of the seventh century, is made of ivory, and bears a rich repertoire of carved images. Among others, the departure of a warrior on his chariot surrounded by his personal army is depicted, and on the higher frieze, two scenes that represent important endeavors during Odysseus' wanderings are shown: the escape from Polyphemos' cave, and the encounter with the sea-monster Scylla. It is evident that the endeavor of the princeps-warrior is compared to Odysseus' endeavors. This new language of power will be later translated into monumental forms in the friezes of the Etruscan and Latium *regiae* during the sixth century,²⁴²³ as we see for example in the clay reliefs from Acquarossa with Herakles' labors (the Nemean Lion and the Cretan Bull) that accompany the *princeps*' departure. This kind of language has a further message, according to which the princeps-warrior acquires a status similar to the Greek heroes' status through apotheosis.²⁴²⁴ Here we can also track down a pattern similar to the new performance of the triumph that the Etruscan kings introduce to Rome: that is to say the celebration of the military victory in the framework of the institutional structures of the city, in which the triumphant king is assimilated to Jupiter.



Fig. 45.10: Pyxis of Pania (photo SAT)

5Conclusions

In conclusion, the Orientalizing Etruscan culture, which has a deep influence on the other cultures with which it comes in contact—such as Latial and the Italic populations—can be exemplified through an extraordinary monument: the chariot found in Monteleone near Spoleto (Central Italy), now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Central Italy has therefore given us a rich documentation about this fundamental sign of power.²⁴²⁵ On the bronze parapet of the chariot—its chronology is fixed at the second half of the sixth century—an incredible series of images shows the heroic qualities of Achilles in three main scenes (Fig. 45.11): the chase, his duel with Memnon,

and his apotheosis with winged horses. On the front, Achilles receives the precious arms made by the god Ephestus from his mother, Thetis, according to Homer's narration. The Etruscan *principes* climb on the chariot to be like Achilles or the king represented on the gilded bowl from the Bernardini Tomb.



Fig. 45.11: Drawing of the Monteleone chariot (after Emiliozzi 1997, 186–87)

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Marina Micozzi

46Handicraft, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: In the last decades of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries, the Tyrrhenian elite reached an unprecedented level of wealth and manifested a sudden need for status symbols that could represent their new lifestyle. The solution was to model themselves after Near Eastern dynasties and their courts. The Near East supplied models of life as well as sumptuary goods, raw materials and, most notably, skilled craftsmen specialized in many sectors, who started workshops in Etruria and gave rise to local production. At the same time, contacts with Greece started an extraordinary phenomenon of acculturation expressed through material culture, as well as through the acquisition of writing and Hellenic mental forms.

This work aims to illustrate how, in the different categories of handicraft—jewelry and other precious materials, metalwork and pottery—these Near Eastern and Greek elements combined with local traditions to create an original Etruscan Orientalizing style.

It was an uneven process, however. In the earliest phase of the Orientalizing period (around 725–680 BCE), it mainly involved Veii and Tarquinia; in the seventh century, the most important poles of production were Cerveteri and Vetulonia, from which technical and stylistic innovations widely radiated in both Etruscan territory as in foreign areas.

Keywords: Etruscan Orientalizing period, Etruscan handicraft, Etruscan jewelry, Etruscan pottery, Etruscan metalware

Introduction

In the last decades of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries, the Tyrrhenian elite reached an unprecedented level of wealth and manifested a sudden need for status symbols that could represent—physically and symbolically—their new lifestyle. It is clear they modeled themselves after Near Eastern dynasties and their courts. The Near East supplied sumptuary goods, raw materials, and, most notably, specialized craftsmen who were masters of advanced techniques with a mature tradition rooted in a multicultural setting. Their encounter with the Villanovan tradition and that of Greeks (also found in Etruria) initiated the formation of an Etruscan Orientalizing style. Due to the lack of recognizable public institutions and the particular importance consequently gained by the private sphere of these new *aristoi* in the political and religious lives of their communities, this new Orientalizing style can be evaluated above all in the handicrafts.²⁴²⁶

1Jewelry

Already in the second half of the eighth century, this ongoing change can be detected by the increase in jewelry made of precious metals. Villanovan objects typically made of bronze (e.g. fibulas, hair spirals and pendants) were now made of gold and silver. These were further decorated with granulation and filigree, two refined goldsmithing techniques previously unknown in Etruria, which were certainly introduced by Near Eastern artisans.

Alongside these techniques, there was a diffusion of exuberant, Near Eastern decoration, including rosettes, palmettes, guilloches, Egyptian protomes and animal and anthropomorphic figures. These were also made with traditional repoussé techniques on Near Eastern (like anchor-shaped pendants or *bullae* with embossed star motifs), as well as on local forms.

Until the mid seventh century, the typology of jewelry grew and defined itself. The display of a family's wealth peaked in female burials with a variety of fibulas (leech, boat and lozenge-shaped fibulas), necklaces, pendants, armlets, earrings, hair spirals and small metal plaques for decorating clothing. Many varieties of serpentine fibula are typical of men's costumes, like the comb and bolt fibulas, used to pin mantels onto their shoulders or on their belts.²⁴²⁷ Sumptuous chest ornaments have been found for both sexes on the highest rungs of the social hierarchy. Certain men's grave goods highlight the deceased's role as a warrior, as in the case of the embossed gold lamina put on the bronze *kardiophylax* from the Tomb of the Warrior at Tarquinia.²⁴²⁸

The pomp reached its peak during the first half of the seventh century, with princely grave goods that include refined jewels of extraordinary value, which can often be traced to the same workshops. These jewels satisfied a large demand, and— thanks to the widespread practice of aristocratic, ceremonial gift-exchange—reached southern and northern Etruria, Latium and Campania, with more sporadic occurrences in Etruria Padana and on the Adriatic coast.

The workshops can be located in various Etruscan centers. In the Early Orientalizing period there were particularly active workshops in Tarquinia, where goldsmiths from northern Syria might have worked, and in Veii, where they also worked amber from the Adriatic coast (Verucchio).²⁴²⁹ Amber was used for fibulas, necklaces, gold pendants and the inlaid gold pectorals from tomb 101 at Castel di Decima, tomb Galeassi at Praeneste, and the Montetosto tumulus at Caere.²⁴³⁰



Fig. 46.1: Gold breastplate and disk-fibula from Caere, Regolini-Galassi Tomb. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (from Cristofani and Martelli 1983)

From the second quarter of the seventh century, Caere's workshops clearly demonstrated their leadership, here too initiated by Near Eastern goldsmiths and characterized by technical perfection, virtuosic use of granulation and filigree, and the ability to assimilate and build upon ideas from different provenances. These characteristics were largely expanded upon in the extraordinary gold female grave goods from the woman's burial in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb. These include the famous embossed breastplate with its semi-elliptical form of Egyptian influence and the giant disk fibula of the late Villanovan tradition (**Fig. 46.1**), attributed to a workshop that masterfully combined Near Eastern, Greek, and local forms, techniques and motifs. Among the products of the same workshop, there are valuable examples of jewelry (disk, serpentine, comb and bolt fibulas), from Caere, Praeneste, Vulci (where the spectacular fibula from Ponte Sodo with a dueling scene, a local variation of a style found in Cypro-Phoenician bowls, was found: **Fig. 48.5**), Vetulonia and Marsiliana, with zoomorphic figures made by joining two symmetrical halves through micro welding and finished with granulation. These find their highest achievement in the sumptuous pectorals from the Barberini and Bernardini Tombs at Praeneste (**Fig. 46.2**).²⁴³¹



Fig. 46.2: Gold plaque (breastplate?) from Praeneste, Barberini Tomb. Rome, Villa Giulia. (photo SAR-Laz)



Fig. 46.3: Gold fibula from the Tomba del Littore of Vetulonia. Florence, Nat. Archaeol. Mus. (photo SAT)

Goldsmith workshops were also active in Vetulonia starting around the same time, perhaps due to the transfer of artisans from Caere who were attracted by favorable economic circumstances or in the wake of eminent personalities, like the deceased of the Tomba del Duce, who was cremated in a silver house-shaped urn attributed to a Caeretan workshop.²⁴³² The goldsmiths of Vetulonia developed a particular local style with embossed motifs (palmettes and female protomes), and a sophisticated use of the “pulviscolo” technique, a variant of granulation, which is better suited for making figures (Fig. 46.3). Their products rapidly acquired a wide diffusion in northern areas, from Marsiliana, Roselle, Volterra to Chiusi and the Chiana Valley and up through Bologna and Verucchio.²⁴³³

2Ivory, bone and glass

Among the luxury goods crafted by Near Eastern artisans, there are also precious objects of ivory and bone: pyxides, chests, fans, combs, statuettes, as well as plectra and dice games (e.g. in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb). The ample production of Southern Etruria, in all likelihood based in Cerveteri, has been divided by modern scholars into two main groups, which can be linked to the same stylistic trends of Syrian and Phoenician inspiration also seen in imported goods.²⁴³⁴ The homogeneous group of refined ivories from Marsiliana, dating to the mid seventh century,²⁴³⁵ can be attributed to craftsmen with Near Eastern training from southern Etruria who were likely active in Vetulonia. Northern Etrurian workshops are attributed for the remarkable collection of ivories, from the second half of the seventh century, found in tombs of the middle Arno and Ombrone Valleys, and from

Murlo.²⁴³⁶ These ivories are evidently related to the Late Orientalizing production of Chiusi²⁴³⁷ through style and decoration, characterized by clear references to the Greek myths (Fig. 46.4).

A few ivory plectra (see [chapter 30](#) Li Castro) from rich Etruscan tombs remind us of the existence of related instruments and many other wood objects, surely an important category of handicrafts that has been almost completely lost.²⁴³⁸

Correlate to that of the ivories is the manufacture of oinochoai and cups made from ostrich eggs, with painted, incised and excised decorations. Eggs from Carthage that were cut to form hemispherical cups in the first half of the seventh century were followed, in the second part of the century, by a series of richly decorated, Etruscan incised eggs (found in Vulci, the Florentine countryside and Picene territories), which were mounted in oinochoai with different precious materials, including ivory and gold (see [chapter 50](#) Micozzi). The workshops can likely be located in Vulci—which also rendered clay versions of these same forms.²⁴³⁹

The prestige of Caeretan workshops is also visible through the widespread diffusion (southern and northern Etruria, Latium, Campania and Picenum) of a series of precious glass objects (perfume bottles or balsamaria, tools for spinning and ornaments) made between the mid seventh century and the early decades of the sixth in the “friable nucleus” technique, which was certainly introduced by Near Eastern immigrant glass workers.²⁴⁴⁰



Fig. 46.4: Fragmentary ivory relief plaques from Comeana, Tumulus of Montefortini.
Florence, Nat. Archaeol. Mus. (photo SAT)

3Metal vases

Much of the work of Orientalizing craftsmen was dedicated to creating

vessels and utensils for eating, drinking, pouring, mixing and filtering liquids, roasting or boiling meat, used in banquet ceremonies, the finest expression of the aristocratic way of life.

The goldsmiths also produced gold (such as the Bernardini kotyle, with sphinxes on handles, and the ribbed bowl from Praeneste now in the Victoria and Albert Museum²⁴⁴¹) and silver vessels and utensils. Along with prestigious, Near Eastern metalware and proto-Corinthian pottery, these compose the exclusive sets used for the consumption of wine according to Greek and Oriental ceremonies present in princely grave goods in Etruria, Latium and Campania.²⁴⁴²

Even in this case, the oldest evidence is clustered in Tarquinia (Warrior's and Poggio Cretoncini Tombs) and among key grave goods from Latium and Campania (Castel di Decima, Cumae and Capua).²⁴⁴³ In the second quarter of the seventh century, these were followed by the output of Caeretan workshops guided by Near Eastern craftsmen. On the one hand, the Caeretan workshops referred back to tradition (for example with the spiral amphora and the cups with vertical handles from Regolini-Galassi). On the other hand, they oriented themselves towards foreign shapes—skyphoi and kotylai that imitate proto-Corinthian models (exported to Praeneste, Pontecagnano, Marsiliana, Vetulonia Populonia and Fabriano), as well as paterae and hemispherical bowls with incised scale patterns just below the rim (found in Caere, Praeneste, Marsiliana, Veulonia, Narce and Capua), with Near Eastern prototypes in glass, bronze and ceramic (Fig. 46.5).²⁴⁴⁴

The decoration of some kotylai, inspired by the Phoenician bowls, but with contributions from the Greek and local repertoire, shows the eclectic vibrancy of Caere's workshops. These are also attributed with the gilded silver situla belonging to Plika-sna of Chiusi, a unique piece that illustrates the acme of this aggregation.²⁴⁴⁵

Two bronze kotylai—one from the Bernardini Tomb and the other from tumulus F at Satricum—and the Barberini tripod with Sirens can also be attributed to Near Eastern craftsmen active at Caere, who combined Greek forms with the Near Eastern “double wall” technique.²⁴⁴⁶ The widespread imitation of other Near Eastern valuables, like Assyrian-made ribbed bowls, suggests their manufacture in various Etruscan towns, including Caere and Vetulonia.²⁴⁴⁷ For the duration of the Orientalizing period, Vetulonia's bronze workers acted as the northern counterpart of Caere's metalworkers; their production is easily recognized and includes a wide range of products, as censers, urns with handles decorated with lotus flowers and zoomorphic protomes, and tripods, some of which imitate and elaborate upon trans-Alpine types, bearing witness to the city's extensive external contacts.²⁴⁴⁸



Fig. 46.5: Set of silver-gilt vessels from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb of Caere (Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco) (elaboration from Cristofani and Martelli 1983)

4Bronze objects

Bronze workers were also responsible for the production of a series of objects associated with the exaltation of the male warrior (weapons, war chariots or vehicles for transport—also destined for the *ekphorà* of the deceased—and equestrian harnesses). In the Orientalizing period, these instruments of war largely became symbols of rank. The weapons were often inadequate for warfare and suggest the existence of a vein of production dedicated to funerary or votive functions, as seen in shields from female burials and in the deposits of Verucchio and on the Civita of Tarquinia. In the latter, the shield was found near a musical *lituus* and an ax, other objects used in aristocratic spheres as insignia of power, as can be seen in Casale Marittimo or in the Tomba del Littore of Vetulonia.²⁴⁴⁹

Furthermore, the embossed barrel-shaped sheet bronze thrones certainly indicated status, rather than serve as functional objects. They were often associated with similarly decorated stools and fans and, at times, with scepters and *litui* to form sets directly related to the royalty,²⁴⁵⁰ as documented in the iconography of the statues from Ceri and Veii Picazzano and the akroteria from Murlo (see [chapter 45](#) Menichetti). They may have often been made of perishable materials, as seen in the wooden finds at Verucchio (see [chapter 76](#) von Eles). Wheeled bronze trays also belong to the same category; identified by M. Torelli with the *praefericula*, they were objects with specific cult functions, prerogatives for certain, eminent figures.²⁴⁵¹



Fig. 46.6: Silver scepter, flabellum and bronze sheets from Veii, Monte Michele, Tomb 5 (Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia) (photo SAR-Laz)

It is likely that bronze workshops were present in the major Etruscan, Latin and Faliscan cities, but it is difficult to distinguish their production because the stamped technique continued to prevail despite the introduction of Near Eastern decorations, and lends a conservative and uniform veneer to the sheet bronze objects (urns, flasks, tripods and more). For example, Ingrid Strøm suggests that Veii was the main source of barrel-shaped thrones, for which Fritz Jurgel proposes Tarquinia, a city that, like Vulci, certainly hosted remarkable bronze workshops. A large number of the bronze shields that Armgart Geiger attributes to Marsiliana likely came from these two centers.²⁴⁵²

Local workshops can be traced back to valuable collections of bronzes from the princely tomb of Monte Michele at Veii (house-shaped urn, wheeled tray, scepter and flabellum (Fig. 46.6)²⁴⁵³ and that of the Carro di bronzo (Bronze Chariot) at Vulci.²⁴⁵⁴ The latter striking set of grave goods illustrates a particular application of the technique—the *sphyrelaton*, in which parts of the human body are assembled from different materials to reconstruct an image of the body of the cremated deceased, as seen in some other high ranking burials of the first half of the seventh century concentrated in the area around Vulci.²⁴⁵⁵ Above all, we can recall the bust from the Circle of the Fibula at Marsiliana, considered the work of bronze workers who were experts in weaponry.²⁴⁵⁶ Such cases show the difficulty of distinguishing between the “fine arts” and handicrafts in this chronological period.

There was a sharp change in Caere tan metal workers, which introduced figured decoration in free-hand drawing. The Regolini-Galassi Tomb is once again the foremost example, with the cauldrons on conical stands, the bronze sheets reused in the restoration of the throne, which originally belonged to a chariot,²⁴⁵⁷ the wheeled tray decorated with realistic and fantastic animals

immersed in phytomorphic patterns of Near Eastern inspiration (and those from the same workshop found at Praeneste and Vetulonia).²⁴⁵⁸ These express a tendency found in all Caeretan handcraft: to metabolize influences from various sources into the dominant Syro-Phoenician vein until the creation of an original Caeretan, Orientalizing style. With regard to metalworking, this can be seen, at the very end of the seventh century, in the decorative exuberance of chariot panels of Tomb XI at Eretum/Colle del Forno.²⁴⁵⁹ Through exported goods and the migration of craftsmen, Caeretan Late Orientalizing bronzeworking influenced other centers, including Orvieto and Chiusi, which produced many sheet bronzes, especially amphorae and thrones for canopic urns, also demonstrating a certain Vetulonian influence.²⁴⁶⁰

5Painted pottery

The leadership of Caere is particularly evident in pottery painting, where the Caeretan workshops show a capacity for renewal unknown to other centers, certainly due to privileged relationships with new Greek people active in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Even amidst the battery of Orientalization, vase painting maintained a strict adherence to Greek models limiting its Near Eastern influence to the adoption of a few new types of vases—especially plates—demonstrating a preference for a way of eating different from that of the Greeks.²⁴⁶¹

From the third quarter of the eighth century, Vulci's ceramic workshops had a period of remarkable creativity, due to the presence of several immigrant leaders who gave rise to the so-called Etruscan geometric production by introducing decorative patterns, iconographies and vascular forms from different regions of Greece. By the end of the century, the most important workshops—conventionally called “of the First Craters,” “of the Ticinian Craters,” “of the Vulcian Biconical” and “of the Argive Painter”—equipped the Etruscan repertoire with a wide range of new forms, especially for use in symposia (craters, amphorae, oinochoai and various types of drinking vessels), decorated in the Greek Late Geometric style and including the first narrative scenes with figures.²⁴⁶² From the early seventh century, Vulcian pottery fossilized into a routine production that repeated Euboean and proto-Corinthian geometric patterns organized in a metopal scheme, the “Metopengattung,” which dominated in Vulci and Tarquinia until the middle of the century.²⁴⁶³

For most of the seventh century, Tarquinian workshops settled into a nearly slavish imitation of proto-Corinthian and Cumaeian vases. Only through the first decades of the century did they begin to open up to innovative stimuli, with the Painter of Bocchoris and the Palm Painter, who distinguished themselves by introducing Attic and Near Eastern influences.²⁴⁶⁴ Very similar

to the production of a Tarquinian workshop is the oinochoe by the Painter “dei Cavalli Allungati,”²⁴⁶⁵ which features one of the first mythical scenes—perhaps the *geranos* of Theseus and Ariadne—now in the British Museum.

Since the early seventh century, the Caeretan Subgeometric pottery (plates, amphorae, stamoid ollas, stemmed bowls, oinochoai)²⁴⁶⁶, was enlivened by friezes of fish and marsh birds (the “Heron Class,” also diffused in non-Etruscan areas)²⁴⁶⁷, and flanked, in the very same workshops, by a new figurative style inspired by Proto-Orientalizing, Attic and Cycladic experience. The Greek models were known thanks to Attic vase painters, like the recently identified Goat Painter,²⁴⁶⁸ or the Narce Painter.²⁴⁶⁹ In the first decades of the seventh century, they settled in Caere and Veii, where they adapted Protoattic figures and stylistic elements to local forms (biconical vases, amphorae, plates). Thanks to the Tomb of the Roaring Lions at Veii, we can compare ollas painted by the Narce Painter (Fig. 46.7) to wall paintings, which demonstrate—even better than the contemporary Tomb of the Ducks—the close relationship between vase painting and wall painting,²⁴⁷⁰ a relationship which remained strong over the course of the Orientalizing period.



Fig. 46.7: Olla from the Tomb of the Roaring Lions at Veii, attributed to the Narce Painter (photo SAR-Laz)

The presence of the aforementioned Greek vase painters at Veii, Caere and Narce, areas which are characterized by strong cultural interrelations,

provides an appropriate base for the renewal of Caeretan vase painting in the first half of the seventh century. With the Cranes Painter and the Heptachord Painter, Caere inaugurated monumental, figured registers of Cycladic and Protoattic inspiration in both subject and style.²⁴⁷¹ The Crane Painter was the leader of a prolific workshop, who worked both clay and impasto with white-on-red decoration and preferred large vessels, especially amphorae that reached the Veian-Faliscan area too.²⁴⁷² He experimented with human and theriomorphic figures that were inspired by the Hellenic world (a centaur and a warrior on two “white-on-red” pithoi now in the Castellani collection), but did not depict complete narratives, unlike the Heptachord Painter, who must have drawn from Greek epics (Fig. 16.3). Although it is not certain, the Heptachord Painter may have depicted the meeting between Helen and Menelaus on a biconical vase from Monte Abatone, or Orpheus and the Argonauts on the eponymous vase.²⁴⁷³

Caeretan pottery lets us trace the key stages through which Etruscan aristocracy selected from the corpus of Greek myths. At the beginning of this extraordinary process of acculturation, the Etruscans preferred episodes related to epic sea voyages like those of Odysseus, Jason and Theseus.²⁴⁷⁴ A skillful patron who could understand Greek myths and reinterpret them for self-celebration appropriated the famous crater with the blinding of Polyphemos and naval battle, signed by Aristonothos,²⁴⁷⁵ an Attic vase painter of Cycladic origin who was active around 650 at Caere. His signature is the first known example in Etruria, where pottery painters rarely signed their works, even in later centuries.²⁴⁷⁶ The Aristonothos crater began a local series of vases that depicts epic mythological episodes, both in clay, like the amphora by the Amsterdam Painter with Medea and the dragon of Colchis,²⁴⁷⁷ as well as in “white-on-red” impasto, like that of the Sirena-Assurattasche Painter with Odysseus’ encounter with the Sirens.²⁴⁷⁸ In the second half of the seventh century, Caeretan series of red impasto vases with white decorations developed a particular sensitivity to mythological scenes, largely attributable to the Workshop of the Calabresi Urn, which specialized in large containers (pithoi, amphorae, pyxides and house-shaped urns).²⁴⁷⁹ The Painter of the Birth of Menerva (active between 640 and 620), a leading figure in this workshop and, perhaps, painter of wall paintings (Tombs of the Painted Lions and of the Painted Animals),²⁴⁸⁰ depicted the birth of Athena on pyxis D 150 (now in the Louvre), and the blinding of Polyphemos on a Fleischmann collection pithos (Fig. 14.4).²⁴⁸¹ These scenes were translated into the composite language largely derived from a Phoenician matrix, which would become the distinctive feature of the Caeretan Orientalizing style.

The Tragliatella oinochoe exemplifies the self-representation of an aristocratic Etruscan *gens* through a Greek mythological model.²⁴⁸² It also acts as a primary document of the formation of local sagas that were executed in a polychrome Corinthian technique, which dominated the Caere-Veii territory at the close of the seventh century, with the Caeretan Group of Monte

Abatone and the Castellani Cycle of Veii.²⁴⁸³ The unbroken succession of cultural ties and migrating artisans from different parts of the Greek world is the most decisive factor for the undisputed supremacy of the Hellenic model as a reference for the rising class: over the last decades of the century, the Swallow Painter and the Bearded Sphinx Painter—respectively bearers of Eastern-Greek and Late proto-Corinthian /Transitional models—are the origin of Etruscan-Corinthian production at Vulci, mainly in black-figure technique and poor in narrative scenes (with exceptions like the oinochoe with the Ilioupersis by the Bearded Sphinx Painter).²⁴⁸⁴

6Other pottery

Social change in the late Orientalizing period and the consequent increase of those who had access to the wealth sparked a decisive transformation in Etruscan artisan activity, which restructured itself through tighter organization and greater specialization of labor. In Vulci's Etrusco-Corinthian workshops, this dynamic translated into an actual subdivision of the market. On a broad scale, we also see the rise of wine and oil containers (as well as the smaller ones for perfumes) to meet the surplus produced by intensive agriculture and destined for trade. One effect of this industrial-style production is the standardization of vase types, particularly evident in the bucchero, the characteristic ceramic whose black color comes from reduction firing, the most profitable “invention” of the Etruscan Orientalizing period.²⁴⁸⁵

Bucchero appeared in Caere at the end of the first quarter of the seventh century, without an experimental phase, with high quality products (the so-called thin bucchero, often with silver finishes). There is a clear inclination towards pottery for banquets, with forms derived from three main sources—proto-Corinthian ceramics, precious Near Eastern imports (such as the Cypro-Phoenician oinochoai and rare ribbed phialai with human protomes), and local brown impasto, within which the bucchero tradition belongs. Hence, bucchero vases catered to both endemic and foreign modes of drinking wine (provided that Mario Torelli's association between spiral amphorae and *temetum* holds true)²⁴⁸⁶.

Once considered surrogate to precious vessels made of ivory and metal, bucchero was conceived as a prestigious product, a flexible material from which objects of great symbolic value could be made, like the mourning statuettes from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb and from the Tumulus of Poggio Gallinaro²⁴⁸⁷ and the calamus from the Regolini-Galassi Tumulus. The production of refined works in relief intended for elite patrons began in the mid seventh century.²⁴⁸⁸ It includes exceptional pieces like the olpe from Tomb 2 of the Tumulus of San Paolo at Caere, with rare versions of the sagas of Daedalus and Medea²⁴⁸⁹ (Fig. 46.8) and a group of kyathoi decorated in

relief, incision, excision and punching from Caere, Vetulonia, S. Teresa di Gavorrano, Casale Marittimo, Monteriggioni, Chiusi, Murlo. Some of these bear inscriptions that qualify them as precious ceremonial gifts from the Paithina gens—partly, perhaps, made in northern Etruria.²⁴⁹⁰

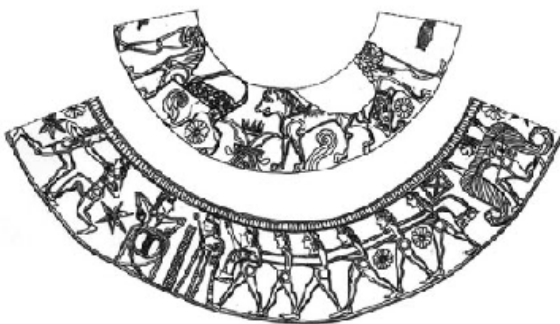


Fig. 46.8: Bucchero olpe showing in relief Medea, the Argonauts and Daedalus. From Caere, Tumulus of San Paolo, Tomb 2 (Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia) (photo SAR-Laz)

As mentioned above, food storage vessels were made of impasto and usually reddish in color. Red impasto ware is present throughout Etruria with local variations in morphology and decoration,²⁴⁹¹ but always with a series of large dimension vases (pithoi, ollas, and braziers), sometimes with painted decoration (in addition to the Caeretan, there was also a “white on red” production in the Faliscan-Capenas area and in inner Etruria)²⁴⁹² and, by the end of the seventh century, with stamped patterns.²⁴⁹³

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Alessandro Naso

47Society, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: The Etruscan elite furnished their tombs with extraordinary sumptuousness, following a specifically “barbarian” custom—adopted throughout their civilization—that began in the second half of the eighth century BCE and reached its peak in the seventh. The three major arts—stone sculpture, architecture, and painting—developed in this period mostly for use in burials. The sets of grave goods include luxury items of Near Eastern and other provenances, which testify to the considerable capacity for assimilating outside influences and the role the Etruscans played in the Mediterranean and Europe. Archaeological evidence shows that the Etruscans received objects and ideas relating to a new way of life from the Near East, while their mythology came from Greece; they received cultural models from both. This original mixture determined a new type of culture, which allowed both men and women to play important roles in society.

Keywords: Orientalizing, elites, lower classes, competition, family name

Introduction

The Etruscan elite furnished their tombs with extraordinary sumptuousness, following a specifically “barbarian” custom—adopted throughout their civilization—that began in the second half of the eighth century BCE and reached its peak in the seventh.²⁴⁹⁴ The three major arts—stone sculpture, architecture, and wall painting—originated and developed in this period mostly for use in burials.²⁴⁹⁵ The sets of grave goods are our main source for Etruscan society. They include luxury items of Near Eastern and other provenances, which testify to the considerable capacity for assimilating outside influences and the role the Etruscans played in the Mediterranean and Europe.²⁴⁹⁶ Archaeological evidence shows that the Etruscans received objects and ideas relating to a new way of life from the Near East, while mythology came from Greece; and from both they received cultural models. This original mixture determined a new type of culture, which allowed both men and women to play important roles in society.

1Elites, lower classes and geographic mobility

In the Orientalizing period, the Etruscan elite adopted certain markers to demonstrate their power and high status. Three elements stand out, permitting

the conclusion that beginning in the second half of the eighth century, Etruscan elites become more conscious of their social status.

First, because excavations of domestic remains in Etruscan cities are still in progress, and general knowledge about the urban residences is limited,²⁴⁹⁷ the burials are the commonest source of information. Huge tumuli with diameters reaching 50–60 m contained the chamber tombs. Often, these monumental graves accommodate only one chamber tomb for a man or woman, and subsequently they received further chamber tombs that probably belonged to the same family, as shown by the four tombs of Great Tumulus 2 in the Banditaccia cemetery at Caere (Fig. 47.1). From the beginning of the seventh century to the first half of the sixth, a new chamber tomb was built every thirty years or so in that barrow. In the burial landscape, tumuli became a visible marker of the power of the family that owned it and probably of its ancestors, following a model developed by Near Eastern societies.²⁴⁹⁸ For the interiors of the chamber tombs, see [Section 5](#) below.

Second, the tombs were full of luxury goods, which had already been displayed in the residences and in the funeral rites that came to Etruria from various overseas regions and Central Europe.²⁴⁹⁹ Several items are closely connected to the diffusion of new modes and costumes, which cannot always be clearly interpreted or understood. Middle and Late Geometric Greek drinking cups testify, for instance, to the display of wine.²⁵⁰⁰ Greek vases for use in symposia are likely to have been ceremonial gifts offered by Greeks to the local elite, not only to establish relations with them, but also to have access to the natural resources they controlled. This is supported by the geographical distribution of such items, which is not limited to the major centers such as Veii, Caere, and Tarquinia, but also includes peripheral districts, such as the huge Euboean krater found out its original context at Pescia Romana (Grosseto province, Tuscany), which dates to the last quarter of the eighth century, and the vases found in the coastal settlement of La Castellina del Marangone (Rome province, Latium), corresponding to the mine district of the Tolfa Hills in the hinterland.²⁵⁰¹ There is little information about the functional use of imported goods in Etruria. The huge Near Eastern bronze cauldrons with lion protomes and/or griffin protomes, for instance, may have been status symbols, pots for boilings meat, wine containers, and so on.²⁵⁰²

Lastly, an important marker of the awareness reached by the Etruscan elite was the adoption of the family, or *gentilic*, name, which developed in Etruria as early as the eighth century, as is known because it is widely documented in the earliest inscriptions, which date to the first half of the seventh century.²⁵⁰³ It is necessary to stress this custom, because family names in this period are exclusive to Italy; in Greek and other Mediterranean societies, the custom was to use a name consisting of the personal name and the father's name.²⁵⁰⁴ Instead, for both men and women, the societies of pre-Roman Italy adopted a distinctive two-component name formed from the personal name and the

family name. The family name made it possible not only to declare one's proud loyalty to a group, which in the eighth and seventh centuries was of course identified with the elite, but also to state the right to the inheritance of that name and the family properties, namely land and livestock. Inheritance, however, cannot have been the main reason for the introduction of the family name, because it was used by societies that did not adopt the family name system. Not by chance did the Latin law tradition attributed to the age of Romulus (753–716 according to traditional chronology) state that the owner (Lat. *herus*) can bequeath to his descendants (Lat. *heredes*) a plot of land (Lat. *heredium*) of 2 *jugera* (ca. 0.5 ha).²⁵⁰⁵ An important role was played by self-awareness of one's own high role and social status, as the rich and exotic grave goods show. In this way, the earliest Etruscan inscriptions, which show a high number of such binomial names, further stress the importance of the family name, whose origins in pre-Roman Italy are still an open question for research.

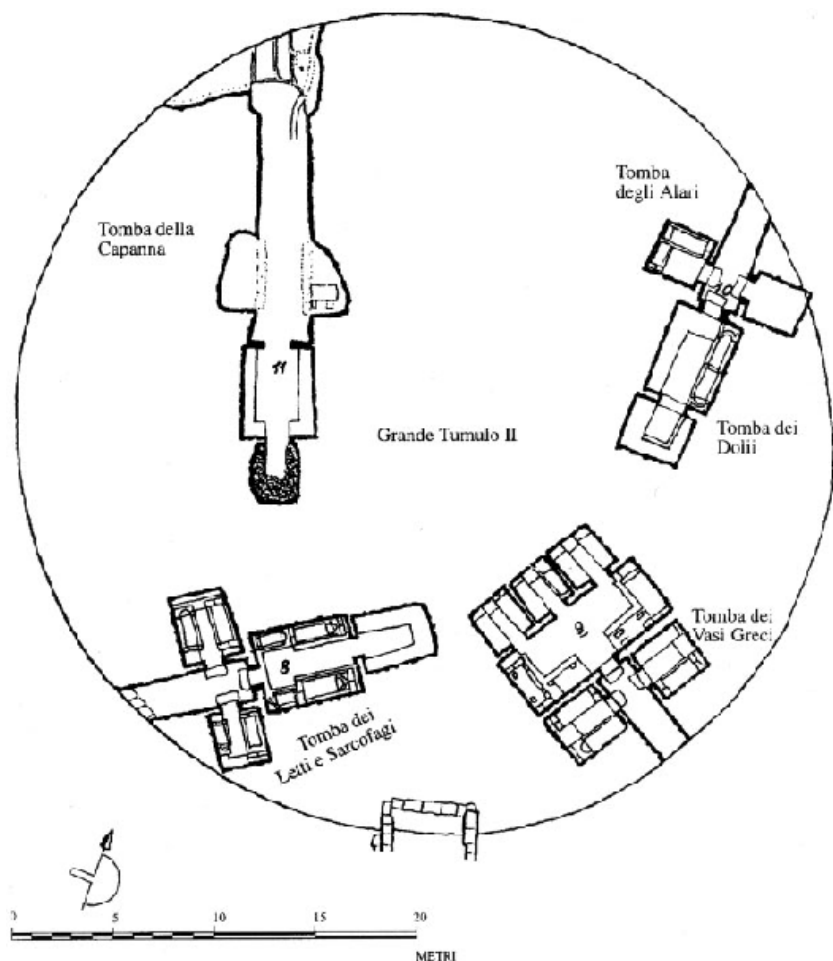


Fig. 47.1: Plan of Great Tumulus 2 in the Banditaccia cemetery at Caere (drawing A.



Fig. 47.2a: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription *TLE 155 = ET, Ta 6.1* *axapri rutile hipukrates*

If the coexistence of monumental graves, luxury goods, and family names helps to define the formation of elite Etruscans, other practices show that the aristocratic groups may have been interconnected in many ways to form a social network. These include gift exchanges, as attested in Etruria by inscriptions, and marriages, as in Homeric Greece. Several years ago, the late Mauro Cristofani pointed out that in Orientalizing Etruscan society, the practice of gift exchange between members of the elite, based on sumptuary goods, spread widely between 675–575. Precious gifts such as metal or clay vases with particular purposes show the donor's name—usually a man, but occasionally a woman—and sometimes the recipient's name.²⁵⁰⁶ In contrast, marriage as a useful link between two aristocratic groups is a practice documented in pre-Roman Italy as early as the Early Iron Age, although specific research on Orientalizing Etruria is yet to be done.²⁵⁰⁷

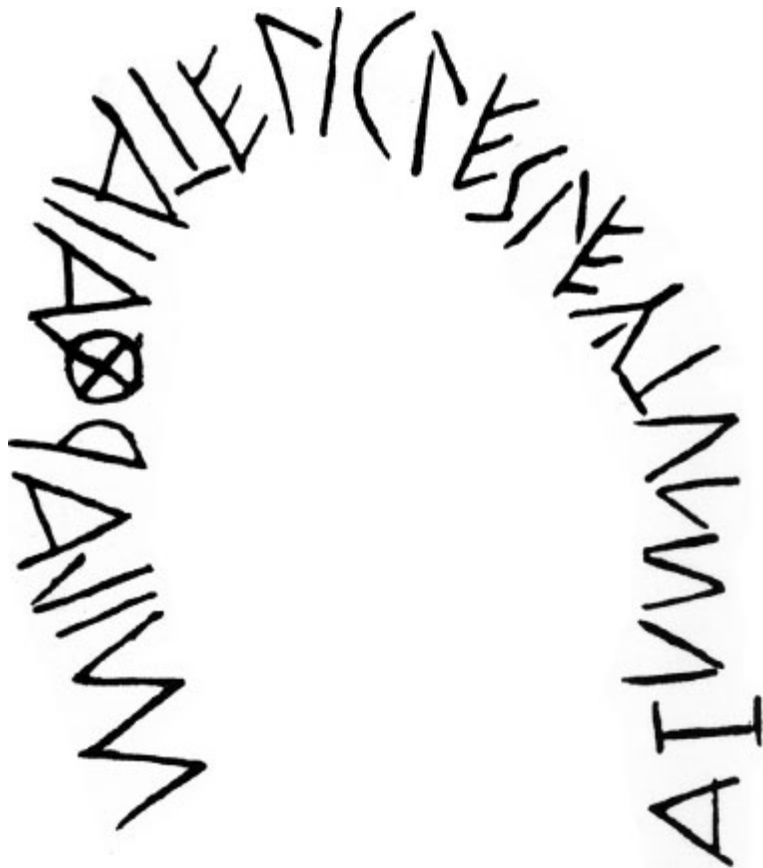


Fig. 47.2b: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription TLE 761 = ET, OA 2.2 mi *larθaia telicles lextumuza*

These practices seem quite typical of a dynamic society, which was open to strangers too. The literary tradition quotes the case of Damaratos, a Greek who came to Tarquinia from Corinth around the middle of the seventh century (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46.3). Etruscan inscriptions dating to the seventh century quote male names such as *Rutile Hipukrates* and *Larth Telicles* (Fig. 47.2a-b). These genuine Etruscan binomial names are half Etruscan (*Rutile* from the Latin *Rutilus*; *Larth*) and half Greek (*Hippokrates*; *Telikles*). The bearers can therefore be identified either as Greeks (*Hip-pokrates*, *Telikles*) who came to Etruria and assumed Etruscan names—"Hippokrates the Red" in the first case—or as sons of mixed marriages between Etruscans and Greeks.²⁵⁰⁸ In each case, such persons may be taken as examples of geographic mobility between members of the upper classes of Greece and Etruria.

Alongside so many elite markers, however, the archeological record of this period, which is based almost completely on funerary evidence, includes only a few traces of other classes; they are almost invisible. In the Banditaccia

cemetery at Caere, the huge tumuli were surrounded by similar but smaller burial monuments, which, being contemporary, may correspond to lower social groups. These may be related to the elite group in a way similar to that of the patrician and *clientes* in archaic Rome.²⁵⁰⁹

The late Richard Linington, who was for several years field director of the excavations in the Laghetto area of the Banditaccia cemetery, saw evidence of the existence of lower classes in the tomb architecture of that area. Linington divided the explored graves into seven periods, dating from the eighth to the third centuries. According to him, the dimensions of the graves in this area are quite similar to those in other cemeteries of Caere in the late eighth and early seventh centuries (his periods 1 and 2), a little bit smaller in the second half of the seventh century (period 3), and clearly smaller in the early sixth (period 4). If it is really the case that no more rich graves were built in this sector because the upper classes used other areas of the same cemetery, then from the sixth century onward it would have been available to the lower classes.²⁵¹⁰ To verify this intriguing suggestion, which is based exclusively on the study of tomb architecture, it would be necessary to correlate the architecture with the composition of the remains of the grave groups found in the same tombs, which is not possible at the moment given the fact that only a few tomb groups have been published.²⁵¹¹ Social division within an Etruscan cemetery dating to the seventh century has been documented at Pontecagnano in southern Campania. Several clusters of tombs that reflect different statuses and different origins of the deceased—mostly Etruscans but also probably Daunians and Picones—are placed in different sectors of the cemetery. Tomb groups of the Pontecagnano cemetery reveal a capacity for emulation and competition among the different elite groups; they include rich female graves.²⁵¹²

Toward the end of the eighth century, a woman was buried in Pontecagnano Grave 2465 not only with her gold jewels, but also with the markers of the rank she held in life: a bronze chariot; a bronze symposium service; a metal banquet service including andirons, spits, knife and axe for the meat—both for eating and for use in the sacrifice—and some large clay food containers (See [chapter 74](#) Cinquantaquat-tro and Pellegrino). Similar very rich female depositions in other Etruscan cemeteries show that such burials are not unique. To stress the spatial distribution across Etruria, one may mention at least Banditella 2 at Marsiliana and Regolini Galassi at Caere, both of which date to some time later than Pontecagnano 2465, in the first and second quarters respectively of the seventh century.²⁵¹³ The three female burials have several elements in common. Each includes either belongings of the deceased *dominae* in life (precious jewelry and metallic ornaments for clothing), or part of the burial ritual (metal bed frames, but only at Caere and Marsiliana), or the markers of their very high social rank (the metal chariot, the symposium service for wine, the banquet service for meat, and the large food storage vessels). Each set, which might have actually seen use, had a different

corresponded to a new role for women, is confirmed by iconographic representations. Concerning the iconographic record, one must begin in the Orientalizing period with the wooden throne found in Grave 89 of the Lippi cemetery in Verucchio, dating back to the very beginning of the seventh century.²⁵¹⁸ The scenes engraved on the semicircular back, originally painted, show women at work, engaged in the processing of wool—washing, spinning, and weaving—and women participating together with men in some activities that are hard to define. According to Patrizia von Eles, these women are probably engaged as priestesses in ceremonies or cults.²⁵¹⁹

Tomb 5 of the Arsenale Militare cemetery in Bologna, called Tomba del Tintin-nabulo and dated to around 600, has yielded the cinerary urn of a thirty to forty year old woman and her jewelry, gold items including a fibula and two hair bands, an amber chain, and an exceptional bronze sheet rattle or *tintinnabulum*, a bell-shaped pendant depicting several stages of processing wool, from spinning to weaving.²⁵²⁰ This exceptional find stresses once again the importance of wool working for high-ranking Etruscan women.



Fig. 47.3b: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription ET, Cr 2.36 *mivelelias θina mlaxmlakas*

The friezes on the terra-cotta plaques decorating the second phase of the palace near Murlo, dated to the end of the Orientalizing period (around the year 580), still reflect the Orientalizing world and its symbols. Four scenes are depicted in all, each including a woman with the attributes of her rank, such as thrones and footstools, parasol, fans, and servants. I agree with Annette Rathje that “these women must be seen as more than just mothers, wives, daughters and sisters to the ruling men.”²⁵²¹ A new phase probably began at the start of the sixth century (see [chapter 53](#) Amann).

3Kings and queens

Imported objects and their associated uses—if any—reflect the existence of a stratified society in Etruria, which for us is hard to articulate because the only information we have comes from burial remains. It must be remembered that the available documents have mostly been found in tomb groups, so it is not known exactly what role was played by burial customs and to what extent the

luxury objects correspond to the social status of the deceased.²⁵²² Specific criteria for categorizing tomb groups according to their richness are still lacking in modern-day research. Chariots and items such as helmets, shields, fans, and parasols (represented on the plaques from Murlo) are well documented by Etruscan finds as elite status symbols that derived, in the case of most of the objects, from Near Eastern, and in the case of helmet, Central European models.²⁵²³ The richest graves we have allow us to look for the deceased's particular roles and functions, such as kings and priests (see [section 4](#) below). According to the late literary tradition, in this period kings of Etruria had gold crowns, ivory thrones, scepters, and purple garments, all of which are symbols of power.²⁵²⁴ Can it therefore be suggested that the few tomb groups containing thrones and scepters belonged to kings or queens?²⁵²⁵ The archaeological evidence forces prudence; the general situation in Etruria might have been highly variable, depending on each location. The cemeteries of a very rich but relatively small center like Verucchio yielded eleven wooden thrones dating from 750 to 650, belonging to at least seven male and three female graves, with one not attributed. In the tombs of Chiusi, model bronze thrones belong to the funeral rites of rich male individuals dating to seventh and sixth centuries.²⁵²⁶ Thus the question posed above has no sure answer, although in few cases the attribution to kingly burials seems very probable. Only in the Barberini tomb group from Praeneste—a very rich inhumation outside Etruria in Latium Vetus dating to the second quarter of the seventh century (see [chapter 79](#) Naso)—has a bronze throne ([Fig. 47.4](#)) been combined with a probable scepter of gold and silver and a bronze cult wagon, suggesting the possibility that the deceased was an individual of royal status with priestly knowledge.²⁵²⁷



Fig. 47.4: Etruscan Bronze Thron from the Barberini tomb at Praeneste (Rome, Museum of Villa Giulia). Photo SAR-Laz

4Priests

Some specific finds from rich male and female burials allow us to assume for the deceased a probable role as priest. Bronze cult chariots, already documented in central Italic graves from the ninth century onward, attest to

religious rites involving the use of water (Fig. 47.5). The deposition of such items in tomb groups—mostly belonging to males, but in two cases, Bisentium and Veii, to females—may be interpreted as relics of such ceremonies or else as objects referring to the possible role of the deceased as priest.²⁵²⁸ The scenes engraved on the wooden throne from Verucchio and their interpretation by von Eles have already been mentioned, in which women are acting as priestesses. Perhaps not by chance, the Etruscan Tanaquil, wife of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome (616–579 according to the historical tradition), was believed to have deep knowledge of haruspicy, the Etruscan science of the interpretation of the livers of sheep.²⁵²⁹

It is difficult to identify a female role in votive offerings of this time, which are rarely documented in the archaeological record of the Orientalizing period for two main reasons. First, votive offerings were less popular than they would become beginning in the early sixth century, and second, because only a few votive deposits—consisting of highly perishable materials—have survived and they are quite difficult to find and to explore.²⁵³⁰ In an Iron Age votive deposit explored at Banditella, near Vulci, a bronze group has been found, which as one of the latest votive offerings of that context, has been dated to the first half of the seventh century. It now includes two horses, but was originally more elaborate and probably decorated the lid of an amphora.²⁵³¹

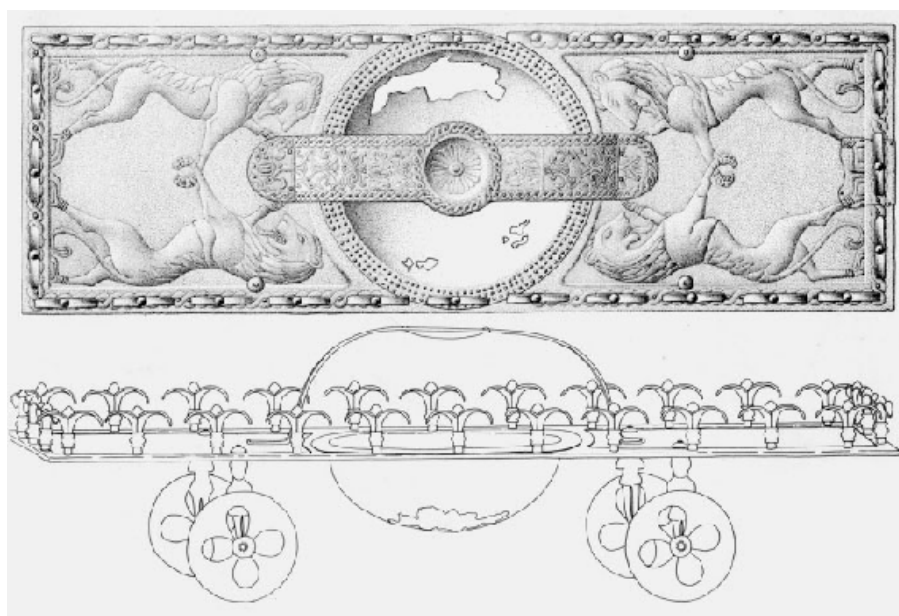


Fig. 47.5: Bronze cult-chariot from the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere (after Woytowitsch 1978, no. 123, pl. 121)

5The family

The shift from the protohistoric “clan” to the historical “family” is attested in Orientalizing Etruria through the adoption of the family name, but the composition of a “typical” Etruscan family in the Orientalizing period, if there was such a thing, remains obscure. Bone analysis and other anthropological research, which are definitive, are actually too limited to be used on a large scale.²⁵³² Inscriptions that show important phenomena like family names are scarce. The main sources for Etruscan society in general—the tombs—can be used in this context only in part. The development of the tomb architecture of the necropolis of Caere, as traced by Friedhelm Prayon, shows that the chamber tombs in the Orientalizing period do not have a unique form, but can include many chambers, and any one chamber can accommodate a varying number of individuals. By contrast, in the Archaic period, the chamber with two beds cut into the tuff was pervasive.²⁵³³ But caution is necessary: although chambers and beds can reflect the number of family members, we are not sure about the exact use of these structures. It is useful to compare our hypothesis with the few tombs that have been found intact. For instance, in the chamber with the ship painting in the Tomba della Nave at Caere, which contains only one bed dug into the tuff, Raniero Mengarelli found the remains of two individuals, a man on the bed and a woman in a wooden sarcophagus on the floor.²⁵³⁴

It is difficult to compare this tendency with the information from dwellings, because it is undefined and often refers to later periods (see [chapter 49](#) Nijboer). Taking into account the current state of the research, it can be interesting to ask some questions the answers to which will probably come in future years. For instance: how many people lived and worked in the palace of Murlo? According to a recent calculation, at least 350 individuals, including elite citizens, soldiers, craftsmen, and “service” personnel like butchers, dairymen, poultry farmers and gardeners, lived and worked in the Tartessian palace of Cancho Roano (Badajoz, Spain), which was smaller (24 x 24 m) than the Etruscan palace of Murlo (60 x 60 m).²⁵³⁵ The estimate is based on the theoretical consumption of the elite and not on the capacity of the palace. Although it seems somewhat high, because it counts different roles for some functions that were carried out by one person elsewhere,²⁵³⁶ the suggestion is useful for estimating the order of magnitude of the number of individuals involved. Future research will answer such questions.

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Tiziano Trocchi

48Ritual and cults, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: In Etruria, the passage from the late Iron Age to the Orientalizing period played an important role in the development of Etruscan funeral rituals and practices based on the aristocratic ideology. Greek and Oriental influences were decisive contributors to the process, as luxurious elements from the Near East became graves goods. Aristocratic funeral rituals were turned into sumptuous ceremonies, divided into several different stages—the display of the deceased, the ceremonial procession and the funeral lamentations—intended to increase the ceremony's pathos and its symbolic value.

Among the established funerary customs, the banquet practice gained more importance; it represents the aristocratic ties in the perpetual dimension of burial. Between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century BCE, we notice that the Etruscan banquet steadily developed Hellenic features because of the increasing relationships with the Greek colonies.

Spatial partition in graves also became more important during this phase. The importance of the grave structure related with the symbolic value of the ritual practice is more evident with the development of the great burial mounds in the necropolises of the Etruscan Tyrrhenian area.

In the Orientalizing period, funeral rituals in Etruria were intended to better celebrate the aristocracy, and was focused on the glorification of the deceased, who, entering the afterlife, took on the role of mythic ancestor and became an object worthy of worship for his/her descendants.

Examples of religious practices can be found in Etruria—even for this period—in several different sources. The consolidation of strongly elite worshipping models is evidenced by symbolic items among the grave goods and some figurative representations, which prove a close connection between the aristocratic worshipping models and the formation of an Etruscan-Italic mythical repertoire. At the same time, however, the emergence of the first urban religious structures, such as those of the sanctuary of Portonaccio in Veii, where female deities—previously limited to the aristocracy—gained an oracular value that turned deities into great civic goddesses during this period.

Keywords: Orientalizing period; funeral rituals; Etruscan aristocracy; religious practices in Etruria; worshipping models

1Funeral Ritual

In Etruria, the passage from the late Iron Age to the Orientalizing period played an important role in the development of Etruscan funeral rituals and practices based on the aristocratic ideology. Greek and Near-Eastern influences were decisive contributors to the process, as luxurious elements from the Near East became graves goods, not only increasing the richness of grave goods, but also their symbolic value. It was not merely about acquiring

goods and iconographies, but, new manners and demeanors. This new lifestyle was based on Eastern royalty and fitted to local customs; aristocratic funeral rituals were turned into sumptuous ceremonies, divided into several different stages marked by specific ritual practices.

Among the numerous examples to describe this passage we can observe the burial grave 871 in Casale del Fosso at Veii.²⁵³⁷ Its structure is reminiscent of the previous models, but the lateral *loculus* has been enlarged into an actual main chamber, where the most prestigious goods and the main pottery items were placed. The grave goods include local traditional banquet vases, but also a big bronze cauldron, some bronze ribbed bowls and a hemispherical silver bowl, all of which have clear Oriental origins. The presence of wagon items and a complete set of armor—including a bronze rolled helmet with a tall bronze crest—is very important and might indicate a sign of priestly authority,²⁵³⁸ which can also be connected with a bronze ritual chariot. There was also a footrest along with the throne, a bronze *flabellum*, and a wooden, ivory and gold-leaf scepter.

The cremation grave known as Lippi 89/1972 at Verucchio²⁵³⁹ represents a similar example (Fig. 48.1). In the grave were placed a cinerary urn “dressed” in a mantle and decorated with bronze, gold and amber *fibulae* and a double *panoplia* that included a high-crested helmet, a conical helmet, two swords, two shields, two spears and a javelin. The grave goods include four knives, one of which was found with an ivory and amber hilt (used for sacrificial rites),²⁵⁴⁰ three winged axes and several elements of a horse harness and three wagons. On the other side of the grave, opposite the cinerary urn, we can find a rich ceramic and bronze banquet set composed of a neck vase and a biconical vase, three *situlae*, seven *cistae* and a cup. There was also a wooden carved throne symbolically set above the big coffin, a footrest, a *flabellum* handle and a wooden box.

Both cases underline a complex and composite way of expression. The typical elements of the Etruscan tradition²⁵⁴¹ are enriched by the attributes of familial hereditary power, directly adopted from the oriental features.²⁵⁴²

Spatial partition in graves became more important during this phase, and gave a precise ritual meaning to each side of the burial. The importance of the relationship between the grave structure and the symbolic value of the ritual practice is more evident with the development of the great burial mounds in the necropolises of the Etruscan Tyrrhenian area. These massive structures, inspired by the eastern dynastic models,²⁵⁴³ stand as “great gravestones” of tombs of princes and their descendants, that tangibly indicate their land ownership and their aristocratic power.²⁵⁴⁴ These structures had a further role in funeral rituals, suggesting one of the most important ceremonial phases: the display of the deceased, which was one of the ritual key-steps²⁵⁴⁵ which emphasized social status and the family prestige.²⁵⁴⁶ This practice, in which the deceased and his/her grave goods were publicly displayed, is understood to have taken place on the burial mound itself.²⁵⁴⁷ Something similar can also

be observed in the contemporary burials in the Etruscan area in the Po valley, where the use of small mounds has been suggested.²⁵⁴⁸ In the most prestigious graves in Bologna are the famous *protofelsinee* stones²⁵⁴⁹, whose monumental origins were likely carved by the northern Syrian masters, directly commissioned by the local aristocracy.²⁵⁵⁰ The funeral ritual communication system at this stage is extended to the grave outside, showing the effort to make the symbolic message more lasting and forceful.

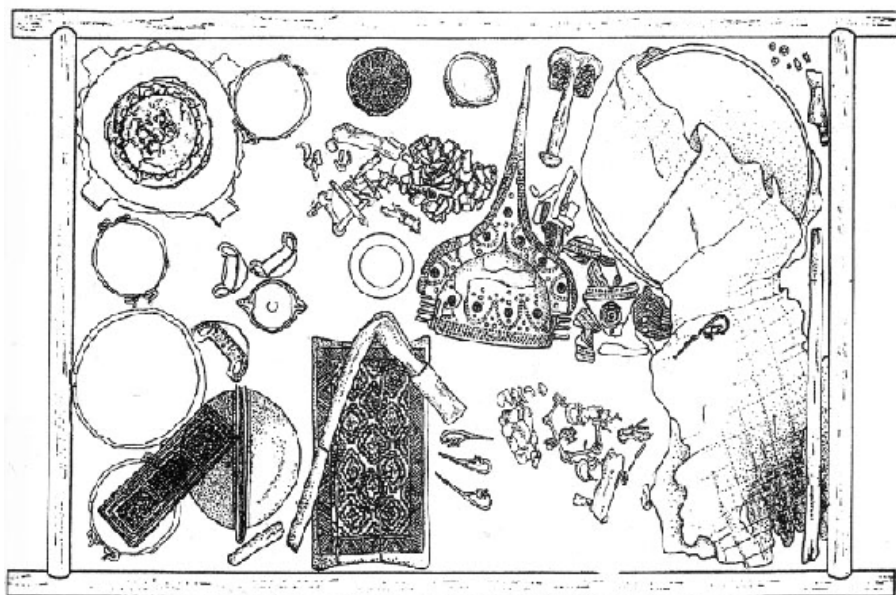


Fig. 48.1: Plan of the grave Lippi 89/1972 at Verucchio (after Torelli 1997c, fig. 42)

Other types of material remains of Orientalizing graves are evidence of another key-step of the aristocratic funeral richness—the transportation of the body to the burial site.²⁵⁵¹ In many prestigious graves there is documentation of several kinds of wagons, which have several symbolic meanings. The war chariot is an indication of upper-class men, the cart is usually related to women, while the transport carriage can be found in male and female graves as a symbol of aristocratic status and is connected with land and livestock ownership.²⁵⁵²

These means of transportation were supposed to be used for the displacement of the deceased during the ceremonial procession.²⁵⁵³ The most emblematic case is represented by the Regolini Galassi grave in Caere.²⁵⁵⁴ The buried princess was taken to her grave on a four-wheeled chariot, which was found in the access *dromos* with several items of the mortuary equipment. In some cremation burials in Verucchio, some chariot parts were burned, which suggests that the chariot itself functioned as a deathbed on which the body had been carried and cremated.²⁵⁵⁵ We can fully understand the

symbolic meaning of this ritual practice if we consider that the Near-Eastern symbolism of the corpse transportation vehicle was intended to turn the dead into a hero during his/her passage to the afterlife.²⁵⁵⁶

There's no doubt that funerals used to take place with a solemn procession, where a further exposure of the grave goods and funeral lamentations—to increase the ceremony pathos—had a large and important role. These practices are supported by the Latin literary tradition²⁵⁵⁷ for ancient Latium, and by archaeological traces in Etruscan graves. In the Regolini Galassi antechamber, there are forty weeping bucchero statuettes placed around an empty deathbed. Several bronze and ceramic vases are reminiscent of celebratory banquets, and some shields leaning against the walls—which were typically used to decorate halls in aristocratic houses²⁵⁵⁸—may also be traces of the display of the corpse. In Pitigliano, there are weeping female and mourning knight figurines on the edge of a ceramic lebes (Fig. 48.2).²⁵⁵⁹ These are evidence of a different aristocratic ceremonial element. It has been suggested that the male figurines refer to a funerary knight joust, perhaps the Etruscan and Italic *Lusus Troiae*,²⁵⁶⁰ which is documented by Latin literary sources,²⁵⁶¹ and which consisted of performing a carousel (*decursio*)—riding a horse around the corpse—to glorify the deceased and confirm his entrance into the afterlife by the members of his own social class.²⁵⁶²



Fig. 48.2: Ceramic lebes from Pitigliano with female and mourning knight figurines on the edge. Second half of the seventh cent. BCE. Florence, Archaeological Museum (photo SAT)

Among the established funerary customs, the banquet practice gained more importance, as it represents the aristocratic ties to the perpetual dimension of burial. Between the end of the eighth century BCE and beginning of the seventh, the Etruscan banquet steadily developed Hellenic features,²⁵⁶³ because of the growing relationships with the Greek colonies.²⁵⁶⁴ The ceramic

cinerary lid in Montescudaio, dated to the mid seventh century, shows the deceased being served by a maidservant, sitting on a three foot long table next to a large crater for wine and water blending (Fig. 45.9). This is the representation of a purely Homeric Greek banquet; it pays particular attention to the convivial features, which became more and more essential in the Etruscan banquet practice. The bronze or silver gilt bowls and the impressive ceramic pottery sets imported from Greece or copied *in loco* are common in the graves of the member of the elites, and attest to these new banquet practices. The full adherence to the Homeric conviviality is also represented by the collective consumption of meat, a precious meal directly connected to the sacrificial ceremonies of animals and therefore, with the religious domain,²⁵⁶⁵ as shown by large sacrificial knives, large bronze cauldrons, tripod, spits and andirons in upper-class male and female graves.

Spinning tools and weapons still had a distinctive gender role in funeral ceremonies. Personal items give useful indications about the deceased and his/her individuality. These elements were clearly expressed in areas in which cremation was the prevailing practice, such as the Po valley, where the anthropomorphism of the cinerary urn was very important,²⁵⁶⁶ and northern Etruria—especially in Chiusi—where local elites distinguished themselves by anthropomorphic funeral urns, the *canopi*,²⁵⁶⁷ which were frequently placed on thrones with personal ornaments and marks of power (Fig. 48.3).

In women's graves, spindles, spindle whorls and distaffs were found made of precious materials such as bronze, amber, bone and glass paste. These are of a highly symbolic value, and refer to an aristocratic woman's role in her household and economic management.²⁵⁶⁸ A *tintinnabulum* that dates to the last part of the seventh century was found in the "Tomba degli Ori" in the Arsenale Militare necropolis at Bologna (Fig. 29.6).²⁵⁶⁹ It is one of the famous bronze pendants²⁵⁷⁰ typical of upper-class women's graves during the Orientalizing period in Bologna. It features embossed portrayals of the different stages of wool manufacturing by richly dressed upper-class women. Clearly evident is the intent to emphasize the aristocratic status of this symbolic traditional activity in the economy of the family, in which the woman's role was very important.

As for men's grave goods, the indications of power become more complex during the Orientalizing period. Items such as wooden, bronze and silver scepters in grave 5 in the Monte Michele necropolis at Veii²⁵⁷¹ show the acquisition of self-representative oriental models by the Etruscan aristocracy. However, the local symbolism of axes as indications of aristocratic power remained, and led to some extraordinary artifacts, such as the axes with wooden handles covered in bronze in graves H1 and H2 at Casale Marittimo.²⁵⁷² The bundle of iron rods (*fascēs*) surrounding a double edged axe (*bipennis*) in the "Tomba del Littore" at Vetulonia show how axe symbolism was still extremely important in male characterization, and suggests its evolution into an indication of magisterial power during the



Fig. 48.3: Anthropomorphic urn or *canopo* on throne from the grave 253 of Tolle (Chianciano), End seventh cent BCE. Chianciano, City Museum (photo SAT)

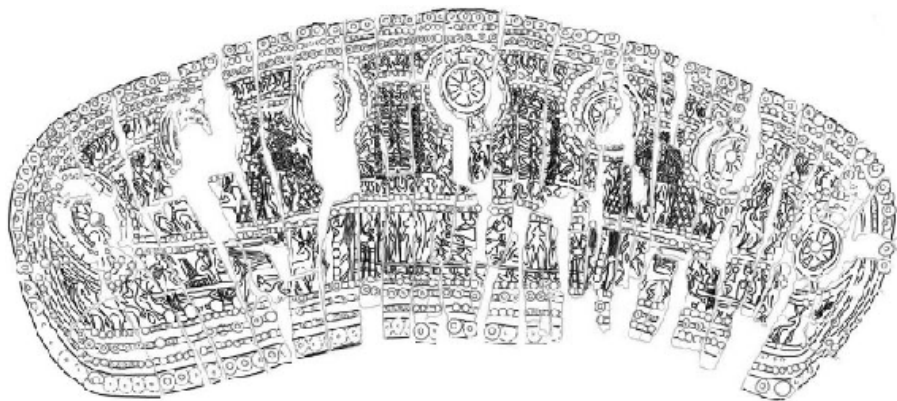
The described picture clearly shows how funeral rituals in Etruria were structured to better celebrate the aristocracy and its top-members. This process is focused on the glorification glorify of the deceased, who would gain the role of mythic ancestor and became an object of worship for his/her descendants upon entering the afterlife. This conceptual component was so

strong that it became totally explicit in several cases, and it is not a coincidence that the first examples of stone and *terracotta* statues in Etruria are linked to these ideas. One of the most famous examples is the relief carvings of the deceased's ancestors seated on thrones²⁵⁷⁴ in the hall of the “Tomba delle Statue” (Tomb of the Statues) at Ceri (690–670 BCE: Fig. 35.4).²⁵⁷⁵ A similar guarantee and legitimacy function had the small five *terracotta* statues in the “Tomba delle Cinque Sedie” (Tomb of the Five Chairs) at Caere, dated to 630 BCE.²⁵⁷⁶ These statues were placed in a reserved room, where the deceased's ancestors are depicted during a banquet in which two empty seats suggest the participation of the two grave owners.²⁵⁷⁷

The glorification of a family's status and its social and political function is predominant, beginning in the last decades of the eighth century, both in funeral rituals and in the idea of the afterlife. Paintings both in the Tomba delle Anatre (Tomb of the Ducks)²⁵⁷⁸ and the Tomba dei Leoni Ruggenti (Tomb of the Roaring Lions) (Fig. 45.8)²⁵⁷⁹— the oldest examples of funeral painting in Etruria, both of which are in Veii and date to the beginning of the seventh century—portray monstrous aquatic birds and underworld creatures. These figurines are still closely connected to the figurative representations of the previous century. In contrast, we can observe a complex figurative representation on the walls of the late Orientalizing “Tomba Campana,” which shows many iconographic oriental features.²⁵⁸⁰ The glorification of the deceased, drawn on a horse in his triumphal entrance to the underworld with his marks of power, was by then completely expressed.

2Forms of worship

Examples of religious practices can be found, even for this period, in several different sources. In addition to plastic and figurative representations we can notice more sacred structures in the urban areas in Etruria.



As for the plastic representations, we must first mention the small naked ivory goddess coming from “Circolo della Fibula” in Marsiliana d’Albegna²⁵⁸¹. The statuette represents a fertility goddess,²⁵⁸² and its iconography is very similar to that of Ishtar, a goddess worshiped in Syrian and Phoenician areas. The statuette has been attributed to an immigrant manufacturer and is evidence of the oriental influence in the worship of female deities already attested in the previous stage.²⁵⁸³

The wooden throne in the Lippi 89/1972 grave at Verucchio features two overlapping scenes carved on its back (Fig. 48.4). The upper part is a scene of wool manufacturing, in the middle are two weaving scenes in which women sitting on a thrones are working on tall vertical looms, and the lower scene depicts two converging wedding processions with a woman and a man in a chariot. In the middle of the two processions is a big platform decorated with waterfowl, which most likely indicate the afterlife. The platform is guarded by a rank of warriors armed with spears, crested helmets and oblong shields. Above them, two women exchange gifts, in the form of tissues and clothes (although it has not been possible to positively identify the items they hold in their hands). The scene ritual value has already been explained, both in its social and political meaning²⁵⁸⁴ and in its relation with the ceremony form and place. We therefore have to underline the location and the actions in the middle of the lower scene, which most likely depicts wedding processions.²⁵⁸⁵ In their middle we can see gift exchanges, represented by tissues and clothes. This exchange is depicted in a detached area from the inhabited one²⁵⁸⁶, maybe at its boundaries, and is emphasized by sacred elements such as waterfowls indicating the afterlife. It has also been suggested that the women are performing sacred activities,²⁵⁸⁷ as the objects they hold in their right hand—possibly big knives²⁵⁸⁸—might indicate. Despite the varied interpretations, we must highlight that we find on the throne one of the most ancient representations of a suburban sanctuary, protected by the military and a guarantor of exchanges and/or religious practices, involving different groups of people. That seems to anticipate the fundamental role that great sanctuaries in Etruscans *emporia* will have during the following centuries.

As further examples of this interpretation we can also add two archeological finds from different findspots, but with almost the same figurative set. A series of small tin *lamina* figurines was found in the Lippi B/1971 grave at Verucchio²⁵⁸⁹ and dates to the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. The *laminae* constituted a sole set: on the sides of a vertical element two warriors with round shields, half-sphere helmets and spears stand opposite one another. Behind each warrior is a semi-monstrous beast with its jaws wide open. Above the two warriors are aquatic birds and a cross-shaped pattern. A very similar scene is carved on a slightly more recently discovered golden *fibula* at Vulci Ponte Sodo (Fig. 48.5).²⁵⁹⁰

The compositional scheme and the subjects are the same: two fighting warriors, with waterfowl and a cross-shaped pattern above them, and semi-monstrous beasts behind. The iconographical affinity is clear: in both cases a duel is depicted, which does not indicate a war, but a private competition with strong symbolical elements that refer to the afterlife. The birds are connected with the relationship between the scene and the celestial sphere; the cross-shaped elements are reminiscent of the solar and cosmic sphere. The beasts refer to the underworld and evoke its not human trait. The analogy between these scenes and the Roman saga of the twins Romulus and Remus has been suggested in the context of the formation of an Etruscan and Italic mythological repertoire.

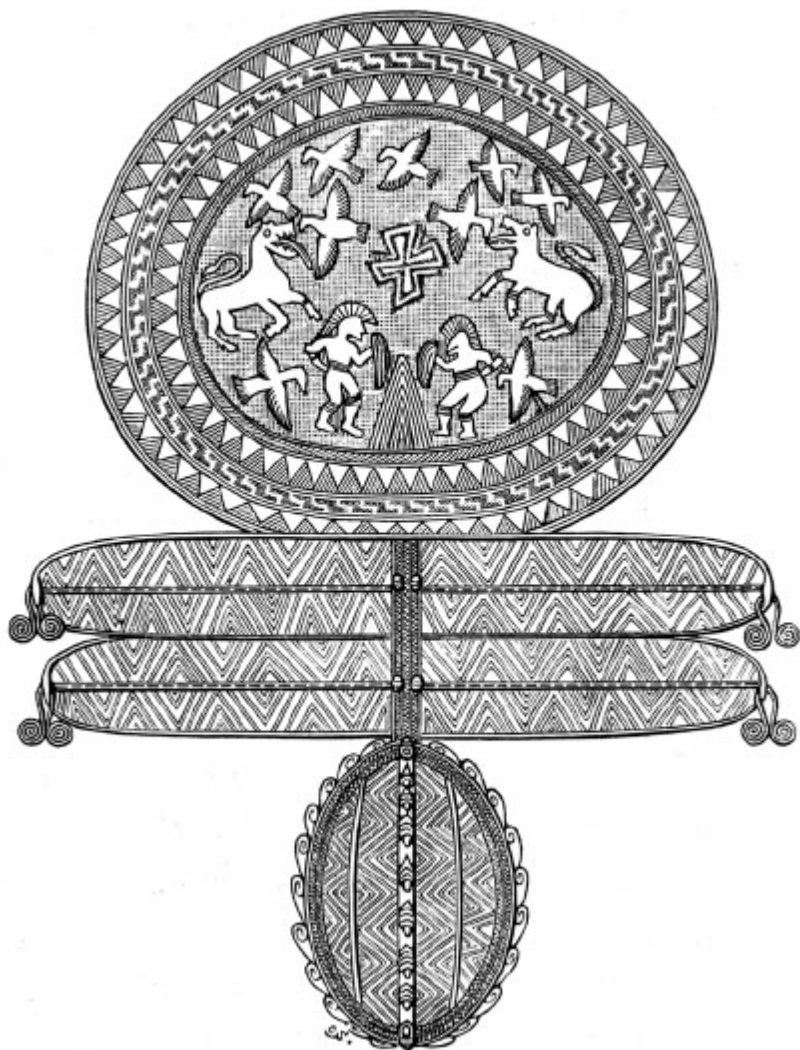


Fig. 48.5: Golden fibula from Vulci, Ponte Sodo. Munich, Antikensammlungen (after

As for the ruins of worship areas, there was a continuation in the sacred area of Pian della Civita in Tarquinia,²⁵⁹¹ where in the seventh century the first important masonry palace was built, composed of two rooms in sequence with a sacrificial altar at one end. Outside, a votive deposit has been found, in which was found a *lituus* (Fig. 45.2),²⁵⁹² an intentionally damaged shield, an axe, and ceremonial pottery. This deposit has been interpreted as an offer made by a powerful local person, probably a king, or as plunder taken from an enemy king and sacrificed to the gods.²⁵⁹³ The whole complex was renovated and fenced in during the mid seventh century. Also in this area, the body of a deceased woman has been found, who might have been connected to the worship of female deities;²⁵⁹⁴ it is possible that the woman was a priestess. These ritual burials seem to be a sacred part in the trans-generational continuity in the Tarquinian community, and as such, are strong elements of cultural identity.

The initial building stages of the sanctuary of Portonaccio in Veii date to the end of the seventh century. During this same period a first altar might have been placed, and a paved stone plan for a wooden structured aedicule were created. A large amount of oblations are gathered around these places, including Etruscan and Corinthian ceramics and several *ex voto* and inscriptions clearly related to female deities.²⁵⁹⁵ The complex was almost entirely dedicated to *Menerva*,²⁵⁹⁶ who is closely related to fertility and breeding, and her worship there was probably oracular.

The sacred area of Sant' Antonio at Caere²⁵⁹⁷ is a further example of stable sacred building in Etruria. The sanctuary was expanded to its maximum size between the late archaic Archaic and the classical Classical periods; the main earlier structures were some cavities discovered between the later constructions, a tank and a building with three rooms connected by a lengthened one. These structures were left during the late sixth century. The worship function of these kinds of buildings has not been fully clarified, but we can suppose that the tripartite plan building, which dates to the seventh century, is one of the oldest examples of an aristocratic masonry house in Etruria,²⁵⁹⁸ and testifies to a close relationship between the worship administration and the aristocratic houses models.²⁵⁹⁹

These last examples lead us to focus on a key-conceptual shift in the evolution of these forms of worship. We can observe the consolidation of strongly elite worship models, shown by symbolic items in the grave goods and by an aristocratic administration of ceremonies. That has been widely emphasized by the themes of funeral rituals and figurative representations, which show a close connection between the aristocratic worship models and the formation of an Etruscan-Italic mythical repertoire. At the same time, however, the first urban religious structures emerged. This must be the meaning of the worship of *Menerva* in Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii, where the worship of female deities, previously reserved for the aristocracy, gained

their oracular value, and turned deities into great civic goddesses.²⁶⁰⁰

We therefore note a triggered process, which led to more mediated worship models, as suggested by the example of Sant'Antonio in Caere. These models brought a more communal administration to the religion, and became typical of the great urban sanctuaries during the following centuries.

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Albert J. Nijboer

49Economy, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: In this chapter a divide is presented between the economies of:

1. The Early and Middle Orientalizing period (730–640/630), with its lavish levels of wealth and conspicuous consumption as documented in funerary rituals. This phase also records the emergence of monumental architecture, tombs and infrastructure; and
2. The Late Orientalizing period (640/630–580), with its rising urbanization, increasing workshop mode of production and expanding markets for better quality, mass-produced commodities.

The shift between this divide is exemplified by the transition from huts to houses during the Late Orientalizing period but can also be illustrated by the imitation of luxury products in more modest materials. Stylistic conformity and devaluation were the result, revealing close relations between the various crafts. The economy remained largely landlocked. The increasing exploitation of the available resources rose gradually, starting from patterns that became established during the eighth century. However, during the seventh century, the scale and differentiation of the economy in Etruria enlarged significantly assisted by considerable population growth. Surveys have shown that the countryside around major centers became more and more inhabited with minor settlements. Hierarchies of craft workers evolved with differences between primary, secondary and tertiary settlements. Specialization was most advanced in the capitals of the rising city-states. The demand for ceramics during the late seventh century probably established early nucleation of pottery workshops at key sites such as Veii, *Caere*, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Vetulonia. At secondary settlements the process of craft specialization occurred as well but not to the same extent as in the main power centers.

Market conditions and exchange by quantification were more developed in the trading sites along the coast for the management of long-distance exchange with overseas traders. Most local exchange was still reciprocal and by barter. Many farmers lived in or near the key centers and acquired progressively more products from specialized workshops, reflecting the growth of interior markets.

Uncertainties remain about the economic role of war and of rising institutions. It is probable that ongoing economic growth created opportunities for many and that enduring warfare was absent to some extent as long as the surrounding hinterland of the rising Etruscan city-states was not fully exploited and dominated. Institutions were predominantly run by the leading families of various clans. By managing labor and exchange, their hold on the increasingly more complex economy of Etruria had become considerable.

Keywords: Standardization, urbanization, settlement hierarchy, workshop mode of production, expanding demand

Introduction

Most of the economic principles and models presented for the Iron Age (see [chapter 43](#) Nijboer) remain valid for the Orientalizing period, since the

economy continued to be essentially agricultural and landlocked, though labor became increasingly controlled by the upper classes.²⁶⁰¹

For transparency, this phase is subdivided into:

The Early and Middle Orientalizing period: 730–640/630 and

The Late Orientalizing period: 640/630–580.²⁶⁰²

During the Orientalizing period, Late Villanovan centers developed into a network of emerging Etruscan towns. The socioeconomic progress that is recorded for the second phase of the Early Iron Age (EIA 2) continues during the late eighth and early seventh centuries.²⁶⁰³ Elaborate warrior tombs of EIA 2 became *tombe principesche* that predominantly contain a mix of high-value local goods, table-wares in gold and silver and numerous oriental *keimélia*. These tombs demonstrate that the Etruscan upper classes were increasingly able to appropriate surplus-production and wealth. Nonetheless they still lived in settlements and proto-urban centers with huts, some of which became more monumental during the seventh century. Full craft specialization continues to be documented in prestige goods until around 650.

Besides continuity, there are some basic differences between EIA 2 and the Orientalizing period. Urbanization led to substantial economic growth that differentiated previous customs of production and exchange. The Orientalizing period in Etruria refers increasingly to the Eastern Mediterranean with its more complex socioeconomic institutions.

The main differences between EIA 2 and the Orientalizing period are:

- The mounting exploitation of the local resources in the hinterland of main centers resulting in a settlement hierarchy;
- The evolution from household production of goods to workshops, also for ceramics – The emerging replacement of huts by houses;
- The rise of monumental architecture, tombs and defense works, marking an increase in corvée labor; Forms of early state formation;
- The final upsurge of a short-lived period of Etruscan overseas trade that flourished from around 600 to 500.

1Demography

A rise in population is documented by the transition from huts to houses and by changes in settlement patterns. In some central Italian settlements, groups of huts dating to the eighth and seventh centuries have been excavated, which so far do not reveal a very close packing of structures. Huts are freestanding and surrounded by open space, which greatly affects the feasible population density in such settlements. The transition from huts to houses from around 640–630 onwards led to a denser concentration of homes in the main centers. The early urbanization process, which was fully established in the sixth

century, resulted in primary centers that housed thousands of people. In addition a clear settlement hierarchy around these primary centers emerged. This infill of the countryside, with more permanent, secondary and tertiary settlements, suggests an intensification of land-use and larger population densities in the hinterland as well. Including the population in the countryside, the number of people in the territories of the early Etrurian city states may in some cases have risen to 10,000–15,000 people or more by 580.²⁶⁰⁴ When compared to the figures for around 730, this would indicate at least a doubling of the population in a period of about 150 years.

I maintain low to average figures. Some calculate higher numbers, but a soaring growth in population is unlikely since the economy remained basically agricultural and not industrial. Comparison with other early civilizations makes it probable that population increase was slow rather than rapid.²⁶⁰⁵ Moreover, the high rate of infant and child mortality did not change much. On the other hand people from outside Etruria might have moved to the emerging, booming Etruscan centers; rapid economic growth usually attracts people from elsewhere. Some suggest a mean population density of about 100 people per hectare in the primary Etruscan centers. This would equal means given for more urban sites such as Mid-Republican Cosa or for various cities in Northern Italy during the fourteenth century CE.²⁶⁰⁶ Such a level of urbanization is unlikely for Etruria during the Orientalizing and even the Archaic period. An average of fifty inhabitants per hectare still gives us several thousand inhabitants for some primary centers in Etruria during the sixth century.

It is concluded that the demographic trend of EIA 2 did continue and that there was a significant increase in population during the Orientalizing period, which considerably affected the scale and organization of the economy.

2Agriculture, resources and their intensified exploitation

The demographic growth was sustained by increased use of the surrounding farmland. The gradual infill of the hinterland around the primary Etruscan centers is recorded in the form of larger and smaller villages, and provides evidence for a growing exploitation of the agricultural and mineral resources.²⁶⁰⁷ By the eighth century, the population was large enough for the existence of nucleated settlements while being simultaneously small enough to live from the land immediately surrounding these centers. With further population growth, more fields—including remote fields—were exploited, and farmers started settling in the countryside.

Flavio Enei surveyed a section of the territory of Caere and found a considerable rise in the number of sites in the countryside during the seventh

and sixth centuries.²⁶⁰⁸ A systematic exploitation of the territory is registered, similar to that noticed in the territory of Veii and elsewhere.²⁶⁰⁹ Enei recognized 113 sites. In the most fertile areas, some of these were located almost next to each other indicating regular, agricultural plots. The evidence implies small square or rectangular buildings of 20 to 50 m², covered with tiles of varied manufacture. Pottery included storage jars, cooking stands and loom weights. Grindstones were recovered as well. Many of the ceramics were made from a red-brown *impasto*, while the tableware is predominantly bucchero. Transport amphorae of diverse provenance were frequently encountered. Thus some of the products recovered in these hinterland sites derived from pottery workshops elsewhere, which suggests expanding home markets. In addition, a range of burial grounds was distinguished, from rural to urban, revealing permanent and stable habitation sites of country people in various types of settlements.²⁶¹⁰ The intensification of agricultural production is eventually verified by the production of Etruscan transport amphorae from 600 onwards.²⁶¹¹

Another remarkable feature of land use, especially in southern Etruria and parts of Latium vetus are *cuniculi*, the monumental water-controlling shafts for drainage and water supply cut in the bedrock, some of which are a few kilometers long.²⁶¹² They might pertain more to the sixth century and later but it is probable that their construction started around 600.²⁶¹³

A comparable intensification, as recorded for the agricultural land, is documented for the metal ore resources. Acquarossa and Populonia provide fine examples for the increasing exploitation of minerals in Etruria.²⁶¹⁴ The archaeological evidence from both sites reveals a development from village to early towns, which makes it unlikely that we are just dealing with mining as *corvée* labor.

3Territorial control over resources

Territorial control over resources was directed from the main centers in Etruria. Road networks, *cuniculi*, and settlement patterns radiate from these primary towns into the hinterland.²⁶¹⁵ The rise of high status tombs in the countryside from 650 onwards suggests that agricultural resources were controlled by the upper class. Nonetheless private ownership of land is still reconstructed as limited because clan-heads/ patrons provided access to these resources for their clans/clients. An example of territorial control is provided by Casale Marittimo in northern Etruria. The remarkable finds record an upper-class family living in the countryside during the Orientalizing period. It is implied that Volterra, 15 km northeast of Casale Marittimo, regulated these small-scale, elite exploits.²⁶¹⁶ This pattern of the upper classes gradually occupying and informally claiming the hinterland coincides with a model

proposed by Andrea Zifferero,²⁶¹⁷ who suggests that territorial control is first documented in the rise of monumental tumuli in the countryside around the primary centers during the Orientalizing period.²⁶¹⁸

A number of secondary centers, emerging from the eighth century onwards, might have had an autonomous development, to some extent. However, the economic-political weight of many of these sites altered or declined during the sixth century with strengthening processes of city-state formation. An example of this phenomenon is Marsiliana d'Albegna, where there is an exceptional number of high-status tombs.²⁶¹⁹ No other site besides Vetulonia revealed so many bronze ribbed bowls, one of the status markers in Italy, while Adriana Emiliozzi lists fourteen chariots/wagons/ carts mainly dated to between 700–650.²⁶²⁰ Some of these tombs also contained gold, silver and ivory. The data imply that several specialist craftsmen, working for the upper classes at Marsiliana d'Albegna, were fully employed producing these prestige goods.²⁶²¹

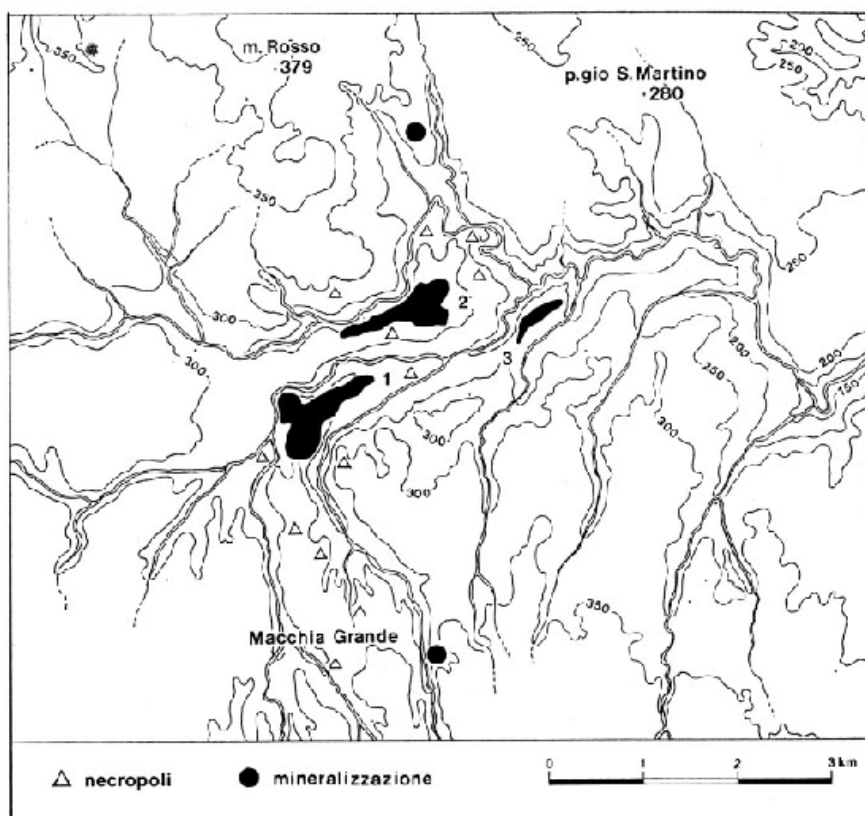


Fig. 49.1: Acquarossa, the three settlement areas, two metal ore deposits in walking distance and some burial grounds 1. Acquarossa; 2. Ferento; 3. M. Piombone; 4. Ore deposit of Solfatara; 5. Ore deposit of Macchia Grande (from Zifferero 1991a, fig. 13)

Acquarossa provides another example of a site that grew considerably

during the Orientalizing period but declined during the late sixth century (Fig. 49.1). Its development seems to be closely linked to the expanding exploitation of its nearby metalores.²⁶²² Thus the archaeological data document an increase in scale of the economy, and tightening territorial control over resources during the Orientalizing period.

4Exchange network

The overland exchange network, covering large parts of the peninsula, continued to flourish. For example, Baltic amber, which was distributed overland, was ever more deposited in female tombs during the period between 730 and 650. Throughout this phase, the demand for high-value goods grew rapidly thanks to conspicuous consumption not just in the primary Etrurian centers but also elsewhere, as illustrated by sites like Marsiliana d'Albegna, mentioned above. A register of high-status tombs and their long-distance imports does not exist, but elite markers such as chariots and bronze ribbed bowls give a hint to the scale of the phenomenon. Thus Emiliozzi assigns around ninety tombs with chariots/carts/wagons in Etruria to the Orientalizing period.²⁶²³

The overseas network with traders/craftsmen intensified as well. The import of particularly Levantine luxuries during the eighth century appears to have been associated with freedom of trade. This kind of trade initially develops when small groups originating from elsewhere are involved, such as traders from various Phoenician city-states and Euboean settlements. Mediums of exchange, weights and other units appeared and the market principle became incorporated, especially for trade in metals and long-distance commerce. Moreover, this stimulated internal changes in the modes of production, which subsequently became directed to the Etruscan involvement in an overseas trading network. From around 600 onwards, the export of Etruscan transport amphorae, bucchero and other commodities to mainly southern France, documents the effective transition of the domestic economy (Fig. 49.2), which is associated with a rising standardization of local goods produced in workshops (see below).

According to Olaf Höckmann, the Iron Age Etruscan boat models were predominantly used for inland navigation on rivers and lakes.²⁶²⁴ Larger vessels are depicted in Etruria from around 700 onwards, including seaworthy “hybrid” boats with local, Phoenician and Greek shipbuilding characteristics.²⁶²⁵ Some ships and traders from Etruria participated in the seaborne trading network as partners of Phoenicians and Greek speaking groups. *Emporia* or entrepôts are an intriguing feature of this network.²⁶²⁶ Some of these trading posts are well defined, such as the *emporion* at Pyrgi and Gravisca. With the rise in scale, commerce with foreigners became consigned

to neutral locations along the coast. Freedom of trade with overseas merchants became regulated trade during the seventh century.²⁶²⁷ The upper classes in Etruria took measures to control economic relations with their overseas partners, thus protecting existing domestic socioeconomic arrangements.



Fig. 49.2: Find spots of Etruscan amphorae and Etruscan fine tableware, especially bucchero (compiled by A. Naso)

5Practice of exchange

Based on growing patron-client relations within a clan structure, reciprocity in all its variations remained at the heart of the local exchange mechanism in Etruria.²⁶²⁸ Some of the collected surplus production was redistributed by the upper classes during feasts and religious ceremonies while conspicuous consumption is mainly recorded in funerary rituals.²⁶²⁹ The necessary prestige goods were produced by specialized craftsmen, who were employed by the elite.²⁶³⁰

Close relations with Phoenician and Euboean merchants and craftsmen led to the adoption of specific metrological units and the alphabet around 700.²⁶³¹ It seems that in gateway communities, exchange with strangers was sanctioned by ritual and religious convention originating from a formalized guest meal/banquet between members of the Etruscan upper classes and their overseas guests.²⁶³² Metrological units are associated with the production and exchange of metals and with agricultural surplus production as marked by the Etruscan transport amphorae. A lucid context illustrating the use of metrological units is the wreck at Campese Bay near Isola del Giglio, which dates to between 590/580,²⁶³³ whose cargo included merchandise of diverse

provenance.²⁶³⁴ In addition to unprocessed amber, pitch, raw and worked metals, it contained fifteen Greek transport amphorae from Corinth, Sparta and Samos and one from a Phoenician-Punic center. Around 130 amphorae — the majority — were Etruscan. The contents of the amphorae mark the commercial exploitation of pines and olive groves in Etruria.²⁶³⁵ The commodities on board reflect a wide exchange circuit while the ship went from relay point to relay point, at each place both exchanging and loading commodities resulting in mixed cargo. The presence on the ship of some weights and more or less standardized vessels, such as transport amphorae, substantiates the notion that certain goods were exchanged in Etruria by quantification within an early, market mechanism. This mechanism emerged soon after the arrival of Phoenician and Euboean traders during the late ninth and eighth centuries.²⁶³⁶ By 650, metrological units were acknowledged in gateway communities and other trading places. For local exchange, however, quantification seems to have been limited. In rising towns, many goods were made in workshops by 600, but these seem to have been partially transferred within restricted market conditions. Most of the domestic exchange was probably still by barter and continued to be reciprocal.

6 Primary evidence on production; the rise of workshops

The primary evidence on production suggests a hierarchy in craft specialization that is in line with the emerging settlement hierarchy. In main centers a range of workshops became established while in small sites, part-time specialization was dominant. The Orientalizing period saw the evolution from household production of goods—including ceramics—to workshops. For example, some ceramic vessels from Tomb 7 at Poggio Buco were made in series during the Late Orientalizing period. Another example is provided by the ceramics produced at Veii. Surveys and excavations have established the existence of areas on the extensive plateau where ceramics were produced from the Iron Age onwards.²⁶³⁷ The output of craftsmen gradually included more standardized, customary goods. Increasingly high-volume/low-value artifacts were produced in early urban workshops from around 650 onwards.

In the main Etruscan centers, complex levels of industrial specialization are found. During the Orientalizing period there are a number of ware groups that suggest various ceramic workshops in these centers. For example, the local production of bucchero is attested for several sites. The development of the bucchero production was described as “*pièces de prestige (au VIIe s), pièces de demi-luxe perpétuant une tradition aristocratique (fin du VIIe et VIe s) et pièces utilitaires communes (fin du VIe au IVe s).*”²⁶³⁸ This transformation of the bucchero production characterizes the change of the entire ceramic

industry in Etruria.²⁶³⁹ Besides bucchero, other main ware groups, such as *impasto rosso* and tableware made from depurated clays on a fast wheel, were increasingly produced in workshops.²⁶⁴⁰ It is especially in the production of ceramics that we witness the rising quantities of “*better quality, mass-produced commodities*” or low value/high volume goods in main centers such as Caere and Tarquinia.²⁶⁴¹ The output of the various crafts in the major centers of Etruria makes it probable that nucleation of workshops arose during the Late Orientalizing period. The existence of several workshops per profession in one settlement is a characteristic of early towns requiring a population of at least several thousand.

At secondary centers more mixed arrangements for craft specialization are recorded. Poggio Civitate is discussed in some detail here and provides a fine example of a monumental building complex in the countryside, where a number of crafts were performed from around 640 to 550/530.²⁶⁴² The monumental buildings at Poggio Civitate were part of a small settlement. Loom weights, spools and spindle-whorls are common and reveal the domestic production of textiles.²⁶⁴³ Among the architectural ceramics, there are quite a few that belong to the earliest examples in central Italy. The life-sized terracotta figures and substantial drainage pipes exemplify the outstanding competence of the artisans who erected these buildings.²⁶⁴⁴

Two major building phases are reported. The first phase dates to the period between 640–590, in which the southeast building or stoa-workshop is singled out.²⁶⁴⁵ It is a spacious, roofed area that was open on all sides for adequate light and ventilation, and can be dated to 630.²⁶⁴⁶ The manufacture of tiles and architectural decorations in this workshop is verified. Moreover, industrial waste from the processing of other materials like ivory, bone, and metals, was recovered in or around the structure.²⁶⁴⁷ Therefore, one of the functions of the building was to serve as a manufacturing area. Around 590 the stoa-workshop was destroyed by fire. The large, rectangular buildings at Poggio Civitate were replaced by an impressive construction with a generous, colonnaded central courtyard.

The unitary style at Poggio Civitate in both the terracottas and other pottery reflects an organization of the ceramic craft, which involved both potters and coroplasts.²⁶⁴⁸ It has been established that tiles, ceramic statues and *impasto* household wares were locally produced from the same clay deposit.²⁶⁴⁹ Progress in efficiency is documented in the roof tiles because the early specimens are not as standardized as those produced around 590/580.²⁶⁵⁰ Thus the pottery workshop at Poggio Civitate made architectural terracottas, common household vessels and tableware besides elaborately constructed bucchero cups with molded handles. A similar close relation was noticed at other secondary sites. This supports the view that in several settlements in Etruria a range of materials were processed near to each other, possibly in one workshop.²⁶⁵¹

Another example of a secondary site is Acquarossa that was briefly

mentioned above in relation to the exploitation of its nearby metal ores (Fig. 49.01). The transition from huts to houses in Etruria from around 640/630 onwards created a massive demand for tiles, which can best be exemplified by the site of Acquarossa, where huts were replaced by buildings with stone foundations and tiled roofs.²⁶⁵² Construction proceeded and the site grew in a relatively short period to include numerous buildings at the time of its destruction around 550/525.²⁶⁵³ The detailed publications by Örjan Wikander allow for some quantification of the output.²⁶⁵⁴ More than one pottery workshop probably existed at Acquarossa. Workshops that modeled the ceramic building materials increasingly absorbed the manufacture of other coarse, household and tableware. In time, the household production of these ceramics became restricted, especially in the larger settlements. Thus the upsurge in building activities at Acquarossa and elsewhere suggests a concentration of workshops at the sites that acquired urban characteristics during the sixth century.

Smaller, rural sites, like the settlement at Lago dell'Accesa, document more mixed activities.²⁶⁵⁵ According to Giovannangelo Camporeale, the economy of the settlement at Lago dell'Accesa was based on mining local ores in combination with subsistence activities. Hunting, fishing and agriculture are recorded by the implements that were recovered. Thus, meals could be supplemented with game and fish.²⁶⁵⁶ On account of the quantity of weaving tools and the low degree of specialization reflected in the pottery, it is suggested that women were involved in domestic activities, weaving, and the production of household ceramics. The reconstruction of the local economy is one of part-time specialization.²⁶⁵⁷ The buildings and the associated finds, however, denote relatively comfortable living circumstances for a number of families who combined mining with a range of other activities.

7Organization of labor

The upper classes of Etruria expanded their control over labor. For example, their monumental burial mounds signify an increase in corvée labor since it required the displacement of massive amounts of soil. By 580 around 5% of the people in Etruria might have controlled a substantial part of the wealth of their group/clan.²⁶⁵⁸ It appears that elite families were generally in charge of organizing labor, and each of these families was dominated by a powerful lineage that claimed an ancestry stretching into the remote past. However, the majority of the population obviously was not counted among the elite. For the remaining 95% of the population, labor was split as follows: 90% farming; 5–10% crafts; 2–5% services in administration, religion, trade and personal care.²⁶⁵⁹ When compared to the percentages given for the Iron Age (see chapter 43 Nijboer), one can detect a gradual shift. As mentioned before,

agriculture remained at the heart of the economy even if it was exploited and controlled more firmly than around 750. Since the economy remained farm-based, socioeconomic transformations were relatively slow. It is assessed that between 5 to 10% of the people were involved in mining and producing metal and ceramic commodities as well as specialist goods like particular textiles, ivory vessels, gold and silver jewelry, and other craft-artifacts that employed a wide range of local and imported raw materials. Most of the goods used for daily life could still be made in individual households during quieter periods of seasonal farm labor. Spinning and weaving tools in houses indicate that the majority of the households remained involved in textile production. This might also be valid for other objects such as basic furniture and basketry.

Services included a small group for administration and trade, a few professional patrollers or soldiers and some personal attendants. Troops, whenever required, would have been largely made up of conscript clients whose main activities were agricultural. Musicians pertain to a special group that comes to the fore. New musical instruments became available, some of which have been actually excavated.²⁶⁶⁰ Depictions of musicians with instruments such as flutes, horns, trumpets and zithers suggest that music accompanied fairs, symposia, processions, battles and dances.²⁶⁶¹ The nature and the number of occasions implies that in the major centers of Etruria, companies of musicians might have existed from the late seventh century onwards, providing their services whenever requested.

8 Customary and luxury goods

It was mainly the conspicuous consumption of the elite—as observed in their tombs—that caused ongoing craft specialization during the Early Orientalizing period. The treasures found in elite tombs indicate close contacts and long-distance exchange between the upper classes in Etruria.²⁶⁶² Chariots and seaworthy ships form an exclusive group of costly products, the construction of which required explicit knowledge of building techniques, a substantial team of workman, supervisors and considerable resources. As such, they document the high standing of economic organization feasible in Etruria during the Late Orientalizing period.

The manufacture of ordinary or low-value goods in workshops also developed significantly. Ceramic tiles have already been discussed, above. Another group of standardized goods are the Etruscan transport amphorae. A detailed account of their manufacture would, indeed, be interesting because they record economic arrangements that are administered.²⁶⁶³ Unfortunately this aspect is still difficult to examine due to a lack of excavated production sites of Etruscan transport amphorae, inscriptions, homogenous fabrics and standard measurements. Especially the early Etruscan amphorae types are not

standardized.²⁶⁶⁴ They are labeled Etruscan amphorae because their manufacture cannot be attributed to specific sites in Etruria though Vulci and Caere are frequently implicated as major production centers.²⁶⁶⁵ Elite families seem to have been in control of their manufacture and of the collection of the processed crops and wine that were to be transported in them.²⁶⁶⁶ Therefore it seems that exchange, even of the agricultural, surplus production, was directed by the elite, as was the trade of luxury goods. By managing labor and exchange, the elite's hold on the increasingly more complex economy of Etruria had become considerable.

9Appropriation of wealth

The recurring theme of this chapter is that stable progress in production and demand in all its aspects, encouraged socioeconomic complexity. The economy became more differentiated while being controlled by an upper class that expanded their grip on daily life of those who depended on them. In comparison to other early civilizations, however, Etruria seems to lack economic appropriation by institutions. In most ancient civilizations, various institutions—like kings and sanctuaries—existed that actually owned large tracts of land.²⁶⁶⁷ Both are present in Etruria during the Orientalizing period but appear to develop weakly, probably due to the prevailing clan structure of society that resulted in patrician and eventually oligarchic arrangements. Institutions seem to have depended on these elite families and did not become economically independent. They could not appropriate enough resources to erect themselves as state institutions lasting monumental palaces and temples. Clans with their main lineages and leaders seem to have dominated socioeconomic conditions. Each key center housed several of these elite families, who managed to divide the available resources and their surplus yield. The appropriation of wealth in Etruria is primarily recorded for the upper class, or those who were striving to join them, and not by institutions.

The above sections illustrate that the privileged classes in Etruria managed to control surplus production more effectively and on a larger scale than ever before, eventually to such an extent that they could participate in an overseas long-distance trading network. The export of commodities from Etruria reflects the effective control over surplus production.²⁶⁶⁸ This scenario proves that the elite registered and directed overseas trade, partially by the establishment of *emporia*. In addition, overland exchange between the various centers remained essential and was managed by the upper classes as well, judging from the wealth deposited in a number of tombs at some secondary sites that were located at key positions within this trading network.

10 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter a divide was presented between the economies of:

1. The Early and Middle Orientalizing periods: 730–640/630 and
2. The Late Orientalizing period: 640/630–580.

The gradual shift between this divide is exemplified by the transition from huts to houses from around 640/630 onwards but can also be illustrated with some stylistic resemblances between ivory, gold and silver vessels from central Italy and beyond with their bucchero/ceramic counterparts. All vessels can be roughly dated to the first half of the seventh century. For most sites, the imitation of luxury goods in more common materials is recorded.

The increasing exploitation of available resources developed gradually, starting from patterns that became established during the eighth century. The economy remained largely landlocked though maritime trade was briefly explored, flourishing between 625 and 500.

The scale and differentiation of the economy in Etruria grew significantly. This is best reflected in the size and hierarchy of the settlements. Surveys have shown that the countryside around major Etruscan centers became more and more inhabited. Hierarchies of craft workers evolved as well with main differences between primary, secondary and tertiary settlements. Specialization was most advanced in the capitals of the rising city-states. For example, the demand for ceramics during the late seventh century probably established early nucleation of pottery workshops at key centers such as Veii, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Vetulonia. Nucleation of workshops encouraged full-time craft specialization in the main centers of power, and at some secondary sites as well, but not to the same extent.

Market conditions were more developed in the *emporia* along the coast for the management of exchange with overseas traders. Most domestic exchange was probably still by barter and took place within clans. Patron-client relations caused unbalanced reciprocity. Many farmers lived in or near the key centers. It is evident that they acquired progressively more products from workshops, which reflected growing interior markets. This is confirmed by the surveys in the hinterland of Caere, where various products from workshops were recovered in a rural setting.²⁶⁶⁹

Uncertainties remain about the economic role of war and of emerging institutions. It is probable that ongoing economic growth created opportunities for many and that enduring warfare was absent to some extent as long as the surrounding hinterland was not fully exploited and dominated. Institutions did expand during the late Orientalizing period, mainly in the form of elite practices, sanctuaries and trading settlements, but it seems that institutions were unable to appropriate economic resources themselves. Warfare, sanctuaries and trade were predominantly run by the leaders of various elite families, preventing the firm establishment of one lasting royal lineage per

city-state. These topics, however, fall outside the scope of this chapter.

Another issue that calls for a better understanding is internal exchange or domestic markets. How was trade in the “*better quality, mass-produced commodities*” organized in the rising city-states of Etruria? Specialization and more complex forms of production enhance socioeconomic interdependence. In addition, workshops ultimately require measures of weight and volume, units that are accountable. These units are so far hardly found in Etruria during the Orientalizing period. This implies that domestic markets were still poorly developed. Nonetheless, the resulting more complex levels of organization strengthened the position of the upper class, who were clearly in control of labor and thus the economic developments in Etruria.

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50 External Relationships, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: The Orientalizing phenomenon bases itself on the Etruscans' openness towards external influences. More than ever before, Etruria entered into a wider Mediterranean context of the circulation of goods, people and ideas, as well as relations with the Near East and Greece.

Furthermore, the extraordinary flourishing of Orientalizing Etruria became a point of reference for all regions of the peninsula and continental Europe where social hierarchization was beginning to arise. Almost all the Italic populations (the neighboring Latins, Falisci, Capenates, Sabines and Umbrians, the Picenians, the northern cultures of Golasecca and Este and indigenous centers of southern Italy), as well as those in continental Europe, received precious Etruscan status symbols for the local aristocracies. Through the Etruscans they also took Greek cultural models, like the centrality of the symposium, or the aristocratic ideal of war as a struggle between individual heroes riding on chariots. The cultural contacts were also favored by the movement of Etruscan people, responsible for the initiation of local artisan workshops as well as for the transmission of writing in many Italic areas. These relations were not unilateral: grave goods and epigraphy also show that the Etruscans received foreign objects and people.

This chapter presents a brief overview of these relationships and tries to highlight constant themes as well as differences.

Keywords: Relationship; Etruria; Italic populations; Etruscans and Europe

Introduction

The Orientalizing phenomenon was based on the Etruscans' openness to external influences within a wider Mediterranean context of the circulation of goods, people, and ideas. Near Eastern and Greek influences accelerated and shaped the processes of economic and social change that had begun to take place in Etruscan society already at end of the Early Iron Age.

Studies in recent decades have clearly established how the reception of external stimuli operated through a process of selection and creative reelaboration, attributing an ever more autonomous and increasingly active role to the Etruscans in the dialectic between the different ethno-cultural components.²⁶⁷⁰

Reevaluating the Etruscans' role also sheds new light on asymmetries that existed between Tyrrhenian cities in the acculturation process, with discontinuities linked to the establishment of preferential relations with various Greek components competing for the conquest of Western markets. At this point in time, some structural dynamics emerged that would affect the

subsequent course of Tyrrhenian history up through the crisis of the fifth century BCE.

1The Eastern Mediterranean

Until recently, research unequivocally interpreted the presence of Etruscan goods in Hellenic sanctuaries as offerings from Greeks returning from the Italian peninsula. Current studies argue that these goods are linked to aristocratic gift-giving and reflect the Etruscan communities' desire to assert themselves internationally.²⁶⁷¹

Between the late eighth and seventh centuries, such offerings are mostly represented by valuable bronze objects (helmets, shields, vases and thrones) identified in Etruria as symbols of rank (see [chapter 46](#) Micozzi). When such objects appear in the Italian peninsula or Transalpine Europe far from their production sites, they are universally interpreted as indicators of an Etruscan presence, or as ceremonial gifts with commercial implications. Their presence in Hellenic sanctuaries could thus correspond to the same logic of self-representation transferred into a sacred sphere and associated with the attendance at those sanctuaries by Etruscans or their intermediaries.

Studies from recent decades have shifted focus from the movement of commodities to the movement of people. On the basis of the proliferation of many handcraft activities (see [chapter 46](#) Micozzi), Near Eastern craftsmen seem to have had an extensive presence in Etruria, but, based on present knowledge, they do not seem to have left epigraphic or literary traces comparable to those of the Greeks. Certain Greeks in Etruria came directly from the upper (most probably literate) classes, as attested by Rutile Hipocrates of the Tumulus of the King in Tarquinia ([Fig. 47.2a](#)), and by Demaratus, who moved to Tarquinia in the first half of the seventh century, when the city became immersed in a cultural climate undoubtedly linked to Corinth.

2The Italian peninsula

The directions of Etruscan expansion into Campania, Emilia Romagna, and the central Adriatic coast (Fermo) indicate that, by the Early Iron Age, there was a broad interest in different parts of the peninsula. This is substantiated by Cato's (Serv. 11.567) and Livy's (1.2.5.33) assertions about the important role Etruscans played in pre-Roman Italy.

In the seventh century, the extraordinary flourishing of Orientalizing Etruria was unmatched elsewhere in the western Mediterranean and became a point of reference for all regions of the peninsula and continental Europe, where

social hierarchization was beginning to arise.

2.1 The neighboring populations: Latins, Faliscans, Capenates, Sabines and Umbrians

Relations with neighboring populations were characterized by mutual horizontal mobility—also documented in onomastics²⁶⁷²—and by zones of cultural osmosis in border areas.

The Faliscan and Capenate areas, already connected to Etruria by ancient tradition, together with Caere and Veii shaped a district with strong cultural ties that are evidenced by the circulation of vases, embossed bronzes, and other precious artifacts found in the grave goods emerging from Narce and Faleri (see [chapter 46](#) Micozzi). These relations involved people moving, for example, from Etruria to Narce, where Etruscophones were integrated into the local community,²⁶⁷³ ([Fig. 17.2](#)) and perhaps in the opposite direction, judging from the existence of Narce-style loculus tombs in the Caeretan necropolis of Poggio dell'Asino.²⁶⁷⁴

Veii, the Etruscan outpost on the Tiber, played a key role in relations between southern Etruria and Latin-speaking populations. Already at an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age, tombs of warriors appear in Latium (at Osteria dell'Osa, Decima, Rome and Velletri), distinguished by the presence of weapons and other rich grave goods clearly attributable to people of Etruscan origin, and probably from Veii, who were fully integrated into local society (see [chapter 79](#) Naso).²⁶⁷⁵

In the seventh century, some centers on the Latin side of the Tiber (Crustumium, Fidenae, Nomentum and Acqua Acetosa Laurentina) had mixed cultures, with evident Etruscan elements, but also Faliscan, Capenate and Sabine influences. Due to its strategic position, Crustumerium, a border town notably linked to Etruria by Pliny (*HN*52) and Festus (Paul. Fest., p. 55.12 L.) and which Plutarch defined as Sabine (*Rom.* 17.1), acted as a pole of attraction for different cultural components and certainly had contact with Etruscan people from Veii and Caere.²⁶⁷⁶



Fig. 50.1: Pyxis in “white-on-red” ware from Crustumerium, Monte del Bufalo, Tomb HI (after De Puma 2010)

This phenomenon regards both funerary architecture, dominated by the Veientan-Faliscan loculus type, and material culture. The latter distinguished itself, among other things, through the presence of a large group of red impasto vases with white-on-red decoration (Fig. 50.1), a decorative technique scarcely represented in Latium, but characteristic of the Caeretan and Faliscan territories. Alongside apparently imported examples, there are clearly recognizable local products, which have parallels in the Faliscan, Capenate and Veientan areas both through the morphological repertoire and through the decoration—largely modeled on that of incised and excised impasto vases. Yet these local products also refer to Caere in their adoption of the pyxis form and the figurative decoration of certain examples.²⁶⁷⁷

Relations between Caere and Latium are also well documented by gold work and other precious objects from Caeretan workshops found in certain tombs of Latium vetus (see chapters 46 Micozzi and 79 Naso). In particular, the tombs of Praeneste’s principes adhere to an Etruscan Orientalizing lifestyle and, combined with the widely discussed *vetusia* inscription from the Bernardini Tomb,²⁶⁷⁸ could suggest that the deceased were Etruscan. These tombs are certainly some of the best demonstrations of the relations between ruling classes involving the movement of luxury goods through the practice of

ceremonial gift-giving. From the Late Orientalizing period, this practice can be seen in religious spheres, as in the case of elaborate bucchero kylix dedicated by *Laris Velchaina* in the sanctuary of Satricum, and probably originating from Caere.²⁶⁷⁹ It was from Caere that proto-Corinthian ceramics arrived (perhaps via the sea), as well as their imitations present at Satricum and other sites on the coast of Latium. Perhaps through Praeneste, Caere received Picene goods similar to types well known in that Latin city, located at the mouth of one of the routes that ensured communication with the Adriatic coast byway of neighboring Italic populations.²⁶⁸⁰

The need to access routes to the Adriatic is one of the main reasons that relations developed between the Etruscans, Umbrians and Sabines. The accelerated social and cultural dynamics set in motion by these contacts were crucial to the ethnogenesis of the Umbrian nation, according to Mario Torelli.²⁶⁸¹

The phenomenon took place particularly early in the Terni basin, where, already in the eighth century, there was a large proto-urban conglomeration whose necropolis shows close relations with Southern Etruria and the Faliscan area.²⁶⁸² During the Orientalizing period, in all nodal points of the trans-Appennine routes—largely coinciding with the future courses of the Salaria and Flaminia—there are rich burials that show contacts with southern Etruria, the Faliscan-Capenate area and Latium Vetus on one side, and with the Adriatic on the other. The way is marked by the diffusion of southern Etruscan bronze shields (in Poggio Sommavilla, Terni, S. Anatolia di Narco, Colfiorito, Matelica, Pitino di San Severino, Fabriano and Verucchio), which corresponds to the presence and imitation of the characteristic biconicals with differentiated handles of the “Terni-type” in the Volsini area and the hinterland of Vulci.²⁶⁸³ At the southern tip of this system, Otricoli, the port on the Tiber of the Naharci (Umbrians), is both the probable provenance of the first Paleoumbrian inscription, as well as the radiation point towards the Adriatic of certain vase types (for example, biconicals and four-handled chalices) and decorative techniques.²⁶⁸⁴ At the mouth of the Umbrian Valley, the recent archaeological findings from Spoleto confirm the same culturally varied framework, but with clear Adriatic connotations in the tomb-type, enriched by northern Etruscan elements.²⁶⁸⁵ Further north, at Fabbrecce—near Città di Castello—a warrior’s tomb²⁶⁸⁶ similarly shows mixed characteristics—Picene in tomb- and weapon-types (especially the helmet with composite calotte); Faliscan-Capenate in impasto ceramics, and Vetulonian in the bronze vessels (Fig. 50.2), which feature two bronze handles with lions and lotus flowers from a well-known series of lebetes also present in Picenum (Ripatransone).²⁶⁸⁷



Fig. 50.2: Handle of pyxis/censer from Fabbrecce (after Lo Schiavo, Romualdi 2009)

The later Trestina complex²⁶⁸⁸ confirms that this area, at the confluence of the Nestore River and the Tiber, functioned as a crossroads. It contains some of the most exported Etruscan materials in the Adriatic area in the Late Orientalizing period. These include the “Rhodian” oinochoai (Campovalano, Montedinove, Annifo di Foligno and Fabriano)²⁶⁸⁹ and the amphorae with griffin-protome handles, which were also found in Belmonte Piceno and Pitino di San Severino (Fig. 50.3), and attributed to the late Orientalizing

workshops of Chiusi,²⁶⁹⁰ a center that played a major role in relations with the Adriatic coast in this period.



Fig. 50.3: Chiusi bronze-amphora from Pitino di San Severino, Monte Penna, Tomb 14 (after *Piceni, Popolo d'Europa*, Rome 1999)

2.2The Adriatic coast

Contact with the opposite coast constituted the main cause of prosperity, since the richest Picene burials of the Orientalizing period (Pitino, Fabriano and Matelica) are located at strategic points that controlled east-west routes.

Since the second half of the eighth century, elements of Eastern traditions penetrated the Tyrrhenian area from the Adriatic coast through these routes,²⁶⁹¹ while Picene centers received from Etruria weapons and bronze vessels, objects that were designed to act as status symbols in the tombs of the emerging aristocracy. At Matelica, for example, the shield from Tomb 77

Brecce is perhaps Veientan, and the bronze biconical vase from Passo Gabella is probably Vulcian.²⁶⁹² With regard to the eighth century, the recent findings from Matelica show a decisive influence from Veii. This influence was probably connected to relations between this southern Etruscan metropolis and the Villanovan enclaves of Fermo and Verucchio, the last of which likely provided the large quantity of amber (also in the form of the raw material) found in grave goods from Veii and Latium (see chapters 46 Micozzi and 76 von Eles).



Fig. 50.4: Silver comb fibula from Fabiano, S. Maria in Campo, Tomb 3 (after *Piceni, Popolo d'Europa*, Rome 1999)

Relations were further strengthened during the seventh century, which gave an undeniable Tyrrhenian imprint on the Picene Orientalizing period, despite the likely presence of direct contacts with Greece and the East.²⁶⁹³

The rising Picene classes assimilated a Tyrrhenian aristocratic lifestyle and assumed its cultural models, like banquets with related accoutrements and the constant deposition in tombs of status symbols like shields, scepters and weapons for parades, but especially the *currus*, which indicates an adherence to the heroic model of war as an individual struggle.



Fig. 50.5: Composite oinochoe from Pitino di San Severino, Monte Penna, Tomb 14
(after *Piceni, Popolo d'Europa*, Rome 1999)

Many of the luxury items found in the richest tombs came directly from Etruria. In Tomb 3 of Santa Maria in Campo at Fabriano,²⁶⁹⁴ a comb fibula (Fig. 50.4) and two silver kotylai are probably Caeretan imports, like the five bronze ribbed paterae. On the other hand, Vulci can be associated with the askos, the bronze biconical vase and, likely, with the decorated ostrich egg, which was originally mounted as a refined oinochoae. Similar oinochoai in mixed media were among the most appreciated valuables in Picenum, as shown by the two other examples from Pitino (Fig. 50.5) and Matelica.²⁶⁹⁵

Bronze tripods of Etruscan manufacture appear in prestigious grave goods from Matelica, Tolentino, Pitino and Cupra,²⁶⁹⁶ often in association with several varieties of situlae—including those of Kurd-type (Fabriano, Pitino, Matelica and Filottrano), perhaps a Vetulonian imitation of the Hallstattian prototypes,²⁶⁹⁷ and basins with embossed rim²⁶⁹⁸ that were probably made in Southern Etruria. Southern Etruria can be linked to the above-mentioned bronze shields from Fabriano, Pitino and Tolentino, which were considered status symbols and were therefore present in female burial contexts, as also seen in the Tyrrhenian area.²⁶⁹⁹ Among other weapons, helmets with a composite calotte, which can be compared to an example from the Tomb A of Casale Marittimo, and those with lateral knobs (Buckelhelme) show a marked relationship with northern Etruria. The latter are attributable to Vetulonia and northern Etruria in the early Orientalizing period and hereinafter are widely attested through variants along the Adriatic coast.²⁷⁰⁰ Sharing weapon-types is a qualifying characteristic of the relations between Northern Etruria and Picenum in the Orientalizing period, and likely implies some mobility on the part of warriors—and of workers active in this field—on both coasts. The warrior of the Vetulonian Circle of the Sphinxes, who wears the kardiorphylax, a characteristic feature of the Picene armour,²⁷⁰¹ may be an example of this trans-Appennine mobility, while the aforementioned Fabbrecce Tomb acts as an intermediary case.²⁷⁰²

Especially in the first phase of the Orientalizing period, Verucchio, an Etruscan frontier settlement in continuous contact with the Tyrrhenian,²⁷⁰³ played an important role in the transmission of cultural stimuli and Etruscan products in the Adriatic and trans-Adriatic area (see [chapter 76](#) von Eles). For example, the two Vetulonian tripods from Lippi Tomb 8, of a type also found in Bologna, Este and Novo Mesto ([Fig. 50.6](#)), suggest an alternative route for the arrival of this type of artifact in Slovenia (see [chapter 82](#) Tomedi). A variant of this type found at Oria in Apulia²⁷⁰⁴ may confirm the insertion of the tripods in a circum-Adriatic trade, of which Verucchio was one of the main pillars.

In the ripe Orientalizing period, the vitality of the routes connecting the southern Tiber Valley and Southern Etruria to Picenum is well attested by ceramic ware that acquired forms, techniques and decorative motifs of Faliscan-Capenate origin.²⁷⁰⁵ Picenum welcomed bronze workers from Southern Etruria who were skilled in toreutics (as seen in the small bronze ciste with zoomorphic decoration from Matelica)²⁷⁰⁶ and ivory work, an activity in which iconographic inspiration and stylistic inflections of different origins can be found.²⁷⁰⁷



Fig. 50.6: Bronze tripod from Novo Mesto (Slovenia) (photo A. Naso)

2.3The Northern Italy and Continental Europe

For most of the seventh century, before maritime trade reached the southern French coast in the Late Orientalizing period, Etruscan relations with continental Europe cannot be considered separately from Etruscan relations with the Venetic and Gola-secca cultures (see [chapter 81](#) Guggisberg), who controlled access roads to Alpine passes. Etruscan goods found north of the Alps also correspond with those present in these areas, which they likely reached by way of Etruscans of the Po Valley. Since Villanovan times, Bologna was an important manufacturing center that maintained close relations with northern cultures—reflected in its extensive and original craft production—and was also the hub of a dense trade network involving

products and cultural flux from the Italian peninsula northward and vice versa (see [chapter 75](#) Malnati).

In the seventh century, the Hallstatt area established a stable social hierarchy; grave goods in that period are particularly rich, ideologically modeled after those of the central Italian elite (especially with regard to the banquet's centrality and the frequent presence of chariots), but rarely include imported objects. When grave goods have been found that were imported, they consist mostly of Vetulonian bronzes, concentrated in eastern France and western Germany—to Appenwihr in Alsace (pyxis/ censer and ribbed bowl), Frankfurt-Stadtwald, Poiseul-la-Ville and Lyon (ribbed bowls)²⁷⁰⁸ (see [chapter 83](#) Baitinger).

These prestigious objects moved within a narrow circuit of relations between members of emerging elites. This is indicated by bronze vessels (especially situlae)²⁷⁰⁹ and horse harnesses from Central Europe which were found in aristocratic tombs in Este, Bologna, Vetulonia, Tarquinia, Bisenzio and Verucchio,²⁷¹⁰ and by the large amounts of Baltic amber in Etruria. During the Early and Middle Orientalizing periods, thanks to the reinforced connections with Bologna, Vetulonia assumed a major role in relations with the Hallstatt area, from which it received products and, most likely, artisans who were active in the thriving local bronze production (see [chapter 46](#) Micozzi), which impartially furnished burials for Celtic princes and Greek sanctuaries.²⁷¹¹ In Hallstattian Europe, burial customs, techniques and ornamental repertoire— particularly in metal working²⁷¹²—all document more intensive and continuous relations than appear from the scarcity of original Etruscan goods. The situation suggests that people also moved northward, probably as a result of commercial interests that are not archaeologically detectable.²⁷¹³

This phenomenon is particularly evident in the Eastern Hallstatt world, but it amplifies a situation also found on the other side of the Alps.

Already in the eighth century, the territory of Venetic culture shows great openness to the neighboring Villanovan area around Bologna, through which Tyrrhenian cultural models and products were also transmitted.²⁷¹⁴ In the Orientalizing period, the adoption of an aristocratic Etruscan lifestyle went hand in hand with the formation of a local aristocratic class that maintained relations with Etruria. Vetulonia furnished ornaments and precious bronzes intended for symposia, such as the tripod of Pelà Tomb 49 and a ribbed bowl of unknown provenance.²⁷¹⁵ Rather than through the exchange of goods, however, these aristocratic relations are proven by the reproduction of funerary customs, like the sumptuous ornaments in female graves, and references to the aristocratic ideals of the symposium, and those of hunting and war in male graves. Examples of small figured votive bronzes from Luzzo and Verona indicate that this confluence of styles was also caused by people moving from northern Etruria.²⁷¹⁶ Artisans from that area certainly contributed to the formation of the composite stylistic, figurative language of



Fig. 50.7: Bronze bowl from the Tomba del Carrettino, Como (after Camporeale 2001)

Even in the centers of Golasecca culture, in Lombardy and southern Piedmont, the hierarchical structuring of society accelerated hand in hand with the wealth resulting from the control of ancient trade routes going to the San Bernardino and Gotthard crossings. This hierarchical organization manifested itself by the late eighth century and over the course of the seventh with the emergence—first in Como’s necropolis—of tombs of rank with goods imported from Central Italy, among which were the stamped bronzes of Vetulonia, which evidently arrived via the Po Valley (Fig. 50.7).²⁷¹⁸ In the seventh century, Tyrrhenian influences—including the acquisition of writing—seem to have had preferential ties with centers of the western district, like Golasecca, Sesto Calende and Castelletto Ticino. This phenomenon probably coincided with the waning of Bologna’s intermediary role and the exploitation of an alternative route from the Ligurian coast to the Apennine passes and beyond and as far as the Tanaro River.²⁷¹⁹

During the seventh century, a number of ports on the Ligurian coast testify

to the new importance of maritime relations for the local people.²⁷²⁰ The oldest such port was certainly Chiavari, where the necropolis attests a particular facies of the Golasecca culture, permeated by elements from northern Etruria. Local grave goods precociously received also southern Etruscan imports,²⁷²¹ perhaps through the same sea route that led Greek and colonial ware to the Versilia (Tuscany) at San Rocchino and Baccatoio di Pietrasanta.²⁷²²

Beginning in the late seventh century, Genoa's role became predominant, both with regard to the amplitude of maritime contacts and to the control of important routes to the hinterland.²⁷²³

Along the northern border of Etruria, as in the southern and eastern borders, cultural osmosis linked Versilia and Eastern Liguria, which created a sort of integrated territorial compartment where Pisa's hegemony gradually grew.²⁷²⁴

2.4 Southern Italy and Sicily

Relations with the southernmost regions of the peninsula and Sicily were evidently influenced by two main factors that affected these areas in antiquity: Greek colonization and the presence of large Etruscanized areas in Campania (see chapters 73 Cin-quantaquattro and Pellegrino, 74 Bellelli).

Relations with the oldest colonial settlements in Campania—and the decisive role they had in the manifestation of the Orientalizing phenomenon—extend beyond the limits of this chapter. It is clear, however, that these relations were not unilateral, as demonstrated by Etruscan materials found in Pithecusan tombs, and in even greater quantities in high-ranking tombs of Cumae. These grave goods attest to an inter-ethnic solidarity between the ruling classes, expressed by shared tastes, values and status symbols, that were the primary cause of the contemporaneous diffusion of the Orientalizing phase in the Italian peninsula.



Fig. 50.8: Heron plates from Eloro (after *Sicilia archeologica*)

Seventh century Etruscan artifacts have also emerged in those indigenous centers of Campania, Basilicata and Puglia which already fostered close ties

with the main Greek poleis (see [chapter 80](#) Tagliamonte). These include bronzes destined for symposiums (ribbed bowls, basins, oinochoai),²⁷²⁵ most likely distributed by—if not produced in²⁷²⁶—Etruscan towns in Campania. These were luxury gifts for local aristocracies that do not pinpoint organized trade routes, but follow the ways of “gift-exchange,” a practice whose economic implications are certain.

Etruscan interest in Sicily, on the other hand, was mainly due to its position along trade routes with the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. The rare Etruscan artifacts present on the island between the late eighth and seventh centuries—mostly pottery fragments (sub-geometric, impasto and bucchero ware) and a few bronze bowls with beaded rims—are commonly considered goods brought by the Greeks and Phoenicians returning from Etruria (see [chapter 85](#) Albanese Procelli).²⁷²⁷ Therefore, artifacts of unmistakable Caeretan origin, like the plates with herons (in Syracuse, Eloro and Gela) (Fig. 50.8), are of particularly importance. They were rarely exported outside of the areas surrounding Veii and Caere, except to coastal sites (Pontecagnano and Sicily) that mark Caere’s early interest in long distance routes, which partially corresponds with the one taken by Aristonothos from Greece to Caere in the mid seventh century. This interest is confirmed by the strong Caeretan connotation of the most ancient Etruscan artifacts found in North Africa (see [chapter 88](#) Naso).²⁷²⁸

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IV. Civilization

Archaic and Classical periods

Nigel Spivey and Maurizio Harari

51Archaic and Late Archaic Art, 580–450 BCE

Abstract: Thanks to the influx of craftsmen from Ionia, the art of Etruria in the Archaic period was shaped by a strong East Greek influence. The impact of both style and subject can be seen in black-figure vases produced in Caere and Vulci, in the painted tombs of Tarquinia, and in funerary sculpture at Chiusi and Vulci. By contrast, the use of terracotta in the design and decoration of temples in archaic Etruria was a distinctive local development (NS).

The first fifty years of the fifth century began what has been described as an “age of crisis,” which affected not just Etruscan civilization but all the pre-Roman groups of Italy. This period is referred to as a crisis because of political and social instability (the West was also marked by the great conflict between the Greeks and the barbarians, and Rome itself dramatically experienced strong class tensions) and, regarding the archaeological record, because of the scarcity of burials. The lack of burial evidence makes it problematic for us to define clear chronological phases, and this scarcity is at least partly attributable to rules against luxury, such as those included in the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables.

The naval battle of Cumae (474), when for the first time an Etruscan fleet (supposedly from Caere) was unequivocally and irrevocably defeated by the Greeks (from Syracuse), seemed to the ancient historical tradition (Diod. Sic. 11.51)—as well as to many modern commentators—to mark the end of an Etruscan thalassocracy on the northern Tyrrhenian Sea. Over time, one of the consequences of these events—a consequence that cannot be detected in the archaeological record prior to the final decades of the century—was a clear decrease in the distribution of Attic pottery to the coastal towns of southern Etruria and, more generally, their marked economic decline in this period, whereas the northern and inland areas flourished as far as the Adriatic ports of the Po Valley.

Therefore, when we speak of a crisis in the fifth century, we must clearly distinguish the second half of the century from the first. We should also always be aware of the contexts of particular examples: although Caere or Vulci seem, to some extent, to have been declining, other places, with different modalities, in areas such as the Tiber Valley (from Chiusi to Orvieto) and the Po Valley (Spina and other cities) were growing (MH).

Keywords: Funerary painting, funerary sculpture, architecture, Micali Painter

1Archaic Art, 580–500

Nigel Spivey

1.1Introduction

For modern viewers, the art of Etruria in the Archaic period often serves to epitomize Etruscan cultural identity as a whole. Some of the best-known wall paintings at Tarquinia—the Tomb of the Augurs (Tomba degli Auguri), the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (Tomba della Caccia e Pesca), the Tomb of the Bulls (Tomba dei Tori)—belong to this period; so too such “iconic” terracotta sculptures as the “Sarcophagus of the Married Couple”, from Cerveteri, and the “Apollo of Veii”. Indeed, it was a cardinal moment in the modern reception of the Etruscans when in May 1916, the latter figure was recovered, almost intact, from the site of the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii. It was a statue whose fluid confidence of posture and presence was coincidentally attuned to a burgeoning twentieth-century preference for the relatively simple lines and forms of “primitive,” pre-Classical art (Fig. 51.1).



Fig. 51.1: Apollo of Veii, c. 510 BCE. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum (Photo SAR-Laz)

And yet archaic Etruscan art is a hybrid creation. Its patrons, we have no doubt, were the ruling families of more or less urbanized settlements throughout Etruria, but particularly along the Tyrrhenian coastline. The artists, however, are not so readily identified, either by their social status or by their ethnic type. If features of style and technique equate to signatures, then it would appear that much of the imagery we have recovered from archaic Etruria was produced by Greeks—and more specifically, by Greeks from the region once known as Ionia. Before we describe any of these images, it is necessary to sketch the background of geopolitical change across the Mediterranean during the sixth century BCE.

People speaking the Ionic dialect of Greek had established themselves on the shores of Asia Minor during the flux of migrations in the late Bronze and early Iron Age. Linguistically, these people related to Greeks in Attica, Euboea, and the Cyclades; culturally, their center was the island of Delos, sacred to Apollo. During the eighth and seventh centuries, this area gave rise not only to the epic tradition of Greek literature (including the works of Homer), but also Greek literacy, and the Greek philosophical venture of rational enquiry. But Ionia was dangerously close to the expanding Persian empire. The reign of Cyrus the Great (559–529) extended Persian power as far as the Hellespont; almost a century of outright Greek-Persian hostilities ensued, as we know from the narratives of the Ionian Herodotus.



Fig. 51.2: Detail of a late sixth-century BCE marble sarcophagus found at Gümüşçay, in western Turkey. Çannakale Museum (Photo N. Spivey)

Persian conquest was not the end of Greek presence in Asia Minor—as long as regular tributes were collected, Persian royalty was content to delegate authority— but Herodotus plausibly reports waves of emigration westwards, for example, from Phocaea, when besieged by the Persians in 540. To visit Phocaea today (Turkish Foça, to the north of Izmir) is to find a somewhat desolate former fishing village, with scarcely any ancient ruins. Its ancient inhabitants, however, were dynamic seafarers—the original colonists of Marseilles (Massalia), and pioneers of Greek trade with Corsica and the Iberian Peninsula—even before the Persians arrived. Herodotus (1.165–6) mentions an unhappy episode of rough justice between Phocaeans and Etruscans on the shore of Agylla, the port of Cerveteri (Caere). But this

cannot typify the historical process of the Archaic period. Greeks from Ionia appear to have been welcomed in Etruria; or, to put it another way, they seem at least to have left their mark as *émigré* artisans.²⁷²⁹

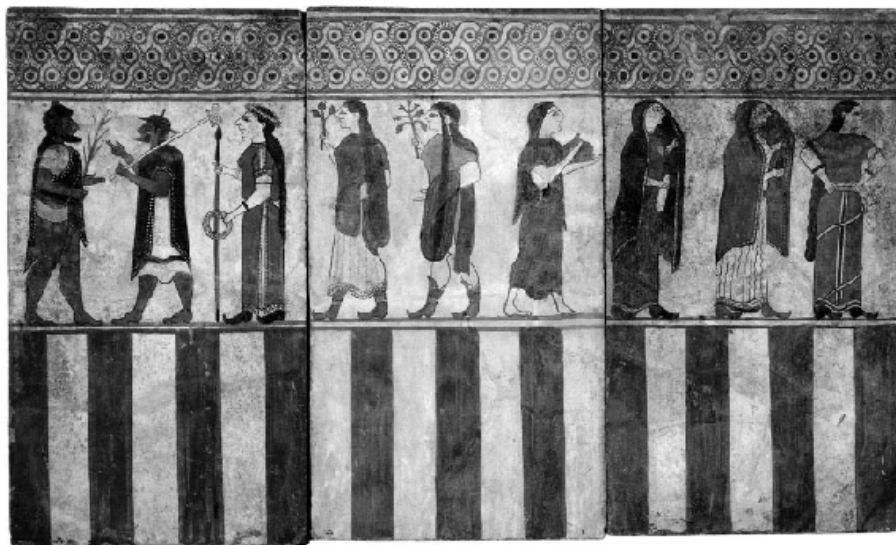


Fig. 51.3: Detail of the so-called “Boccanera slabs”—painted terracotta plaques from the Banditaccia cemetery, Cerveteri. Mid sixth century BCE. London, British Museum (Photo N. Spivey)

The East Greek style is typified by a detail of a sarcophagus found in the Troad region in 1994 ((Fig. 51.2). A woman makes a gesture evident of grief and shock, raising her arms to her head. The mix of frontal and sideways view is characteristic of archaic art; more specific to the region, however, are the features of the face, with its “flying profile” of forehead and nose, lips curved as if in a smile, and slanting, fronton eyes. Compare this figure with a trio of females depicted upon a set of terracotta slabs from Cerveteri (Fig. 51.3). They may belong, as it were, to the same world. A scene of the sacrifice of Polyxena, and perhaps the Judgment of Paris—the subjects of the sarcophagus relief and the painted plaques respectively appear to include narratives that relate to Greek mythology, in particular to the epic cycle connected with the Trojan War. Their kinship of style, however, suggests more than just a shared stock of stories. A diaspora of artistic talent is implied.²⁷³⁰

1.2 Painting and sculpture

Among the East Greek artists who seem to have settled in south Etruria during the Archaic period are the painters (arguably a pair) who produced the so-called “Caere-tan hydriai,” a series of lively black-figure vessels that

represent a variety of generic and mythological scenes.²⁷³¹ Such vases supplied the needs of Etruscan aristocrats conducting the formalities of communal drinking, and may have complemented the rhapsodic entertainment offered at such occasions. Were poems about the wrath of Achilles or the labors of Herakles sung in Etruscan? While we lack substantial evidence for that process of literary translation and adoption, the iconographic record points to a process of creative fusion by both indigenous and immigrant artists. It is most telling in the development of subterranean wall-painting, as preserved by the funerary customs at certain Etruscan centers—particularly Tarquinia, where a small but significant proportion (estimated at 2–3 percent) of the city’s rock-carved tombs were layered on the interior with a light plaster and then painted.

Structurally, these tombs appear imitative of domestic architecture, with doorways, couches, and mock tectonic features such as beams and sloped roofs. It is not clear, however, how far their decoration mirrors the interior of houses, “palatial” as they might have been. Elements of the imagery—for example, checkered patterns across a ceiling—suggest the influence or model of textile hangings. It may be that certain paintings evoke tents and parasols, perhaps temporarily erected for funerary or other ceremonies. There are also references to landscape and views of outdoor activity, for example, in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing which depicts a charmingly out-of-scale idyll showing several youths fishing at sea, while another shoots at birds with a sling. The cultural *milieu* of the period extends beyond Etruria, and beyond Italy. Prominent on the far wall of the Tomb of the Bulls is a scene that can only be explained by “insider knowledge” of epic poetry from east Greece. It represents a subplot of the war at Troy, as the young Trojan prince Troilus steers his horse towards a fountain, where Achilles is lurking with murderous intent. An erotic twist to that story—according to one version, Troilus and Achilles were lovers—may help to explain the images of copulation painted in the register above.²⁷³²

It is natural enough to search the imagery of these tombs for clues to Etruscan beliefs about the afterlife. By scholarly tradition, the paintings that belong to the Archaic period are broadly characterized by their celebratory—even cheerful—aspect. The demons and stricken victims represented in later tomb-paintings (see [chapter 63](#) Gilotta) are absent; instead, scenes of feasting, dancing, athletics and other games prevail. Whether such pictures reflect the “lifestyle” of the deceased, the occasion of a funeral, or the imagined bliss of some posthumous existence, they appear equally charged with vital energy, a gift to those moderns (e.g., notoriously, D.H. Lawrence) who would romanticize the Etruscans. Conventions of style play their part in giving this impression—parallels, then, for an exaggerated arm and leg postures of revelers shown on the “Fikellura” painted pottery from Ionia—but we should absorb significant aspects of scene-setting here. Specific allusions are made to the formalities of ceremonial drinking, such as the capacious bowl for the

mixing of wine and water, garlanded with foliage appropriate to the god Dionysos, and the proper jug (*oinochoe*) for pouring the diluted wine; also to the lyre—the *kithara*, equally suitable for accompaniment to poetic recitation as to dancing—and the double-pipe (Colour plates 27–29). It is likely, in view of such formalities, that artists from the eastern Mediterranean offered fresh modes of imaginative expression to local funerary customs. If, as we presume, the tomb paintings relate essentially to the institution of worshipping family ancestors, then it would be plausible to invoke not only Dionysiac or Orphic beliefs about rebirth and renewal, but also the cult of heroes. So the pseudo-regal splendor of a reclining male figure conspicuous in the same tomb (Colour plate 30) probably signifies the deceased as an aggrandized person due familial veneration; it is tempting to suppose that the way in which he is shown holding an egg has, in this context, some mystic importance.

Even with the benefit of literary sources from Greece and Rome—some of them alluding directly to the Etruscans—it remains difficult to expand on such vague interpretative phrases as “*some mystic importance*.” Evidence from the post-Archaic period indicates that the cult of Dionysos (“Bacchus” to the Romans; “Fufluns” in Etruscan), diffused from the eastern Mediterranean, was widely established in Italy. But its attendant beliefs about the afterlife, and those entailed by the related cult of Orpheus, are necessarily obscure, for these were “mystery religions” whose initiates kept to measures of secrecy. So we are left to make rather bland observations about the imagery of these archaic paintings, and rely upon comparative references for comprehension. In the Tomb of the Augurs, we interpret as an augur or *haruspex* one bearded figure carrying a curved staff, possibly gesturing towards birds in flight; close by are two hefty wrestlers, presumably contending for metal cauldrons as prizes at funerary games. Then comes a masked figure that appears to be goading a leashed mastiff to attack a man armed with a club, yet hampered by a sack over his head (Colour plates 17–19). Since ancient authors suggest that gladiatorial combat had its origin in Etruscan funeral ceremonies, we speculate that some form of scapegoat punishment is being depicted here.²⁷³³

Funerary sculpture of the Archaic period shares features of style and subject with the tomb paintings. Around the middle of the sixth century, the production of relief-carved sarcophagi began at Chiusi, and images on these limestone containers repeatedly evoke the practice or pretensions of aristocratic/heroic feasting, chariot racing, and so on.²⁷³⁴ Further south, sculptural elaboration of sarcophagus lids took new forms. Only intuition tells us that the couple represented on the lid of a famous Caeretan sarcophagus are conjugal, but their rendition is certainly harmonious, and the sculptor has succeeded in modeling the pair so that their bodies merge convincingly as if on a banqueting couch, even though the position of the bodies, and their relative scale, defies the laws of nature (Fig. 51.4). Similar (and less accomplished) pieces indicate that both figures originally held separately fashioned objects—the male perhaps an egg, his partner perhaps a small flask

and a pomegranate.



Fig. 51.4: Detail of the “Sarcophagus of the Married Couple” from Cerveteri, late sixth century BCE. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum (Photo SAR-Laz)

Finished with paint, the medium of terracotta for life-sized or near-life-sized statuary was one that became something of a regional specialty during the sixth century. Soft volcanic stone was also exploited, as testified by a series of figures from the cemeteries at Vulci and elsewhere inland.²⁷³⁵ These appear to have been placed as markers to tombs, and their range includes types appropriate as sentinels: sphinxes, rams, and big cats. More unusual, the image of a boy astride a hippocamp (Fig. 51.5) may demand a more committed symbolic interpretation. Does it represent the journey from this world to the next?



Fig. 51.5: *Nenfro* figure of boy astride a hippocamp, from Vulci, c. 520 BCE. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum (Photo SAR-Laz)

Tombs were, of course, furnished with items once held precious in life, and conceivably deemed useful in death. Many of these items may have been made of metal—jewelry, weapons, vessels and utensils—of which most have not survived depredation; a considerable quantity was made up of imported *objets d'art*. The fact that thousands upon thousands of painted vases survive from ancient Greece, mainly Athens, is directly accounted for by the collecting habits of Etruscans. Often decorated (and inscribed) to encourage the recall of Homer and other sources of Greek mythology and cosmology, these vases demanded some erudition from their owners. Some comparable scenes of myth were attempted by local practitioners of the potter's art, but generally Etruscan vase-painters were content to produce images loosely associated with Dionysiac cult. The beginning of the Archaic period saw an end to the influence of Corinthian style on Etruscan pottery, and the development of certain local, even individualized styles. One sixth-century artist identified by the process of attribution is the so-called Micali Painter, probably based at Vulci. Seemingly illiterate, his output is stocked with a variety of fantastic creatures—sirens, sphinxes, centaurs, satyrs and so on—

but he also produced scenes that may be derived from local festivals. A vigorous vignette of two pairs of dancers shaking to the sound of their castanets (Fig. 51.6) suggests direct observation, though we may note the abbreviated foreheads and mixed frontal/sideways view characteristic of Ionic influence.²⁷³⁶



Fig. 51.6: Details of a black-figure amphora attributed to the Micali Painter, from Vulci, c. 520 BCE. London, British Museum (Photo N. Spivey)

1.3Architecture

It is on the large scale, however, that art most conspicuously flourished in sixth-century Etruria, for, as in Greece, this was a period of monumental development in cities and their sanctuaries. Oligarchic or tyrannical constitutions required grandiose residences and meeting-places for the ruling elite, while sanctuaries competed one with another to attract pilgrims and dedications. And where rulers assumed their right to rule as divinely given, the distinction between grandiose residence, meeting place and temple might consequently have become hard to draw. Such is the categorical problem left by the site of Murlo (Poggio Civitate), in the Tuscan hills. Archaeologically, Murlo is unusual insofar as it was abandoned already by the end of the sixth century, and left undisturbed until modern times. This ought to favor the archaeologists, but defining the purpose of structures brought to light at Murlo is a challenge. The principal building was an ample, partly colonnaded courtyard enclosure, whose rooftops were decorated with a variety of akroterial terracotta statues, including some enthroned figures with

extravagant wide-brimmed headgear, and a large sphinx. Along the interior wall of this enclosure ran a series of terracotta friezes, with relief representations of activities that seem descriptive of elite status, including banquets, music, hunting and equestrian displays, processions and prize items. But the friezes may also show some sort of assembly of deities. Generically such friezes are known to have been suitable for display on temples, not only at other Etruscan, but also various central Italian sites. So while the layout of the court building at Murlo may be supposed a “palace,” its decoration indicates a religious function as well.²⁷³⁷

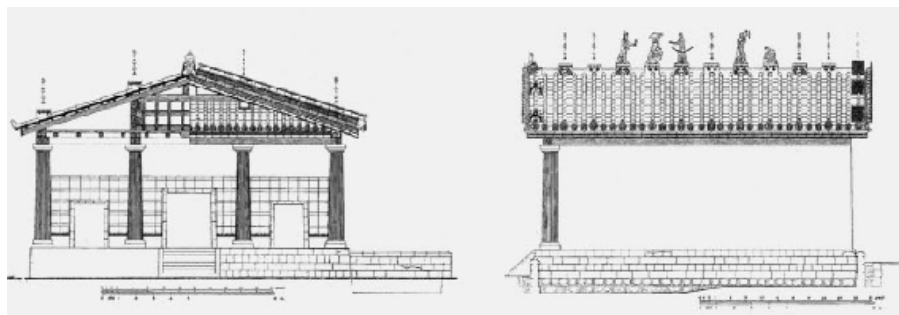


Fig. 51.7: Reconstruction of the Portonaccio temple at Veii (c. 510 BCE). (After NS1953)

The design of temples in archaic Etruria became sufficiently distinctive, such that it was eventually recognized by a Roman architectural historian (Vitruvius) as a “Tuscan order.” Simple and non-canonical by comparison to the Greek Doric order, with unfluted columns rather obviously (for Vitruvius) derived from tree trunks, it gave temples a quadrangular aspect, the approach marked by steps up to a porticoed porch, beyond which were three doors leading to a triple-chambered cella. The Romans understood that artists from “all over Etruria” came together to create the archetypal temple on Rome’s Capitoline hill, dedicated to the “Capitoline triad,” Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, as enshrined during the century or so that the Etruscan dynasty of the Tarquins ruled at Rome (around 616–509). Central to “the great Rome of the Tarquins,” *la grande Roma dei Tarquinii*, this temple hosted three leading deities of the Greek pantheon—Zeus, Hera, and Athena—by way of their Etruscan equivalents, Tinia, Uni, Menerva. It overlooked a forum-area first paved during the same period of Etruscan rule, and the Tarquins appear to have sponsored other areas of monumental development, notably, the sanctuary of Sant’Omobono by the banks of the Tiber.

But the prime example of Etruscan sacred architecture in the Archaic period is the Portonaccio temple at Veii. Reconstructed as it probably appeared in around 510 (Fig. 51.7), the edifice could never have been mistaken for a Greek temple, and yet its decoration cannot be understood without the framework of Greek theology and mythology. The roof was set at

a low sloping angle, making it almost impossible to place any sculptural decoration in the pediments. As if by way of compensation, large saddle tiles were placed over the central ridge-pole, to carry “life-sized” terracotta figures of supernatural beings: Apollo, Hermes, Herakles and (probably) Apollo’s mother Leto, nursing her infant son.²⁷³⁸ Dedications associated with the altar of the temple suggest that the presiding deity was Menevra-Athena, in her warlike aspect; we cannot be sure how the figures on the rooftop—best appreciated by viewers approaching laterally—composed a narrative relative to the cult practice here. But the statues played out a tableau whose backdrop was the heavens—an installation eminently suited to the subject, and perfectly placed to display the virtues of Etrusco-Ionic style: fluency, grace, and simplicity of line.

2Late Archaic art, 500–450

Maurizio Harari

2.1Introduction: the so-called crisis of the fifth century

The first fifty years of the fifth century began what has been described as an “age of crisis,” which affected not just Etruscan civilization but all the pre-Roman groups of Italy.²⁷³⁹ This period is referred to as a crisis because of political and social instability (the West was also marked by the great conflict between the Greeks and the barbarians, and Rome itself dramatically experienced strong class tensions) and, regarding the archaeological record, because of the scarcity of burials. The lack of burial evidence makes it problematic for us to define clear chronological phases, and this scarcity is at least partly attributable to rules against luxury, such as those included in the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables.²⁷⁴⁰

The naval battle of Cumae (474), when for the first time an Etruscan fleet (supposedly from Caere) was unequivocally and irrevocably defeated by the Greeks (from Syracuse), seemed to the ancient historical tradition (Diod. Sic. 11.51)—as well as to many modern commentators—to mark the end of an Etruscan thalassocracy on the northern Tyrrhenian Sea. Over time, one of the consequences of these events—a consequence that cannot be detected in the archaeological record prior to the final decades of the century—was a clear decrease in the distribution of Attic pottery to the coastal towns of southern Etruria and, more generally, their marked economic decline in this period, whereas the northern and inland areas flourished as far as the Adriatic ports of the Po Valley.²⁷⁴¹

Therefore, when we speak of a crisis in the fifth century, we must clearly distinguish the second half of the century from the first. We should also always be aware of the contexts of particular examples: although Caere or Vulci seem, to some extent, to have been declining, other places, with different modalities, in areas such as the Tiber Valley (from Chiusi to Orvieto) and the Po Valley (Spina and other cities) were growing.

Concerning the years 500–450, any attempt to reconstruct a historical and artistic summary has to engage with a reality which, in the terminology of Greek styles, oscillates between the “Archaic” and “Classical” but cannot comfortably be associated with the term “Severe,” which should indicate just this moment of transition. Otto Brendel preferred to speak of a “Late Archaic” period (instead of Early Classical) to characterize the years 500–470, in order to emphasize what we may refer to as a development syncope in which the Etruscan artistic language incorporated some of the new ideas of Early Classical Greek art but never completely abandoned its Archaic traditions.²⁷⁴²

At the beginning of the fifth century, if we look at the central places of Greek innovation, the peripheral nature of Etrurian art can be described as becoming increasingly detached from the figural tradition of East Greece—including areas such as Phocaea, Miletus, and Samos—which until that time had been sufficient for expressing the luxury and elegance of the local aristocracy. From 500 onward, however, and in terms of sources of inspiration for the iconographic and stylistic choices, the *cité des images* was Athens,²⁷⁴³ a shift which is evidenced by the presence of Attic red-figure pottery on the Etruscan market, which was so appreciated and so systematically spread that it came to constitute a kind of monopoly.

It remains the case, however, that we cannot know with any certainty the precise nature of the goods traded and exported to Greece—in all probability metals and grains—or the nationality of the marine traders. It seems that these people were not necessarily always Athenians, as is suggested by the case of Sostratus, the ship owner from Aegina who is mentioned by Herodotus (4.152) and was the author of the famous votive dedicatory inscription of an anchor at Graviscae (Fig. 35.12).²⁷⁴⁴ It has been recognized that commercial activities originating in Aegina played a significant role in the framework of Etruscan Italy between the sixth and fifth centuries also on the Adriatic coast, in the two ports of the Po delta (Adria and Spina); and a possible influence of the prestigious Aeginetan school of sculpture has been cautiously suggested for some bronze figurines produced in the workshops of northern Etruria and the Po Valley.²⁷⁴⁵

Although it is obviously not possible for us to know the identity of the protagonists involved in these exchanges, it is important for art historians to recognize and consider the eminently pottery-based transmission of the models. As Brendel remarked, it is very difficult for us to understand how it would be possible for the great Attic or Argive bronzes to have reached Tyrrhenian Italy.²⁷⁴⁶ This means that the local artists—except in the rare

cases where they may have had some international training or may have travelled to Greece—would not always have been able to follow and so imitate the latest developments in Greek sculpture. Therefore, we have to assume that their knowledge of such pieces (which they would not have been able to analyse directly via observation of the original works) could have come almost exclusively through their translation in paintings or, simplified, through their representations on vases. As a result, the Attic red-figure pottery of the period immediately after Euphronios (with the products of the Sub-Archaic and Severe masters, which are well attested in funerary furnishings of southern Etruria) must be considered the basic reference points for a correct historical interpretation of Etruscan art in the first half of the fifth century.

A parallel from the study of the indigenous pottery production confirms this assumption. In the Vulci series—which starts with the Micali Painter and his pupils (in black figures), continues with the Group of Praxias (decorated in superposed color), and concludes with the beginning of new workshops in the Tiber Valley (both in superposed color and in red-figure)—it is possible to observe a unique continuum which is characterized by an ever-increasing dependence on and imitation of Attic models.²⁷⁴⁷

2.2 Painting

Within the context of the major arts, the effects of the dynamic role of Attic pottery production can be most clearly recognized in the wall paintings of the tombs of the Tarquinia elite which—despite the crisis—make a continuous, consistent series of monuments, as is unusual in Etruria. The primary effect of this Attic influence is iconographic, but it influences organization of the thematic choices and their relationship with the architectural (and symbolic) space of the burial chamber. The Greek *symposion*, where guests had to drink mixed—never unmixed—wine while reclining on *klinai*, had been seen for more than a century and a half as indicative of high manners, and as an appropriate lifestyle for the aristocracy, and so was used as the main subject of Etruscan painting. Such drinking scenes are represented on the side walls as well as on the back wall and in the main spaces as much as in the pseudo-tympanum.

We may consider the case of the tomba delle Bighe (Tomb of the Chariots), which dates to around 490 or shortly thereafter.²⁷⁴⁸ In this case the simplified and amplified image of a pair of symposiasts, placed either side of the krater, and the two *paides* who serve them, are accompanied within the back tympanum by the sequence of three *klinai* in the corresponding lower register and by a *kylikeion* (cupboard) which borders in the right wall. The Greek *symposion*, evoked here by constant and insistent references to schemata widely depicted on Attic pottery in the late sixth and early fifth century, is not, however, represented as a realistic description of an actual ceremonial event,

which may also be said of the dance scenes played out among slender trees and depicted on the side walls. The function of these images is symbolic. They are indirect replacements for those who are no longer visibly present (the deceased), and are visual markers of their social prestige. The same can be said about the lower frieze depicting *athla* (exercises of fighting and boxing, gymnasium scenes, a parade of chariots) attended by spectators arranged in two levels on little stands. Even though the scene is contaminated by the presence of jugglers and pantomime figures according to local tastes, these are, in fact, images of Greek athletic *paideia*. In the same sense, the ostentatious displays of pederastic affections located in the lowest rank of the stands originate from the educational models present in Athenian society and follow well-known models of Attic vase-painting dated to the beginning of the century.

A second aspect of this process of Attic influence, recognizable on a stylistic level, is clearly illustrated by the paintings at the Tomb of the Chariots, where all the characters, as has been very well said, “seem to come from the album of an Attic vase painter of the first two decades of the century, from the Painter of Kleophrades to Makron, from the Berlin Painter to Brygos.”²⁷⁴⁹ In particular, in the case of the small frieze of *athla*, the joyous display of cleverly varied and overlapping anatomical images, created by the Etruscan author of the fresco would have required a careful and updated study of Athenian vase painting.

The Tomba del Triclinio (Tomb of the Triclinium),²⁷⁵⁰ although slightly more recent, already shows a clearly perceptible trend toward a mannerist standardization of this iconographical system, which is quite elegantly executed, but without the same sense of enthusiasm or experimentation (Colour plate 39). On the sides, again, young men and women play and dance in a grove, and on the back wall is the banquet scene (depicting two married couples in profile on their *klinai*, with a third bed askew), which is dominated in the tympanum by a striking trophy of corymbes (clusters of berries typical of ivy) and ivy which seems to be growing between two half-reclining young men and exuberantly intruding into the space of the pseudo-ridgepole. On the entrance wall, an ivy branch is depicted between two panthers—a revival of a typical iconographic motif of the previous century—while at the sides of the door two young men dismount a horse.²⁷⁵¹

The long discussion on the significance of the Tarquinian paintings—as realistic rather than eschatological, or vice versa—has now given way to other, more convincing, functional readings of visual pathways within these highly symbolic areas, such as tombs²⁷⁵². It has become clear that, throughout the first half of the fifth century, and shortly thereafter, the burial chamber came to be conceived as an intermediate space between life and death. Such sites certainly represented the location of the physical remains of the dead, of his grave goods, and of ritual actions as well as the offerings of the survivors, but they were separated from the proper Hereafter, which remained

unreachable by the living persons, behind the rocky diaphragm of the back wall. As a consequence, the only truly eschatological images were confined to the back tympanum; the function of all the other images was to depict qualifying moments in the existence of the aristoi.

The Tomba della Nave (Tomb of the Ship) (Fig. 51.8)²⁷⁵³, dated to around the mid fifth century or shortly thereafter, is particularly problematic, since at this site, one of the characters of the symposium who is standing next to the *kylikeion* turns to look at a seascape—in which a large freighter, followed by lesser vessels, turns toward an impressive cliff—and raises his right arm as if he were signaling something to the sailors. This is a unique iconography and, as such, can be interpreted in several different ways.

We could certainly suggest a biographical explanation and imagine that the economic and social fortune of the gens who owns the tomb was tied to maritime trade. (This might be the case with the more ancient Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca, tomb of Hunting and Fishing, datable around 530²⁷⁵⁴, where the scenes of fishing and fowling may well have alluded to the so-called economy of the swamp²⁷⁵⁵ that provided income on large rural estates.) (Colour plates 21–26) It is more likely, however, that the unusual seascape is an indication of the beginning of a process whereby the pictorial system of the tombs at Tarquinia was being restructured so as to give space to displays of otherworldly journeys, something that increasingly imitated representations in Greek culture sources (including literature). In this case, the ship would bring the dead to a place of happiness, expressed by the symposium of the ancestors, beyond the rocks of the metaphorical wreck.²⁷⁵⁶

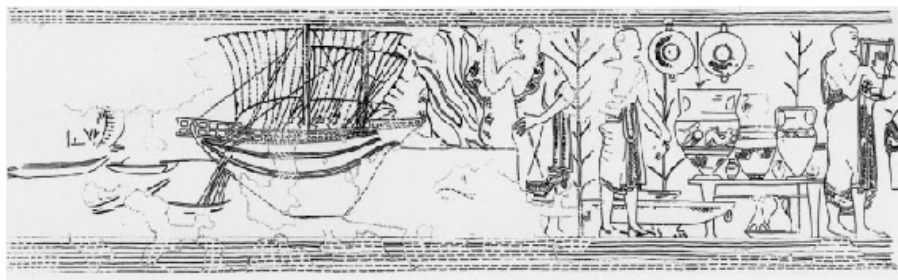


Fig. 51.8: Tarquinia, Tomb of the Ship, detail of the paintings: a seascape and three men standing close to a sideboard (drawing from Colonna 2003, 66, fig. 3).

Two successive examples of this process of iconographic transformation can be seen. The first is from the beginning of the second half of the century, in the desolate and rocky landscape depicted in front of Charon's ferry on the right wall of the Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri (Tomb of the Blue Demons) (Fig. 57.8).²⁷⁵⁷ The second, from around 400, is in the representation of the cavalcade of the dead (derived from the most famous depiction of a cavalcade, that of the Parthenon), who are heading to the very distant land of the Pygmies (the Pygmies are painted on the left wall and give their name to

the tomb),²⁷⁵⁸ who are incessantly and bloodily fighting with the cranes.

The enduring vitality of the Tarquinia School of painting during the fifth century is also illustrated by the extent to which it was appreciated beyond the local area. This broad appeal is proved by the imitation of the same iconographic and stylistic formulas in the paintings of the Chiusi Tomba della Scimmia (Tomb of the Monkey)²⁷⁵⁹ as well as at Colle Casuccini,²⁷⁶⁰ which can be traced, for example, to the Tombs of the Chariots and the Triclinium. One may well accept the idea that the builders of the Chiusi tombs were from Chiusi, but the position of Tarquinia as a model is obvious, and the transplantation of this purely southern Etruscan tradition of tombs of prestige to the Val di Chiana area is a sign of economic growth among the northern aristoi which led, in a few decades, to a marked geographical shift of new artistic ventures to the North.

2.3.Sculpture and architecture

We now consider sculptural production and discuss a series of monuments that differ in terms of materials and techniques.

We begin with marble works, because of their rarity. Produced at least thirty years after the problematic so-called Venus of Cannicella from Orvieto (Fig. 18.6),²⁷⁶¹ the head of a kouros in the Lorenzini collection of Volterra (490–480),²⁷⁶² which was carved in a type of local marble (It. *grechetto*) (Fig. 51.9), shows some persistent features of the Ionicizing koine (almond-shaped eyes, here extraordinarily dilated; Archaic stretching of the corners of the mouth) covering quite a solid structure in the Severe style.

This is what differentiates this Volterra kouros from the few earlier example from Marzabotto.²⁷⁶³ The Marzabotto piece, which seems to have belonged to a votive statue (or a *simulacrum*, a statue of a deity) related to the temple of Tina,²⁷⁶⁴ is stylistically more consistent but at the same time less expressive and is generally considered a Cycladic import.

It was much more common, however, for sculptures to be made from a soft material that was easier to work, as was normally the case in Etruria. The Chiusi workshops, for example, had produced funerary *cippi* and urns by *pietra fetida* which, in the late sixth century, were remarkably faithful to northern Ionian models.²⁷⁶⁵ The celebrated warrior's sarcophagus from the Sperandio necropolis near Perugia (Fig. 51.10)²⁷⁶⁶ represents a unique case of adjustment of this typically Clusian production to the inhumation rite. The relief, on its long side, displays a complex and novel processional sequence, variously interpreted as an image of the migration of a clan, a victorious return (with war booty and prisoners), or a solemn sacrificial procession. We should stress that its author consciously chose to *narrate* a theme—and we are very tempted to say that this theme was *historical*, recalling that this is one of the key aspects of the Etruscan heritage in Roman art—and he was able to do

this successfully by iconic and morphological means of East-Greek origin.



Fig. 51.9: Marble head of a kouros. Volterra, Lorenzini collection (photo SAT)

Among the sixth century precedents, we should mention also the so-called Pluto of Palermo (about 540) (Fig. 51.11), an impressive funerary statue conceived as a gigantic canopic urn, reshaped from the model of the heavy, imperious statuary type of the Branchidae, the priests of Miletus²⁷⁶⁷. This true masterpiece belonged to a context of works promoting individual grandeur and power, a concept soon to be expressed in political institutions through the charismatic and not entirely legendary figure of King Porsena.

However, production of these funerary statues did not cease with the fall of the monarchy, but was revived in the fifth century, and as such, they enjoyed a certain degree of continuity as a series.²⁷⁶⁸ Production limited almost exclusively to Chiusi and the surrounding areas, in line with a sense of religious conservatism that even included a survival of the protohistoric rite of cremation. This occurred around the middle of the fifth century and clearly

reveals the use of a formal language that can be identified with the so-called Severe style, which had enjoyed recent successes even in the colonies of the West, although the key iconographic influences continued to be, essentially, those of East Greek art.

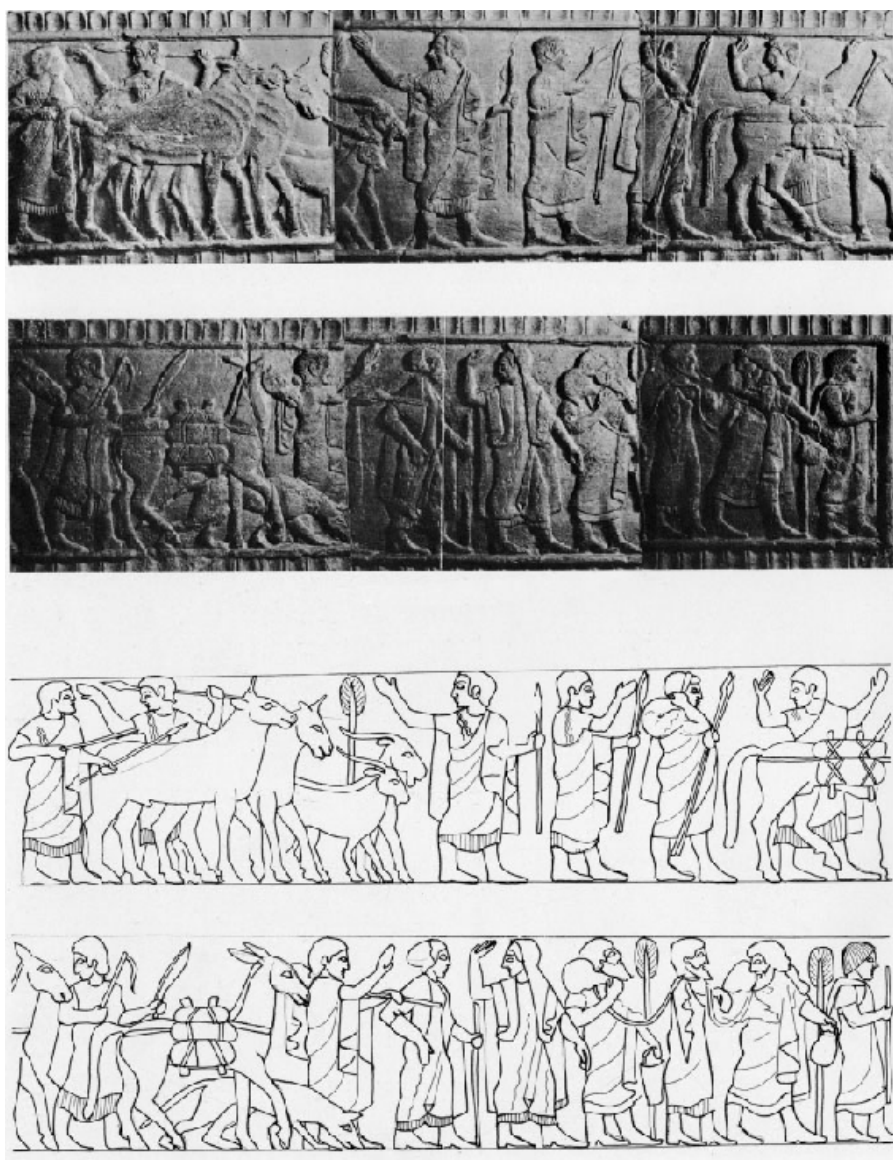


Fig. 51.10: Sarcophagus from the Sperandio necropolis. Perugia, Archaeological Museum (Jannot1984, fig. 158)

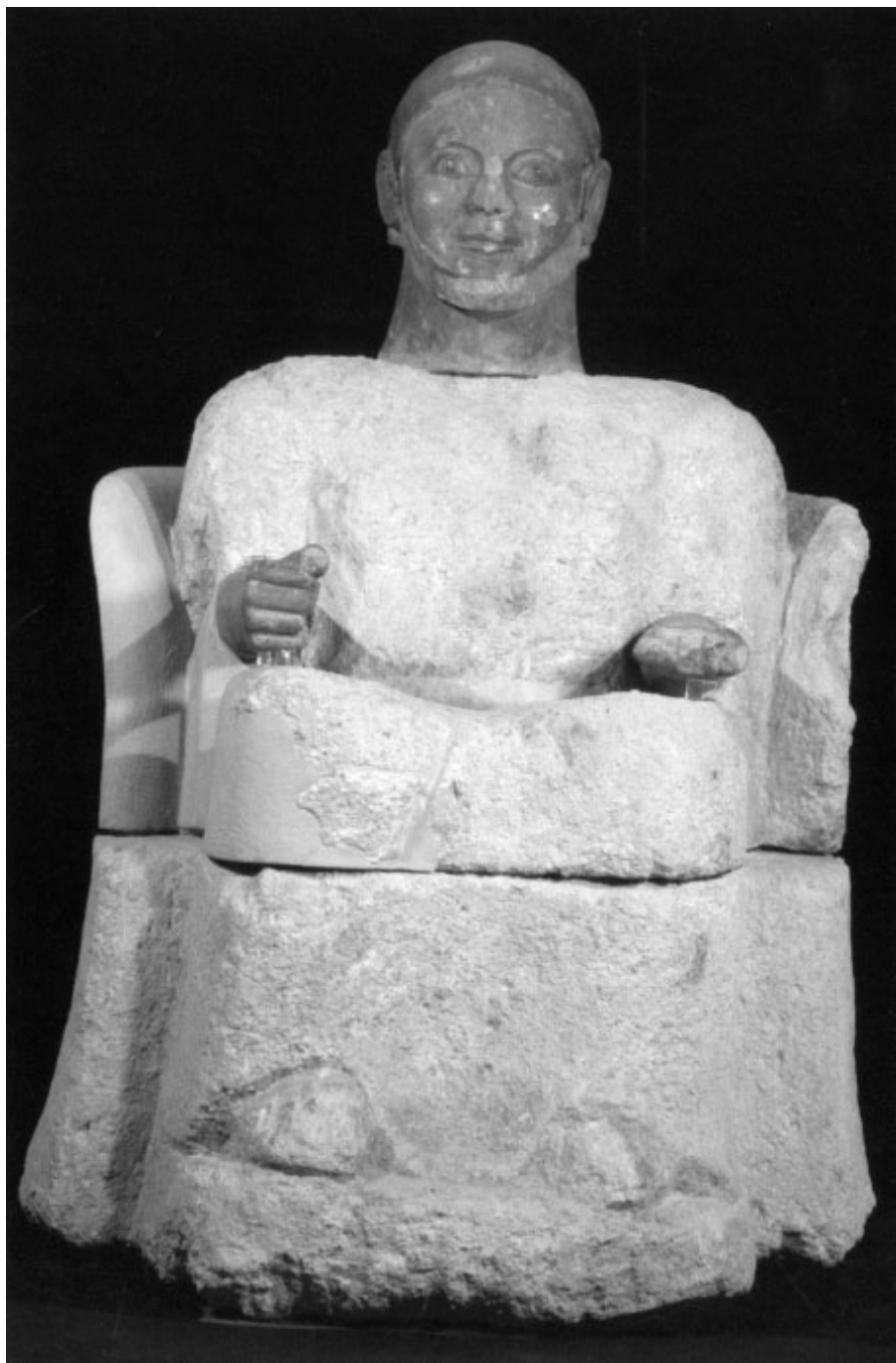


Fig. 51.11: Male funerary statue from Chiusi, the so-called Pluto. Palermo, Archaeological Museum (photo M. Harari)

In the Chiusi area, the large bronzes, too—for obvious reasons very poorly documented—are a strong signal of this change, as can be seen with the

fragments of possibly two cult statues from the Moon Shrine at Acqua Santa in Chianciano (490–450; Fig. 51.12).²⁷⁶⁹

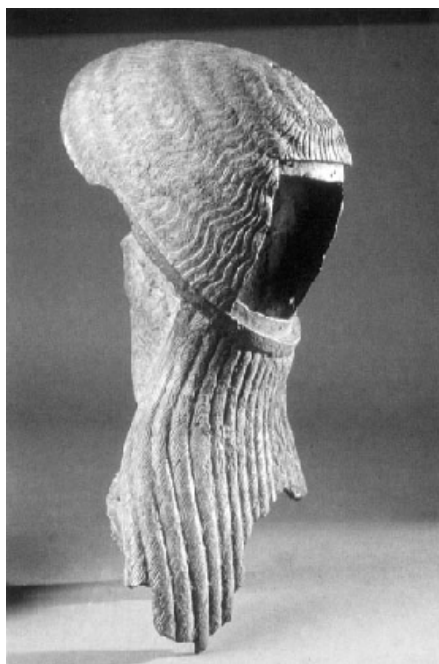


Fig. 51.12: Bronze fragments of possibly two cult statues from the Moon Shrine at Acqua Santa in Chianciano. Chianciano, Archaeological Museum (photo SAT)

In terra-cotta sculpture—that *plastikē* which Pliny (*HN* 35.152) judged to represent Etruscan art above all else—there can be no doubt that the most important achievement is the famous pediment in high relief which adorned Temple A at Pyrgi, now at the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome. In order to trace the full historical significance of a monument that, just on the grounds of its exceptionally high quality, may appear, at first sight, isolated, it is necessary to take a step back and focus the terra-cotta production centers during the last decades of the sixth century.

From this point of view, one must remember Varro's statement, collected by Pliny (*HN* 35.157), which presented the school of Veii as predominant. In particular, Pliny mentions a commission given to the school of Veii for the sculptures of the Temple of Jupiter at the time of the Tarquins, and he provides us with the name of the workshop's founder: Vulca. The extraordinary acroterial and votive statues as well as ante-fixes (also molded by hand), discovered at the site of the shrine of Menerva in Portonaccio, have served as evidence of the excellence of sculptors who were educated in the figural grammar of the Ionic international style. Nevertheless, these artists were also sensitive to the latest Aeginetan discoveries and were able to adapt their wonderful mastery of expression to the needs of Etruscan (and Latial)

temple architecture with magnificent works in terra-cotta that were entirely consistent with the logic of religious communication.

The Veii school is traditionally considered to have created the clay sculpture from which was cast the celebrated bronze of the Capitoline Wolf (Fig. 51.13).²⁷⁷⁰ This sculpture was possibly conceived in the early fifth century as a Romulean icon in the new post-tyrannical Rome as a reference to the founder and eponymous hero of the city: such a program can easily be compared with the more or less contemporary revival of Theseus in post-tyrannical Athens. On the other hand, recent archaeometrical analyses of its casting technique have supported the idea that this might be a medieval work,²⁷⁷¹ a conclusion which would obviously (and unfortunately) remove this true masterpiece from the corpus of Etruscan art, if accepted.

Caere was also home to an important production of terra-cotta figures in the late sixth century. Examples of these works include the two beautiful sarcophagi—in fact, urns—of the Married Couple (now at the Villa Giulia and in the Louvre),²⁷⁷² the acroterium with the goddess Thesan running on a wave and carrying a young, kidnapped, lover in her arms (now in Berlin),²⁷⁷³ and the intriguing antefixes of the so-called *Edificio delle XX Celle* (or the House of the Sacred Prostitutes) in the northern *temenos* of Pyrgi.²⁷⁷⁴ These examples—especially the sarcophagi—reveal a clear dependence on the Veii school through migrant craftsmen, perhaps, or the location of their subsidiaries in the territory of the coastal city. The semi-recumbent youth depicted on the lid of an urn (Fig. 51.14: also found in Caere)²⁷⁷⁵ clearly indicates that the style was significantly updated at the beginning of the fifth century and in Latium, too, a similar process can be detected in the terracottas of the temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum,²⁷⁷⁶ which rightly appear as imitative of Aeginetan sculpture.

This vibrant context of southern Etruscan experiences can be identified as the location of the anonymous creator of the Pyrgi high relief (Fig. 51.15),²⁷⁷⁷ which is considered to be the highest achievement not only of the fifth century but of all Etruscan art, and which is truly representative of Brendel's notion of a classical art developed outside of Greece.²⁷⁷⁸ The Pyrgi high relief cannot be considered a properly pedimental sculpture according to the traditional definition in Greek sacred architecture. It is instead more comfortably defined as a kind of great *pinax* of worked clay in relief, which was to be screwed onto the head of the wooden ridgepole on the eastern side of Temple A, toward the entrance to the sanctuary and the road to the city of Caere.



Fig. 51.13: The Capitoline Wolf, Rome, Capitoline Museums (photo M. Harari)

Temple A, stratigraphically dated to around 460, was erected in the northern *temenos* of the sanctuary adjacent and parallel to the oldest structure, Temple B. Temple B was a Greek peripteral temple that was dedicated by the king (or tyrant) Thefarie Velianas to the Levantine goddess Ishtar (identified with the Etruscan goddess Uni) at the end of the sixth century. This is indicated by the bilingual (Etruscan and Punic) text inscribed on three gold plates, which were originally nailed to the doorpost (Fig. 35.2).²⁷⁷⁹ Temple A, however, belongs to the so-called “Tuscan” temple type, according to a classification that goes back to Vitruvius (4.7). It does have three *cellae* and one colonnade only on the front, to the west and facing the sea. Thanks to the above-mentioned epigraphic record, the identification of Temple B as dedicated to Ishtar is unquestionable, while extant Greek literary sources²⁷⁸⁰ do suggest that it is possible for us to identify the deity of Temple A with Leucothea, a translation of the Etruscan goddess Thesan, the divine personification of Dawn.



Fig. 51.14: Terra-cotta lid of urn, shaped as a semi-recumbent youth from Caere. Cerveteri, Archaeological Museum (photo SAR-Laz)

The relief of Temple A is cleverly constructed to favor a point of view from below, and seems to have been modeled on an important pictorial source, in terms of the excellent and intricate superposition of six figures. The subject includes two episodes from the Theban legend: the death of the blasphemer Capaneus by lightning, and the cannibalistic banquet of Tydeus, themes that are in some way connected also in the much later poetic account of Statius (*Theb.* 8.745–66). During the final battle under the walls of Thebes, it was Capaneus who literally threw down the body of Melanippus to be eaten by his enemy Tydeus, who was dying. The composition of Pyrgi is completed by the figure of Menerva (Athena) on the left, who, puzzled, abandons the battle and holds the useless jar containing the philter of immortality, whereas Tinia (Zeus) is joined in his assault on Capaneus by a second warrior of impressive stature. This latter might be the god of war, Laran (Ares), who takes an equal part in the punishment of the wicked, and together with Tinia and Menerva constitutes a divine triad, located in the semisquare on the left, while the figures on the right, with impeccable consistency, are three heroes, each of whom overcome in a different way.

The eclectic style adopted by the sculptor is very effective in the blending (not accidental, but intended to highlight the expression) of ingredients with differentiated provenance. Though the furious masks of heroes (and of Tinia himself, also bearded) evoke a Sub-Archaic manner of obviously Euphronian derivation, the soft treatment of the drapery sometimes appears much more evolved. Significantly, the head of Menerva, with the lower jaw horizontal and the almost complete disappearance of a smile, is clearly associated with

the new Severe sculptural language.



Fig. 51.15: Terra-cotta high relief from the Temple A at Pyrgi. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum (photo SAR-Laz)

The unique complexity of this work stands out even at the level of iconological interpretation. In comparison with the widely held—perhaps anachronistic—interpretation that the piece contained a polyadic and political message of encouragement to the *concordia civium*, which does derive from the Theban theme,²⁷⁸¹ our suggestion is that this is predominantly a representation of the moral aspect of the punishment of the wicked, with possible reference to the exotic worship, which had characterized the sovereignty of Thefarie Velianas and the unorthodox planning he conceived for the northern area of his sanctuary.²⁷⁸²

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Martin Bentz

52Handicrafts, 580–450 BCE

Abstract: The Archaic period on the one hand saw the retention of many traditions and technological accomplishments of the preceding eras, but on the other there were major innovations and developments of new artisanal products on the basis of a developing, dynamic urban culture. The special value of the blossoming and individuality of the Etruscan craft industries is also highlighted by Greek and Latin writers.

Keywords: bronze-working, pottery, jewelry, elites

Introduction

The Archaic period on the one hand saw the retention of many traditions and technological accomplishments of the preceding eras, but on the other there were major innovations and developments of new artisanal products on the basis of a developing, dynamic urban culture. The special value of the blossoming and individuality of the Etruscan craft industries is also highlighted by Greek and Latin writers.²⁷⁸³

Several factors are determinative for the development of the craft industries in the sixth and fifth centuries.

Economic development and the urbanization associated with it, which had begun in the Iron Age and the Orientalizing period, entered a new phase in the sixth and fifth centuries: the towns grew, and newly founded ones were laid out according to plan; there arose a complex system of subcapitals that structured the countryside. Within the towns, many sanctuaries were expanded and had a great need of handcrafted products for furnishings, rituals, and votive practices. Social change and the associated changes in burial customs led to a great need of objects for outfitting graves. But there was also more and more demand for items for (what are less well researched) private use and representations. A large number of handcrafted items were destined for festive banquets, which flourished under the influence of the Greek symposium in the sixth and fifth centuries.

New economic networks were established at the same time—both within Italy and for international trade—which also had their effects on handicrafts. Both political controversy and trade relations with Greek cities were intense; from them large quantities of products, as well as Greek merchants, slaves, and craftsmen, reached Etruria that inspired and changed Etruscan crafts. Relations were also close with Carthage, which likewise influenced Etruscan

manufacture, though to a lesser extent than Greece. Also important was trade with the Hallstatt cultures north of the Alps and in present-day France, for whom the Etruscans constituted an important conduit of Mediterranean culture, which in turn stimulated the creation of handcrafted items for export, particularly bronze beak-spouted jugs (*Schnabelkannen*).

Etruscan handicrafts exhibit a strongly eclectic character, on account of the close international connections. Because of the abundance of metal, since the Iron Age there had been a rich and flourishing tradition of bronze work, with highly individual forms, as well as a tradition of clay work, the introduction of the potter's wheel, and the development of impasto and bucchero. From the seventh century on, Greek forms were incorporated into these indigenous techniques. But new techniques were also developed, such as the black-figure painting of fine wares, and new materials were used, such as glass paste, which first appeared in decorative work in the sixth century.

We have very little information on the craftsmen, their social status, or their working conditions. We have a few signed works, and they offer nothing but the names. Excavations of workplaces carried out so far show that in most cases they were small operations, usually integrated into dwellings. An artisan's quarter proper, such as is known from Greek cities, has not yet been discovered. The situation is best known from the almost completely excavated town of Marzabotto. Alongside many small, specialized studios, there was a larger pottery, in which everything from roof tiles to statuettes was made, and a good-sized bronze workshop, which occupied an entire parcel of land. The discovery of kilns, work vessels, molds, tools, etc., makes it possible to reconstruct the manufacturing process.²⁷⁸⁴

The dating of handcrafted items is largely accomplished by associating them with well-dated imports—especially those with figural decoration—or by formal and stylistic analysis in comparison with Greek models. The coarse period labels “High Archaic,” “Late Archaic,” and “Early Classical,” which cover the era treated here, are correspondingly borrowed from the terminology of Greek archaeology.

An overview of craft production can be ordered by chronology and style; from a sociological point of view; or by function and genre. A combination of the last of these aspects with a geographic approach, however, recommends itself because of the distinct traditions and conditions.

1Bronze working

Bronze working always held special significance.²⁷⁸⁵ Thanks to the wealth of iron ore, copper, and silver found in the Tolfa Mountains between Cerveteri and Tarquinia and especially on the island of Elba and in Colline Metallifere (see [chapter 25](#) Zifferero), the Etruscans achieved considerable mastery of

metalworking, which continued to develop. The most important products are vessels, all sorts of utensils, weapons, and figurines.

Several parts of Etruria show rich production of bronze vessels, which for the most part exhibit native forms with little exposure to Greek influence. In the region in the Po Valley that from the seventh century was under Etruscan influence, there arose, beginning in the middle of the sixth century, major Etruscan cities – principal among them Felsina, modern-day Bologna. Also well excavated, besides Marzabotto, is the port city of Spina. In the sixth and fifth centuries these cities housed large workshops for vessels used in banqueting, the arrangements for which can be reconstructed primarily on the basis of funerary goods. One important form is the *situla*,²⁷⁸⁶ which is widespread from about 600 BCE in the Hallstatt area, the Este culture in Venetia, and Felsina, and which evidences contact with the northern neighbors. This is a large, somewhat conical “bucket” of beaten bronze sheets with movable handles, used for mixing wine and water and for storing other liquids. In the sixth century they are commonly decorated with figural friezes in repoussé that represent rituals and themes from the life of the upper class. The form developed further and in the fifth century is less conical and occasionally provided with feet. Other characteristic forms are the likewise large *stamnos* with horizontal handles on the sides and offset mouth, the biconical (Ger. *knickwand*) jug for ladling wine from the mixing vessel, and the bulbous jug with tall handles and round spout (*olpe*), along with several smaller forms of one-handed ladles and large flat bowls. A characteristic selection appears in the Tomba Grande in the necropolis of Giardini Margherita in Bologna from shortly before the middle of the fifth century BCE (Fig. 52.1), where Etruscan bronze vessels are supplemented by imported Athenian ceramic vases, a large volute-krater, and three drinking cups.

Very typical Etruscan bronze vessels of the sixth and fifth centuries were beak-spouted jugs (Ger. *Schnabelkannen*) (Fig. 52.2),²⁷⁸⁷ which were produced in the Tyrrhenian coastal town of Vulci. Featuring long, drawn-out spouts and often decorated with figures or animals at the mouth or on the handle, they were often exported to the Celtic realm, where the form was imitated and developed; there were also imitations in clay.

In the southernmost part of Etruria as well as in Campania, with its central city of Capua, which lay outside the core area and was not settled by Etruscans until the sixth-fifth centuries, there was an entirely distinct production of bronze vessels, of which the large cauldron provided with a lid and figural decoration was often used as a cinerary urn.²⁷⁸⁸



Fig. 52.1: Tomba Grande in the necropolis of Giardini Margherita in Bologna, before 450 BCE. Bologna, Museo Civico

In the aforementioned tomb in Bologna we can recognize additional bronze utensils that are especially typical of Etruscan banquets. On the floor lies a sieve for straining wine and a multi-armed torchière for illumination; to the right is a tall stand on which hung bronze ladles and the drinking bowls, and to the left a candelabrum on whose arms candles were affixed and which is crowned by a statuette. The main locus of manufacture of such objects was Vulci, which was also the source of many objects not only in Felsina, but especially also in the necropolis of Spina.²⁷⁸⁹ Another typical product of Late Archaic Vulci workshops is a tripod with rich figural decoration, such as the example in Karlsruhe (Fig. 52.3); the appliqué men below and the appliqué banqueting women above clarify the function of the stand for holding a

mixing vessel at festive banquets.²⁷⁹⁰



Fig. 52.2: Etruscan Schnabelkanne from the Rhineland, 500–480 BCE. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, inv. no. C 623 (Photo museum)

The Etruscan relief-engravers achieved special mastery in the Late Archaic period of creating sheet metal with repoussé figures that decorated representative grave goods, including large tripods and the panels of battlewagons. Noteworthy examples are the wagons from Monteleone di Spoleto, now in New York, and from Castel San Mariano in Perugia, now in Perugia and Munich.²⁷⁹¹

Alongside the vessels and utensils, there was extensive casting of bronze statuettes, which were set up on freestanding stone bases and were dedicated particularly in the sanctuaries of northern Etruria.²⁷⁹² They come in many sizes and styles. While there are a certain number of well-made figures that follow Greek stylistic developments, depicting nude boys or clothed girls like Greek *kouroi* and *korai*, and sometimes also gods, there are also simple, schematic, stiff figures. The main manufacturing centers were in Vulci and the area around Chiusi and Orvieto. Even though they actually belong in chapter on art (see [chapter 51](#) Spivey and Harari), they were nonetheless made in the same workshops as the workaday bronzes and complete the picture of the flourishing craft in bronze.



Fig. 52.3: Tripod from Vulci, 500–480 BC. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, inv. no. F203 (Photo museum)

2Jewelry

The expensive jewelry of the Etruscans was for the most part made of gold or silver-gilt.²⁷⁹³ The coastal towns—especially the southern Etruscan cities of Vulci and Caere—remained in the sixth century the most important producers of these luxury goods. Jewelry includes items worn directly on the body, such as hair clasps and hairpins, earrings, tiaras, chains, and rings, as well as elements of dress like fibulae, belt fasteners, pectorals, and other items that decorate clothing. The techniques and basic elements in themselves (metal, applying gold, wire, granulation, etc.) persisted from the Orientalizing period. But more strongly sculptural decorations appear in the sixth century, including those with mythological themes, and other materials become more common, such as colored glass paste or gems, in order to achieve a more colorful and intricate effect (Fig. 52.4). Alongside the old forms new ones are added, such as the widespread valise-type earrings (“a bauletto”) of Etruscan invention, the disk earrings of Anatolian origin, and a variety of new forms of ring, such as those with a cartouche-shaped setting.

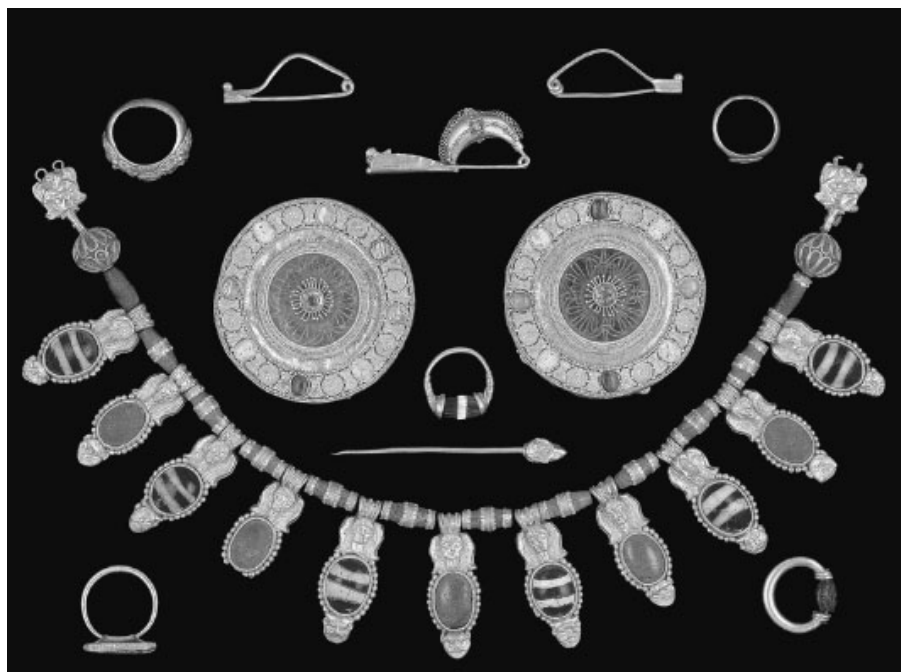


Fig. 52.4: Set of gold ornaments from Vulci. New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 40.11.7–18 (after Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 158–159)

Cameos, mostly in the form of scarabs, were initially imports only,²⁷⁹⁴ but after 530 BCE, gem-cutters from eastern Greece immigrated to Etruria and established workshops that were soon creating characteristically Etruscan items, marked by specific formal shaping and a calligraphic style. The patterns are occasionally taken from Greek vase illustrations (Fig. 52.5). They were a component of gold jewelry and to an extent were also used as seals.

A group of small ivory and bone-tile reliefs is distributed in central Etruria in the area between Vulci and Chiusi;²⁷⁹⁵ occasionally they were also exported. They were clearly used on wooden caskets, since deteriorated, that were used to store jewelry and other objects. The reliefs usually show themes from aristocratic life like banquets (Fig. 52.6), dancing, hunting, and only occasionally mythological figures. From the stylistic point of view they constitute a good example of Greek-Ionian influence on the Etruscan workshops in the second half of the sixth century BCE, which can be seen in almost every type of artistic handicraft.



Fig. 52.5: Carnelian scarab from Perugia depicting the myth of the Seven against Thebes, 500–480 BCE. Antikensammlung Berlin

In interments of women, from the last quarter of the sixth century into the Hellenistic period, bronze mirrors have been found whose front is polished to a shine and whose back is commonly engraved with figural images. Every culture has mirrors; the engraving of these hand mirrors with ivory handles, though, is an Etruscan invention without direct precedent, and it clearly influenced Greece, where the phenomenon began only later. At first they were luxury objects, which at first were made only in small numbers; only in the Hellenistic period did mirrors spread into additional strata of society. The pictures show banquets, music and dance, and occasionally also mythological themes. These images represent one of the best sources for the Etruscan iconography of gods, since the figures are often provided with name tags. The most important place of manufacture was Vulci.²⁷⁹⁶



Fig. 52.6: Ivory plaque depicting a banquet, 530–520 BCE. Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen, inv. no. V 31

3Ceramics

More pottery survives than any other type of handcrafted item. Aside from the everyday ware, which generally was produced locally with local peculiarities, there are types of fine ceramics that have their roots in the seventh century but then flourished anew in the sixth century and were decorated with new techniques.

First of all is the typically Etruscan *bucchero*, which is burned black with a reducing flame and has a highly polished metal-like outer surface. The technique was developed in southern Etruria, especially in Cerveteri. The manufacture of “*bucchero sottile*” came to an end in the first half of the sixth century, but it developed into the “*bucchero pesante*,” which was made especially in the Chiusi-Orvieto region into the early fifth century.²⁷⁹⁷ The variety of forms is very great; they are mostly small vessels included in the banquetware: goblets, *kyathoi*, plates, amphorae, and tankards in many variations, often with sculptural decoration (Fig. 52.7). There are also sometimes imitations of utensils, such as braziers, as well as ladles and others. They usually have Etruscan shapes; only occasionally are Greek vase forms imitated in *bucchero pesante*. The sculptural decoration is achieved with stamp seals, cylinder seals, and appliqué, which can also be figural.



Fig. 52.7: Bucchero pesante kyathos from Orvieto (?) depicting a frieze of boars and the Potnia Theron, 550–500 BCE. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 1891

As for figure-painted pottery,²⁷⁹⁸ the imitation of the Corinthian models continued into the third generation, primarily in the form of little ointment containers, until the middle of the sixth century. Also during this period, the stream of Corinthian, East Greek, and Laconian ware into Etruria dried up; almost nothing but Attic vases was imported. For one thing, emigré craftsmen from eastern Greece were now working in Etruria, who made e.g. the “Caeretan Hydriae” or the “Dinoi Campana” on the spot. In their circle, shortly before 550 BCE, the first Etruscan workshop was then established in Vulci for black-figure painted pottery, known as Pontic vases. As for the well-known signed amphora of the founder of the workshop, the Paris-painter, which was found in Vulci and is now in Munich (Fig. 52.8), its eclectic character is easily recognized. The style of the figures, the color, and the ornamentation of the meander interrupted by stars show very strong influence from eastern Greece, whereas the shape of the vase and the preference for mythological subjects, in this case the Judgment of Paris, are due to the influence of Attic pottery. After the still rather limited quantities made by this

first generation, the second generation in the last quarter of the sixth century moved to mass production. The largest workshop of this period is the Micali-painter's, who likewise was established in Vulci. The style assimilates Attic elements more and more strongly, and the quality of firing and painting diminishes. In the third generation, in the first quarter of the fifth century, branch workshops were established in Orvieto and/or in the area of Chiusi; the graphic quality clearly decreases; often it is nothing but pure silhouette-painting. By far the most popular form is the necked amphora, which had earlier been the favorite shape for the Paris-painter. Aside from the manufacture in the heartland, there were still a few workshops for black-figure vases in Capua in Campania.²⁷⁹⁹



Fig. 52.8: Amphora from Vulci depicting the Judgment of Paris, 540 BCE. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Inv. 837

Red-figure painted vases, made in Athens since 530 BCE, were indeed imported in great number, but only put into local production quite late, since they are technically much more complex to make. In the second quarter of the fifth century, however, the black-figure vase workshops developed a pseudo-

red-figure vase process, which does not leave the figures blank, but paints them in color over the black glaze.



Fig. 52.9: Relief of a cinerary urn from Chiusi, ca. 500 BCE Antikensammlung Berlin, inv. no. Sk1222

An important area of the potters' business was the manufacture of terra-cotta roofs, i.e. tiles, entablature cladding, pediments, etc.²⁸⁰⁰ Around the middle of the seventh century the custom of clay roofs spread through Etruria and in the course of the sixth century became the rule, so that major tile-makers sprang up in every town. Eaves and the cladding for wooden entablatures in temples, public buildings, and a few magnificent private residences were lavishly painted or decorated with mold-made reliefs.

Small terra-cotta sculptures, so numerous in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, are very rare in comparison with bronze figures in Etruscan sanctuaries before the fourth century BCE.

In the realm of lavish funeral rituals, there arose some new developments of new forms of burials: sarcophagi, cinerary urns, cippi, altars. Various locally available materials were used: primarily clay, but also several kinds of stone,

such as limestone in Chiusi or nenfro in Vulci; marble, which was not systematically sought and quarried before the Augustan era, was used only in rare, exceptional cases.

Of special note is the large group of Late Archaic objects of soft limestone that were made in Chiusi.²⁸⁰¹ These include, among other things, sarcophagi and urns in the form of chests or houses, whose sides bear panels in relief. The themes of these often very high quality items reflect the values of the local upper class, as they also appear in the wall paintings and other genres of the time: hunting, banqueting, dancing, sport, battle, as well as specifically funereal themes such as laying out and mourning the dead (Fig. 52.9).

In southern Etruria, on the other hand, in the sixth century new sarcophagus and urn forms in terra-cotta developed, on which the deceased is portrayed lying on the lid, participating in the banquet. Among the well-known examples are the sarcophagi of a married couple from Caere now in the museum of the Villa Giulia in Rome and the Louvre in Paris.²⁸⁰²

After the rich and flourishing and very varied production of Etruscan products in the Archaic and Early Classical periods there is a change taking place in the second half of the fifth century BCE. Due to the political situation the Etruscans do not dominate the trade in the western Mediterranean anymore, they lose control over the cities in the Po Valley and in Campania because of the Celts and the Samnites. This effects a certain decline in production in many cities which restarts again with different premises over the course of the fourth century.

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Petra Amann

53Society, 580–450 BCE

Abstract: The sixth and early fifth centuries BCE were a period of flourishing economies in many city-states of Etruria. The urbanization phenomenon came to the fore and was consolidated. In the major coastal cities of the south beginning in the second half of the sixth century there must have emerged an upper class (consisting of old and new aristocracy), an urban middle class, and a sort of proletariat, although little is known about the latter. A well-developed system of retinue – serving as social glue between the different classes – must be presumed. A broader urban upper to middle class exhibit some settlements in the interior (Orvieto, Chiusi). The gentilicial system was relegated to the background by the timocratic order.

Iconographic and epigraphic sources provide glimpses into the social structures of the individual city-states, which all had their own typical traits. The archaic wall paintings of Tarquinia are considered private expressions of an urban aristocracy, which display interest in communal cult celebrations and banquets intended to strengthen internal cohesion, while the military element hardly plays any role in the iconography of these Late archaic tombs. It may be that new military strategies, like armies of hoplites and battle in well-ordered lines, offered the individual aristocrat less possibilities for self-representation. In the course of time, the banquet iconography that had previously been rich in variation fossilized; this is to be seen as an indication of walling off and an emergence of a consolidated (and gradually more closed) noble class. On the other hand, the figure of the warrior in less elitist-aristocratic funerary milieus of the sixth and fifth centuries continued to be of great importance, as shown by the reliefs in Chiusi, the grave *cippi* of Orvieto, and the grave stelae with reliefs in and around Fiesole and in northern Bologna, the last ones already radiating a strongly urban mentality. The capability of the warrior to equip himself appears to be of central significance, also with regard to the possibility of his having a voice in political affairs.

The consolidation of the timocratic-republican structures brought a clearer exclusion of women from the public realm and increased their concentration on the domestic sphere, although regions differ according to individual sociopolitical circumstances. While the tomb inscriptions placed over the entrances of the Archaic chamber tombs at Orvieto as a rule name only one man related to his function as *pater familias*, the ideology of nobility and high-status thinking prevented a complete marginalization of the female element in Tarquinia. The idea of the married couple as the reproductive nucleus of society still held significance and thus also the representation of the wife as partner of the husband and mistress of the house.

The presence of foreign-born merchants and craftsmen, especially Greeks, promoted by trans-regional opening of the markets and attractiveness of the coastal cities is clear. They lived on the spot as free resident aliens or non-free workers, while vertical social mobility in the sense of full integration into the body of citizens happened rather rarely. Something similar probably also held in this period for Italics, whose presence in Etruria, though, generally goes far beyond our chronological horizon and created the most varied forms of integration.

Keywords: aristocracy, urban middle class, wall paintings, women, foreigners.

1 General lines of development in the individual city-states

The period between 580 and 450 BCE saw a flourishing economy in many Etruscan city-states, especially in the south and the coastal regions; a considerable broadening of the Etruscan trade network even beyond Italy is noteworthy. In the major centers of settlement, the phenomenon of urbanization had been achieved and was gradually extended. Although the interaction between the various social strata in the Archaic period remains very poorly understood, in the large coastal cities in the second half of the sixth century there must have emerged an upper class (consisting of old and new aristocracy), an urban middle class, and a sort of proletariat; some settlements in the inner parts of Etruria seem to exhibit a broader urban upper-middle class. The *genti-licial* system (i.e. a system dominated by *gentes*) was relegated to the background by the timocratic (propertied) order, but continued to exist, especially in the south. Even though in this period as a rule city-states were organized in a republican fashion, with regularly changing office holders belonging to the local upper class, indications of the temporary presence of “kings” or tyrants between the sixth and fourth centuries are nonetheless not unknown (I refer to Thefarie Velianas of the Pyrgi gold tablets, the figure of Porsenna from Chiusi,²⁸⁰³ or the reintroduction of monarchy at Veii mentioned by Livy 5.1.3). In the second half of the sixth century, the increasing competition between Etruscans and Greeks led to serious military engagements, which at first had no serious consequences either for the close economic relations or for the important cultural model provided by Greece. This changed only toward the end of the period under consideration here.

This is the background against which the social structures of Etruria continued to develop, with each Etruscan city-state representing an independent unit, what is also seen in the distinct material legacies of the individual centers. The increase in homogeneous and sometimes extensive iconographic and epigraphic corpora in the Archaic period provides a relatively good basis for assessing social structures, particularly as these corpora reflect differing social levels in the city-state. The rich complex of wall paintings from the chamber tombs of the Monterozzi necropolis at Tarquinia should be seen as having been commissioned by the local aristocracy. They began—after a few forerunners—around 540 BCE (of altogether approximately 6000 chamber tombs discovered only 2–3% are painted²⁸⁰⁴). Chiusi is distinguished by its numerous stone reliefs on plinths, urns, *cippi*, and (occasionally) sarcophagi, which were used for the individual burials of an aristocratic, though not particularly elitist, class, and date to between the third quarter of the sixth century and 470/450.²⁸⁰⁵ Only in the late sixth and especially the first half of the fifth century is a local oligarchy

identifiable, which on the model of Tarquinia commissioned tombs with figural paintings (in this case multi-chamber tombs). The Archaic chamber tombs at Orvieto (Volsinii veteres) were laid out in regular rows, relatively small and kept rather simple within; at the outside the inscriptions identify the inhabitants. These tombs are the expression of a broad upper class, based not only on land ownership but also on trade and the possession of workshops, which presents itself as an orderly whole, organized on a relatively egalitarian basis,²⁸⁰⁶ which came fairly close to the Archaic Greek *polis* model of a community of citizens (in fact painted chamber tombs immediately surrounding the city date from not before the mid fourth century).²⁸⁰⁷ A developed urban mentality radiates from the pictorial corpus of the horseshoe-shaped funeral stelae from Felsina (Bologna) in the Po area, which were produced between the beginning of the fifth and the early fourth century.²⁸⁰⁸ With regard to material and methods, settlement archaeology (e.g. at San Giovenale, Acquarossa, Lago dell'Accesa, Marzabotto, Spina, Vetulonia) opens up other approaches to the theme;²⁸⁰⁹ coastal cities like Caere, Tarquinia, and Vulci as well as interior centers such as Chiusi and Orvieto, however, have not yet provided many access points in this regard.

The iconographic material from the funerary realm is naturally highly representative and from an eschatological perspective orbits the central features of the social life of the deceased. In Late Archaic Tarquinia, these amount to banquets and symposia, revelry (Gk. *komos*) and dance, physical fitness and public games, and cultic celebrations and hunting.²⁸¹⁰ In most cases the Late archaic tombs are relatively small with one chamber²⁸¹¹ thought to be for the nuclear family; by means of the paintings the local nobility celebrated a sort of self-representation in the private sphere. Common cult celebrations strengthened the horizontal connections and the inner solidarity between the single *gentes*, as is to be gathered from the Tomba delle Iscrizioni (Tomb of the Inscriptions, ca. 520 BCE).²⁸¹² Only males are represented, who probably belonged to a group of persons sharing same interests, perhaps on the model of the Greek *hetairiai* (Fig. 6.1.). The unusually numerous labels for the men record the various *gentilicia* of the participants (*ET² Ta 7.13–29: Matve, Aniiē, Punpu, Tētiē, Vinacna, Recieniiē, Fanuru*); *Larth Matves*, the leader of the lively *komos*, should probably be recognized as the owner of the tomb. The youthful rider *Laris Larthiia* could be his son; horsemanship was often a pastime of young noblemen.

The favorite motif of Etruscan wall painting of the sixth to fourth centuries was, however, the banquet itself, on which great significance is bestowed in Etruscan funerary art in general.²⁸¹³ It symbolizes a positively engaged, desirable pastime. Icono-graphic models from the Greek world (Ionic, Attic) here too played an important role, but they were transformed against the native background according to the ideas of the tombs' owners in order to convey their own meanings corresponding to Etruscan social structure; this also includes the participation of the wife/wives, which in principle was not

forbidden or unusual. While the second half of the sixth century was remarkably innovative and open to experiment, as concerned the number, gender, and position of the participants in the feasts, from about 500 on the type of the collective banquet on *klinai* was established, with in many cases mixed-gender participants on three to five couches (the Tomba del Vecchio or “Tomb of the Old Man” is one of the earliest examples²⁸¹⁴). With this banquet type the tomb’s owner demonstrates his belonging (and that of his *oikos*) to a social elite. Its standardization is evidence for an increasing rigidification and walling off of the ruling class during the early fifth century, and the emergence of an established, yet relatively broad aristocratic oligarchy in Tarquinia.

Aside from the weapon dance (*pyrrhic* dance) in the context of athletic games, the ideology of the warrior plays only a very modest role in the pictorial repertoire of the Late Archaic and sub-Archaic chamber tombs of Tarquinia. This concentration on the peaceful side of aristocratic life along with far-reaching suppression of the warlike element—at least in the depictions (the associated grave gifts, among which we can assume were weapons, are unfortunately mostly lost)—appears to have been a deliberate decision in the second half of the sixth and first half of the fifth centuries. It perhaps had to do with battle techniques—such as the hoplite army and fighting in an ordered formation called the *phalanx*²⁸¹⁵—which in contrast to earlier times gave individual aristocrats less opportunity for self-representation. Speaking in favor of this is the fact that the figure of the warrior was granted yet higher status in the less elitist-aristocratic funerary milieu of the sixth and fifth centuries. The funerary reliefs from Chiusi show some (albeit not many) representations of fully armed warriors.²⁸¹⁶ Especially in Orvieto, helmeted warrior heads served as tomb *cippi*, and at least one stela and one *cippus* depicting a warrior are also known from there.²⁸¹⁷ The warrior is a well-known motif in the interesting group of grave stelae and cippi from Fiesole and its territory.²⁸¹⁸ It appears to be a matter of people who defined themselves above all through their military service,²⁸¹⁹ possibly as warriors or full citizens, who could equip themselves with weapons on their own. The warrior’s ability to outfit himself is a significant fact in connection with his having a political voice and thus with his social status, as clearly emerges in the Roman tradition.²⁸²⁰ It contrasts with soldiers who had to be outfitted by their patron. A group of bronze helmets of the Negau type belonging to the fifth century, found in 1905 in a deposit on the *arx* of Vetulonia, could be interpreted in this way.²⁸²¹ On the basis of the inscription *haspnaś*, found on at least fifty-six of the helmets, they appear to be equipment that remained in the possession of the *gens Haspna*.

The phenomenon of the warrior stelae in the Archaic and Classical periods was mainly limited to inner and northern Etruria; warrior representations are also found on the grave stelae from Felsina (Bologna), which reflect urban-citizen mentality, and indeed on both the simpler examples and those of the

ruling upper class.²⁸²²

Weapons as grave goods in men's tombs are also known in Archaic southern Etruria. An interesting example is the Tomba del Guerriero (Tomb of the Warrior) in Vulci, from the last quarter of the sixth century. Besides a complete set of equipment for a hoplite, it also contained one Panathenaic amphora.²⁸²³ Without a doubt, it contained a high-ranking person, a sort of *promachos* or military leader (perhaps along the lines of the Vibenna brothers, whom the literary tradition and the pictorial decoration of the François Tomb describe as leading figures/condottieri); the warrior's origin and his relation to the local noble families remain, however, unclear.

The economic circumstances of the deceased were generally not a theme in the funerary art of this period, although some few exceptions may exist. In the Tomba della Nave (Tomb of the Ship, 480–450 BCE) in Tarquinia, for example, the depiction of the ship can be interpreted as an allusion to the livelihood of a ship owner, but also as a reference to the journey to the world beyond (Fig. 51.8).²⁸²⁴

Besides the maintenance of horizontal relationships within the upper class, in the Archaic period the very poorly documented system of *retinue* also must have played an important role. The clientele system that was usual at the same time in Rome was based on the principle of *fides*. The patron had to protect and to support his clients, and in return the client assisted the patron in his economic, political, and military interests (cf. e.g. Law of the Twelve Tables 8.21). The Casa dell'Impluvium in Roselle, built around the middle or in the third quarter of the sixth century, illustrates the significance that accrued to the horizontal and vertical strands of the fabric of social relationships of a Late Archaic noble lord.²⁸²⁵ A large part of the 330 m² building consists of an entrance hall, an atrium-like inner court, and an adjoining banquet hall, identified by the many drinking vessels found within; in contrast to this, there is a rather small, secluded "private area". The increasing significance of representational duties in the house itself appears to have influenced the development of domestic architecture around the middle of the sixth century.

2Place and role of the female element

As has already been mentioned (see chapter 12 Amann), gender roles were defined traditionally in Etruria, although separation of the female element was not a goal, at least in principle. This is exemplified by women taking part in the common meal/banquet,²⁸²⁶ women as spectators at public games,²⁸²⁷ the general esteem accorded to wives and the family overall, as well as the care for daughters. A certain level of education is thus indicated by the Etruscan mirrors, with their sometimes inscribed depictions of Greek myths, which were produced primarily for a female audience.²⁸²⁸ The space for female

development, however, was subject to the respective sociopolitical situation. Beginning from a stronger presence of the female element in the Orientalizing period, increasing marginalization in the sixth and fifth centuries can be discerned. The consolidation of the timocratic-republican structure led to women's displacement from the public realm and an increased concentration on the domestic sphere.²⁸²⁹ Comparison of the relief friezes of Murlo and Acquarossa makes this clear. Whereas the terra-cotta decoration of the residence at Murlo (ca. 580 BCE) still clearly stands in the Orientalizing tradition of women taking part in the princely feast, the reliefs of the large house-complex in Zone F in Acquarossa, dating to the third quarter of the sixth century, concentrate on chariotry with warriors and the mythological figure of Herakles, the orgiastic *kōmos*, and the strictly male feast, which features no female figures at all. This is characteristic also for the architectural plaques from Tuscania/Ara del Tufo (ca. 550).²⁸³⁰ The heroic figure of Herakles now appears necessary for legitimizing the power of specific *gentes* and especially their leaders, whose military strength is stressed. In parallel, the disappearance of the (mortal) woman from these banquet scenes must be seen as an index of a new sociopolitical organization in which associations of men of an Archaic-urban stamp played an important role. Marginalization of women can also be recognized in tomb inscriptions in the necropolises of Orvieto (second half of the sixth-first quarter of the fifth century). The inscriptions on the outer façade over the entrance of the tombs, clearly addressed to the external world, as a rule name men,²⁸³¹ while the relatively small chamber tombs probably served for the nuclear family (possibly including select servants). The *pater familias*, who was a full citizen and a warrior, outwardly represented the (nuclear) family, while the wife remained unnamed. An interesting non-funerary epigraphic complex is represented by the Archaic votive inscriptions in the extra-urban Porto-naccio sanctuary of Veii, in which only one woman is attested amongst the dedicators (and this is not absolutely certain).²⁸³² While female votive statuettes and dedicatory gifts having to do with fertility, birth, and children's welfare refer to female piety, epigraphic traces of them are rare in the Archaic period. Including the aforementioned inscription, between the beginning of the sixth and the middle of the fifth century we know of only three to four dedicatory inscriptions of a more complex nature provided by women,²⁸³³ in one case the donor was a *lautenitha* (see below). References to political or sacred offices are generally rare in inscriptions of the Archaic period and not attested in connection with women. The archaeological and iconographic material in the Archaic period, moreover, offers very little information with regard to cult-relevant women or priestesses.²⁸³⁴

Etruscan funerary imagery shows clear differences in the presentation of the female element, as conditioned by the sociopolitical background of the clients and the type of monument. The wall paintings displayed within the family tombs of the wealthy metropolis of Tarquinia were not intended for the

general public but served for the self-definition of the tomb's owner within the bounds of aristocratic family ideology. Alongside high-status thinking there was also the capability to reproduce progeny that formed part of this ideology of nobility. Hence, the idea of the married couple as the nucleus of society took on significance especially in the face of death, as did the depiction of the wife as the husband's partner and high-ranking mistress of the house. The banquet scenes in particular show quite different interpretations of the basic theme. The well-known paintings in the pediment of the rear chamber of the Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca (Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, ca. 510 BCE)²⁸³⁵ with reclining couple on mattresses are rather concerned with the erotic aspect of the marriage relationship and—via allusion to Dionysos (and Ariadne)—aim at a certain elevation and heroization of the tomb owner (the societal reservations against heroization of normal mortals operating in Classical Athens were less strong in Etruria). The Bar-toccini Tomb (ca. 520),²⁸³⁶ depicts the dignified *mater familias* seated on her own chair, following a pictorial model widespread in the eastern Mediterranean, and emphasizes the tomb owner as legitimate *pater familias* and presider over a well-ordered *oikos*.²⁸³⁷ From about 500, there then evolved the aforementioned canonical banquet type, which shows the decently dressed wife at the collective banquet amongst equals reclining alongside her husband on the couch. Enjoying wine in public seems to have become unfashionable for them during the sixth century,²⁸³⁸ which is similar to what happened in Rome. The motif of the mother with a small child generally had no importance in wall paintings (this aspect took on weight in funerary art only from the late fifth century onwards). It must be emphasized that beside these mixed-gender banquets, purely male parties were normal too in Tarquinia from the beginning (thus, for example, the *symposion* like party with participants lying on mattresses in the Tomb of the Lionesses, ca. 520, and the drinking feast on *klinai* in the Tomb of the Chariots, 490/480);²⁸³⁹ the message that the individual tomb owner wished to transmit with the painting was indeed decisive.

Naturally, gender-specific distinctions come to light more strongly in the pictorial repertoire of the reliefs from Chiusi, which mostly relate to individual burials. Unfortunately, the original archaeological context of these monuments is missing. To the female sphere in the Late Archaic period belong scenes having to do with the funerary ritual (especially *prothesis* scenes—including women as mourners—can be frequently found²⁸⁴⁰), a kind of gathering of women, and a few reliefs that may represent marriage rituals.²⁸⁴¹ Oriented in the male direction are warriors and fighting scenes, the banquet (often with exclusively male participants),²⁸⁴² athletic contests and the hunt, as well as gatherings of men. The pictorial repertoire on the whole reflects a broader, urban-style social class with a clear division of gender roles. This social model also continued in the painted chamber tombs of the first half of the fifth century, where banquet scenes are found five times,

always with exclusively male banqueters.²⁸⁴³ More recent, but comparable to an extent, are the grave stelae from Felsina/Bologna. For men, these stress civic and military functions, while the pictorial repertoire for women is substantially more limited, referring to a woman's married or unmarried status and strongly concentrating on the theme of the journey to the underworld (which in Bologna was important).²⁸⁴⁴ The banquet motif significantly no longer plays any major role in this group of monuments (even if the idea of banqueting is still present through grave goods).

Activities from the woman's domestic sphere are entirely absent from the pictorial repertoire of Etruscan vase painting of the second half of the sixth and first half of the fifth centuries, which instead tended to portray Greek mythology, and furthermore was mainly oriented toward the aristocratic-masculine world.²⁸⁴⁵

3 On the integration of foreigners

Etruria's involvement in the international trade and the attractiveness of its prosperous metropolitan centers with their eager-to-shop inhabitants led, from the early sixth century, to an increased presence of foreigners, especially Greeks, Phoenicians/ Carthaginians, Italics, and—occasionally—Celts. In the major harbor settlements, the local authorities initially encouraged the presence of foreign merchants, especially Greeks and Phoenicians/ Carthaginians. Inscriptions from sanctuaries in port towns like Gravisca (with many Greek dedicatory inscriptions, including the Sostratos anchor)²⁸⁴⁶ and Pyrgi (with its famous gold tablets) suggest some kind of integration rather than separation, at least in the cult practise. Further epigraphic evidence such as the *tesserae hospitales* from a wealthy tomb in the Santa Monica necropolis in Carthage and from the St. Omobono district in Rome attest to agreements based on the principle of hospitality with foreign merchants around the mid sixth century.²⁸⁴⁷ In the earlier periods legal integration into the citizenry, at least for the foreigner's descendants, appears possible on an individual basis, as indicated *inter alia* by the Celtic ancestor of the *Katacinagens* in Orvieto (*ET² Vs 1.165*).²⁸⁴⁸ With consolidation of the ruling classes, however, vertical social mobility generally became more difficult beginning in the sixth and especially in the fifth century. Thus Lucumo, the son of the wealthy Greek Demaratos and an Etruscan noble woman, according to the tradition was not entitled to political offices in Tarquinia (Livy 1.5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.47.1–2).²⁸⁴⁹ Economically powerful foreigners probably lived as free persons in Etruria, in the manner of *metics* (resident aliens) or *peregrini* without political rights; in the mature phase, however, most of the Greek sea merchants did not belong to the upper social class.²⁸⁵⁰ From 470–450 the presence of Greek merchants in the Etruscan core area diminished (as is clear

e.g. in the sanctuary of Gravisca), and shifted further north toward the Po delta, with especially Spina exhibiting a considerable Greek presence.

Among the artisans of foreign origin, the situation was complex and must have ranged from slaves (defined by their unfree personal status) to free foreigners to perhaps fully integrated citizens. While foreign craftsmen in the Orientalizing period (see [chapter 34](#) Botto) probably reached Etruscan aristocratic residences as non-free part of the gift trade, in the Archaic period East Greek emigrants played an important role. This becomes clear in the vase paintings (the group of the Caeretan *hydriae* is thus the product of one or two East Greek potter-painters who settled in Caere, for example) and also in the wall paintings of Tarquinia. The artisans worked in organized workshops, with a workshop master and both free and non-free craftsmen of both foreign and Etruscan origin (see below). Their signatures attest from early times to a certain individual pride in craftsmanship. An important center for Etruscan vase painting was Vulci, where between 480 and 460 BCE the Greek vase painter *Praxias* (probably from southern Italy or eastern Sicily) had settled down and was maybe legally well integrated (if the supposed man's name *Arnthe Praxias* is in fact present; this, however, is currently the subject of much discussion).²⁸⁵¹ The Greek craftsman *Metron*, named by the Etruscan artists' signature *metru menece* on a red-figured *kylix* from Populonia (450–440; *ET*² Po 6.1), was probably free, but not a citizen.²⁸⁵² Since there is no own *nomen gentile*, but also no patron's *gentilicium*, he will have been a kind of *métoikos* (resident alien).²⁸⁵³

Prisoners of war and other prisoners often lost their personal freedom and served their masters as slaves, primarily in private households and in factories/workshops. From the Twelve Tables (3.5) we learn that after a specified period had elapsed, Roman debtors, even in the middle of the fifth century, could still be killed or sold *trans Tiberim peregre*—probably meaning to Etruria. But large-scale slaveholding was not found before the fourth century; in agricultural production, foreign slaves played no significant role in pre-Hellenistic times.

A statue base from the last quarter of the sixth century that was discovered in 2008 in the Campo della Fiera sanctuary near Orvieto is of special interest.²⁸⁵⁴ The inscription records as the donor a female person named Kanuta, *lautenitha* (= freed-woman) of the Larecena family and wife of Aranth Pinie. *Kanuta* could be an Italic -Oscan name; the Etruscan *nomen gentile larecena(s)* is found in the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis (*ET*² Vs 1.51). This is a fairly large base (ca. 80 x 50 x 40 cm) for a standing bronze figure that represents a rather costly dedication, which documents the social rise of a formerly unfree or at least subordinated woman that was achieved by marriage. The inscription represents by far the earliest attestation of the term *lautni(tha)*;²⁸⁵⁵ it is unclear whether the archaic form is to be understood in the classical sense of *liberta*, or of *familiaris* (= belonging to the family). A kind of liberation from the patron's power must be accepted in any case. Let it

be stressed that Old Italic, and especially Sabellic, onomastic material is richly documented in Etruscan inscriptions since early times, and demonstrates various forms of integration, not excluding (especially in the early and, again, late periods) full citizenship.²⁸⁵⁶

Natives, too, could have the status of a dependent or even an unfree person. In the urban craftsman milieu this is assumed on the basis of the suffix *-ša* for the vase painter *kape mukathesa* = “Kape, belonging to Mukathe” (amphora from the Vulci workshop of the Micali Painter, ca. 500, *ET*² Vc 6.1) and perhaps also for *aranth hera-canasa* = “Aranth, belonging to Heracana” (?), known from the Tomb of the Jugglers at Tarquinia (530–520, *ET*² Ta 7.12).²⁸⁵⁷ Dependency relations existed between parts of the Etruscan rural population and the land-owning upper class, but are difficult to define in their concrete legal dimensions because of the lack of sources. Nevertheless the existence of a free peasantry with moderate land ownership in the later sixth and fifth centuries must also be considered. Of especial interest is the bucchero inscription of *Laris Pataras* from Casale Pian Roseto in the territory of Veii, whose binomial name perhaps reveals to us the owner of the farm.²⁸⁵⁸

From the mid fifth century on, especially in the coastal cities of southern Etruria, there arose severe problems of an economic and probably also domestic political nature. This brought about new conditions, undoubtedly affecting social organization.

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Marie-Laurence Haack

54Ritual and Cults, 580–450 BCE

Abstract: The rites and worship of the Archaic and Classical periods can be studied by focusing on the increasing Hellenization of Etruria that began in the eighth century. First, the ways in which this Hellenization took place are explained, paying particular attention to the sanctuaries of emporia like those of Gravisca and Pyrgi. Then we show how this Hellenization took shape in the widening pantheon and in the sacrifices being performed that were meant for an extended family circle. Lastly the conception of the beyond, human sacrifices, and city religious planning are considered as limits to Hellenization.

Keywords: Sacrifices, deaths, emporia, beyond, pantheon

Introduction

During the Archaic and Classical periods, Etruscan rites and worship experienced a profound transformation, but we do not know the details. Indeed, not only does no literary text describe the Etruscan religious rites and practices of the time, but the Archaic and Classical inscriptions, while decipherable, are difficult to understand. We should therefore base our interpretation primarily on archaeological sources to try to give an account of what seems to be the most striking fact of the Archaic and Classical periods: the continuation of the Hellenization of Etruscan practices and rituals that had been in progress as early as in the eighth century BCE.

1The paths to Hellenization

The paths to Hellenization are many. The essential factor seems to have been the contacts made between the Greek and Etruscan aristocracies. As Mario Torelli writes,²⁸⁵⁹ “Etruscan society found its ideal counterpart in Greek civilization, which was soon adopted as a model for emerging aristocratic social setup styled on the Greek poleis.” During banquets and ceremonies mixing Greeks and Etruscans, the oral transmission of Greek songs, legends and epics took place. The important Greek texts and myths were, it seems, recovered by Etruscans for local use. By definition, the signs of this oral tradition are difficult to perceive, but their transcription is visible in the form of figural repertoire on Etruscan artifacts, which is tantamount to observing the material forms of this transmission.²⁸⁶⁰ The links between Etruscan and

Greek aristocrats might also have materialized by setting down offerings in the big Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia and Dodona, where Etruscan bronze weapons and vases of the eighth and early seventh centuries have been discovered.²⁸⁶¹

In the Archaic period, contacts between Greeks and Etruscans materialized through the granting of specific areas, called *emporìa*, for trade with foreigners. The model seems to be Naucratis in Egypt, on a branch of the Nile, where Pharaoh Amasis granted the Greeks the right to trade.²⁸⁶² In these *emporìa*, as at Naucratis, a space was left for sanctuaries, where foreigners were allowed to practice their religions. These *emporìa* that were also open to the Etruscans were used as vehicles for spreading foreign religions, mostly Greek, all across Etruria.

The best-known Etruscan *emporìa* are those of Gravisca and Pyrgi where excavations have been carried out since the 1960s and are still producing surprises. Taking these two examples, we will try to identify the particular forms taken by worship and rituals in the Archaic and Classical periods under the influence of Hellenization. Gravisca is perhaps the most ancient Etruscan *emporium*.²⁸⁶³ among its customs were Greeks who sought metallurgical products as early as the late seventh or early sixth century. Recent excavations have shown that several dozen smelting furnaces were active in the sanctuary as early as in the sixth century and that a ring of a dozen furnaces surrounded the Archaic *sacellum*. This metallurgical activity had probably a religious value for the Greeks, who honored Hephaistos as a multi-talented god—magician, doctor, shaman, metallurgist and seer. The melting of metal, at that time, was associated with sacrifices. The cavity of a furnace was filled with a layer of sand, which contained the remains of sacrifices, animal bones, burnt wood, fragments of a ceramic *impasto* olla, and a miniature Corinthian cup.

The association between metallurgy and religion was an argument for an identification of the first cult goddess with Aphrodite, wife of Hephaistos, and for the opening of the sanctuary by the Phoenicians. The latter are said to have offered a *dinos* in the wild goats' style dating from 620–610, a bronze cauldron, and a statue of an armed goddess as an inaugural gift for the “opening” of the *emporium*. The presence of foundries attracted many Greeks—often Ionians—until the late fifth century. At the end of the sixth century, dedications of Aeginetans appeared among the inscriptions; in the late sixth century, Sostratos from Aegina dedicated an anchor to Apollo. This Aeginetan may be the same who made a dedication to Aphrodite in her sanctuary of Naucratis and who grew rich by selling Attic vases and probably slaves, food products and metals. The dedications also suggest a certain number of middlemen, *naukleroi* and *phortegoi*, such as Hyblesios, a very rare name in Greek onomastics, which is also the name of a native dedicator on an Attic black-figure cup (band-cup) found at Naucratis.

At Pyrgi, on the territory of Caere, the *emporium* received western Phoenicians. Excavations have unearthed a Phoenician-language inscription,

attesting the existence of direct links between Caere and western Phoenicians in the 500s that resulted in a major building program, which apparently made Pyrgi the most important Etruscan sanctuary with two large, prestigious temples (Fig. 18.12). Indeed, in 1964 a triptych of gold laminate plaques bearing bilingual inscriptions was found (Fig. 35.2). The two languages were not, as one might have expected, Etruscan and Greek, but Etruscan and Phoenician, and attested the dedication of Archaic Temple B by Thefarie Velianas, ruler of Caere, to Astarte (the Phoenician mother-goddess) and Uni (the Etruscan Hera). Spectacular as it may have been, the Phoenician inscription should not conceal the extraordinary pervasiveness of Greek influence at Caere. True, the Phoenicians were military allies and trading partners and were therefore granted one or more places of worship, but they do not seem to have been the main and continuous reference inside the sanctuary. When the Phoenician inscription was made and displayed between 510 and 490, the Greek model was obvious, for example, in the architecture of Temple B; the Greek model still prevailed between 490 and 480, for the erection of Temple A.

Temple B, whose antefixes celebrate the sacred marriage of the Phoenician goddess, was designed as a compromise between Greek and Etruscan architecture. The peripteral plan of the temple in fact conforms to Greek models; it is built according to a unit of measurement of 0.296 m, which corresponds to the attic foot that was officially adopted in Athens at the time of Solon. Specifically, the influence could be Siceliot because these features are reminiscent of the temples of Selinunte: the plan and proportions of the *adyton*, the fact that it was probably raised, and the vast area covered by lateral porticoes versus the cramped area of the cella. In addition, Temple B borrows some of its patterns from Greek culture. The attachment to Greek themes can be seen in some fragments of the ridgepole and of the *mutuli* of Temple B that represents a mature man, a younger man, and a many-headed hydra—the victory of Hercules helped by Iolaus over the hydra of Lerna—and in acroteria depicting charioteers of the two heroes and in the short sides of the temple showing the labors of Heracles. According to the legend, on the way back from the kingdom of Geryon Hercules stopped several times on the Etruscan coast, especially near Pyrgi. According to Ovid (*Fast.* 6.501), he had the opportunity to snatch Leucothea and Palaemon from furious Italic Maenads, and then assigned them to the Penates.

In Temple A, the use of the representation of Greek myths seems to be meant to relate the city of Caere to idealized origins.²⁸⁶⁴ Temple A is thus decorated with references to Greek myths playing on equivalences between past and present. In the late fifth century, on the great *mutulus* with relief of the back pediment, scenes of the Theban myth were represented: the duel between Tydeus and Melanippe, and Capaneus killed by a thunderbolt from Zeus (Fig. 51.15). During a restoration after the ransacking of the sanctuary by the troops of Dionysius, The main facade was then decorated with an

episode of the myth of Ino. Finally, the temple seems also to have been dedicated to Astarte-Leucothea; an inscription with the name of Thesan, the Etruscan Dawn, and another, carved on a black-glazed piece of broken glass from the first half of the fourth century at the earliest, were found in near the building.

The reference to Greece is so overwhelming that, when the looting of Pyrgi by Dionysius of Syracuse is mentioned, Leucothea or Eileithyia is presented by Greek sources as the deity who is worshipped on the spot. Now the name of Leucothea transmitted by Siceliot or Athenian sources used by pseudo-Aristotle ([Oec.] 2.1349b) is that of a marine goddess charged with the education of young people, who is looked upon in Phoenicia as an *interpretatio Graeca* of Astarte, with marine and maternal aspects. For Raymond Bloch, two levels of assimilation should be distinguished. The first makes Uni, identified with Astarte in the bilingual inscription, a Mater Matuta and a Juno Lucina; the second makes these two Roman divinities Leucothea and Eileithyia.²⁸⁶⁵ In the case of Leucothea, this assimilation is all the more likely because, according to Ovid (*Fast.* 6.545–47), Hercules met Ino at the mouth of the Tiber in her Greek name of Leucothea. However, there are doubts as to the existence of a Roman mediation at a time when Phoenician-Punic people and Greeks had direct relations in the northern area of the sanctuary.

2Forms of Hellenization

As seen from the examples of Gravisca and Pyrgi, there are many ways to trace contacts with the Greeks in the Etruscan religion: the arrival of new gods, the practice of blood and bloodless sacrifices, votive offerings, and the architecture of temples and shrines.

2.1The arrival of new gods

The most striking form of Hellenization is the formation of an Etruscan pantheon that has numerous connections with the Greek pantheon. Etruscan gods have a vague, unclear, incomplete and seemingly contradictory character. They do not seem to have a history, at least as the readers of Greek myths understood the word. They have multiple, sometimes antinomic functions, accumulated by the making of offerings and their successive strata. The gods are endowed with individuality and a personality to look like men. Zeus, the Greek supreme deity with Uranian and paternal character, became Tinia; Hera, Uni; Athena, goddess of fate and oracles, Menerva; Ares, Maris; Poseidon, Nethuns; Hermes, Turms; Hephaistos, Sethlans; Dionysos, Fufluns;

Helios, Usil; Eos, Thesan; Aphrodite, Turan; and Demeter. Vei. Some Greek gods are even mentioned “just as they are called,” with their name barely changed, in the Etruscan pantheon. Apollo became Ap(u)lu; Artemis, Aritimi/Artume; Latona, Letun; Castor, Castur; Pollux, Pultuce; Heracles, Hercle; Hades, Aita; Persephone, Phersipnai; and Charon, Charun.²⁸⁶⁶ The resemblances are at once onomastic and iconographic.

It would be a mistake, however, to consider the Etruscan pantheon a simple peripheral copy of the Greek. Etruscan deities such as Culsans and Catha have no Greek equivalent. Although Hercle possesses the characters of the Greek Heracles, he is a god and not a hero, and has his own myths which are unknown in the Greek world. He abducted a woman named Mlachuch; he is represented as a child sitting on a raft of amphorae; he introduced his son Epiur to Tinia and became the adopted son of Uni. Maris, whose name suggests comparison with Mars, does not have the character of the god of agriculture or war, and is never represented as Mars. In addition, a number of deities are grouped in colleges or circles while having different names but performing the same functions.²⁸⁶⁷ Thus, the Roman *Dii Consentes* may have an Etruscan origin. It is no longer possible to think in terms of an “ordinary presence” of Greek themes in Etruscan myths and iconography, as we used to a few years ago, as if the Etruscans took on religious patterns without understanding them.

Etruscan artists and craftsmen knew the Greek mythical variations of the West very well. They selected the topics that interested them, and integrated them into the repertoire of Etruscan images, giving them a specific, political, symbolic, religious or eschatological meaning in accordance with their beliefs, their needs and the situation.²⁸⁶⁸

2.2 Blood and bloodless sacrifices

With the Hellenization of the pantheon, we can observe the regular practice of religious sacrifices in ways that partly resemble those used in Greece. Before becoming an Etruscan peculiarity that would have given its name to the Etruscans (Lat. *Tusci*; Isid. *Etym.* 9.2.86), sacrifices seem to have borrowed their forms from abroad. Our knowledge of the stages in this transformation is poor, but it is reasonable to think that the first forms of sacrifices on Etruscan territory are attested in Tarquinia under Cypro-Phoenician influence in the eighth century, and that they developed under the influence of the East or colonial Greeks. Indeed, we can observe a change in practices—for example, the adoption of bloody sacrifices, the use of knives and axes, and the adoption of bloodless sacrifices with bowls, *oinochoai*, *paterae*, cups, small cups, *thymiateria* and tripods. The parallel with Greek practice is troubling. Since Etruscan deities have the same attributes as their Greek counterparts, at least in some cases well documented by paleozoological and paleobotanical

analysis, they receive the same kind of sacrifices as in the Greek world. Pigs are sacrificed to Uni and Veī; dogs are sacrificed to Turan.²⁸⁶⁹

As in the Greek world, sacrifices were performed not only in a private environment, but also in larger groups and in public places, where, from the end of the fifth century, local issues played a prominent role. Private sacrifices were performed in houses, like in Accesa (Massa Marittima), where a three-room house dating from the first half of the fifth century, contained an *impasto* olla, full of thirty miniature *impasto* and bucchero *kyathoi*, which was placed against a wall of the smallest room. The ceremonies were extended to the clan or to the *gens* in the case of a funeral.²⁸⁷⁰ The body of the deceased was perfumed with ointments and viewed in a room of the house prepared for the occasion, where family members gave way to expansive demonstrations of grief.

The exposition of the body, called *prothesis* in Greek is represented on a relief from Chiusi dating to the early fifth century. The body is depicted on a ceremonial bed placed under a tent, on several mattresses and partly covered with a heavy cloth. Men at the foot of the bed lift their hands to their brows as a sign of mourning. A child is lifted to the height of the deceased's face, and an *aulos* player stands on a stool.²⁸⁷¹ Women wear their hair loose, their hands lifted to their faces or beating their breasts. The body is moved from the bed and honored with banquets and funeral games that were organized, it seems, on the Homeric model, sometimes on steps near the tomb, as in Grotta Porcina (Vetralla) and in the tomb of Cuccumella in Vulci (both first half of the sixth century).

In Vulci, the Cuccumella tomb was preceded by a 9 m wide open-air space, equipped with tiers on three sides, on which the persons taking part in the funerary ceremonies sat. In Grotta Porcina, we find a theatre, which is a place of worship. It is approximately 12 m wide by 15 m long, with tiers on three sides; in its center it has a circular altar, 6.2 meter in diameter, adorned with animal figures in relief, with a slope giving access to it. As shown by the channel dug on the southwest side, animals were sacrificed in the presence of the people who took seats on the tiers to attend the ceremony. This "theatre" marked the heart of a cemetery area and must have accommodated large gatherings for funerary ceremonies. Temporary wooden structures designed to welcome spectators are reproduced on game scenes on the delle Bighe Tomb at Tarquinia (late sixth—early fifth century).²⁸⁷² This is a difference from the Orientalizing period, when the open-air spaces were only provided for the family of the deceased and above all, had to be the expression of a gentile cult.

The body of the deceased was then cremated or buried, and pieces of furniture were set down in the tomb. When the body of the deceased was cremated, the pyre was placed near the tomb, as shown by the presence of *ustrina* near pit burials. Ceremonies may also have taken place also to honor dead ancestors, as shown by some Orientalizing and Archaic tombs at Caere

that contain thrones for the ancestors. This is confirmed by the vocabulary of funerary inscriptions including words such as *apa*, *apas*, *apasi*, and *apires*, which may be compared with the Latin *parentes*, *Parentalia*, and *parentare*. Some necropolises house sanctuaries or structures shaped like shrines, intended for the cult of the dead or the ancestors and the cult of chthonic and infernal divinities. Thus the sanctuary of the cemetery of La Cannicella in Orvieto displays several houses of worship, altars, basins, fountains, a canal network, statue bases and numerous architectural terra-cotta ware.²⁸⁷³ Essentially, divinities of chthonic nature like *Vei*, *Thanr*, and *Faunus-Heracles* were worshipped and offered sacrifices (see chapter 18 Maras). The link between the mortal world and the divine world was established through sacrifices on a tufa bench, in which a well was dug and covered with a lid, above a grave. In Capua, the sanctuary of Fondo Patturelli, where altars and *aediculea* were also numerous, was also a necropolis sanctuary (see chapter 74 Bellelli).

2.3 Votive offerings

Like the Greeks, the Etruscans of the Archaic and Classical period strongly competed to offer the gods tokens of a vow or of gratitude in the form of sacrifices.²⁸⁷⁴ These demonstrations of piety displayed in shrines have many forms: actual size or miniature (and therefore symbolic) sacrifice plates, first fruits or shares of the harvest, tithing (*dekate*) in the form of a metal object, a statue or statuette representing the dedicator himself performing a sacrifice, the deity to whom the offering was made, or an episode of the etiological myth. In the late sixth century, the kings and tyrants who liked to compare their actions to those of the heroes showed their piety with imposing ex-votos, such as a terracotta group of statues of *Hercle* and *Menerva* dating to 510–500, set up in the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii, one of the most imposing sanctuaries of the Archaic period.

It was there, between 520 and 500, that a large temple dedicated to *Menerva* was erected in an enclosure where other cults are attested. It is as wide as it is long (18.50 m), and presents a *postica* part slightly larger than the *antica* part. It is divided into three *cellae*, and was decorated with terra-cotta plaques in bas relief meant to mask the wooden structure, a sculpted pediment, and big acroterial figures. The acroteria are laid out to cover the whole length of the temple. Some important finds were the head and the shoulders of a *Turms-Hermes*, a large size statue of Apollo, a Latona holding in her arms Apollo as a child who has just shot his arrows into Python the snake, and a Heracles capturing the hind of Ceryneia. All the statues evoke Apollo as a symbol of an order vanquishing disorder. The Portonaccio cult received numerous dedications to *Menerva* and there may have been other goddesses as well, such as *Aritimi/Artemis* and *Turan/Aphrodite*, according to

a bucchero vessel. Another offering, a bucchero box dedicated by Laris Velkaskas, was possibly intended to hold *sortes* for divination. Votives have been dedicated by famous historical figures. For example, the mercenaries of the late seventh and sixth centuries are represented by a bucchero chalice dedicated by Aulus Vibenna. The Tulumnes family, known for the fifth-century King Tolumnius, who precipitated conflicts with Rome, is also represented. The sanctuary may have housed a school for scribes because the inscriptions of the sanctuary are notable for a distinctive syllabic punctuation and neat lettering.²⁸⁷⁵

2.4The architecture of temples and shrines

The Hellenization of gestures goes hand in hand with a progressive monumentalization of the places of worship on a Greek model.²⁸⁷⁶ Sanctuaries were erected in an urban and suburban environment, near the cities.²⁸⁷⁷ The sanctuaries were now delimited by an enclosure (*temenos*) marking the limits of the territory dedicated to the gods. It was marked on the territory by a wall with one or more doors, as at Pyrgi, where entry was through a propylon door, or through boundary stones (*horoi*), as in Bolsena. They were now organized around one or more altars (*bomoi*) on which sacrifices were made and a *focolare* pit for chthonic rites.²⁸⁷⁸ The location and construction of Greek temples followed Greek canons. Temples with Greek appearance were erected. Initially they were simple wooden *naoi* consisting of a long single room that sometimes ended with an apse. This is the case of the Temple of Piazza d'Armi, with an 18 m long and a slightly more than 6 m wide cella, which opened to the outside on one of the short sides and whose roof structure was protected by terra-cotta slabs with embossed decoration. Subsequently, the major civic cults of Polias multiplied between the late sixth and early fifth centuries in southern Etruria.

Finally, Hellenization played a seminal role in the spread through Etruria of the Orphic and Pythagorean religious doctrines in the fifth century; images of the Etruscan Hades, as seen in the painted tombs of Tarquinia, have a marked Greek flavor. For the Etruscans, the journey into the bowels of the earth was plagued by demons and myriad dangers.

3Etruscan characters

Recent research values Etruscan originality, and show the selection and adaptation of Greek models. The differences between Greek models and Etruscan realities are not just formal; they can also be explained by the Etruscan conception of the relations between men and gods. The Etruscan

underworld is very different from the Greek Hades. The Etruscans worshipped a plural form of *Charun* with varying names (*Charun*, *Charun chunchulis*) and varying visual forms (sometimes with wings, sometimes without). *Charuns* are accompanied by minor infernal forces unknown in Greece, probably of local invention, such as *Lasa*, *Vanth* and *Tuchulcha*.

For the Etruscans, there is a mystical correspondence between *templa in caelo, in terris* and *sub terra*; that is, there is a coexistence of supernatural forces in the celestial spheres, on earth, and in the underworld. For example, Etruscan temples are supposed to represent on the ground and as a permanent structure the portion belonging to the gods of heavens, since, strictly speaking, an Etruscan temple is an *effatus ager*, a space free from divine powers, limited by its angles and enhanced by the podium.

Another difference could be the practice of human sacrifices in exceptional cases. Phocæan prisoners were killed at Caere in 535 (Hdt. 1.167); Theodotus of Lipari was slain during the Etruscan conquest (Callim. *Aet.* fr. 93 Pfeiffer), and the Romans were massacred in Tarquinia in 358 (Livy 7.15.10). These can be considered exceptional cases because at Caere, according to Herodotus, the murder of the Greeks was considered a religious crime because it caused a plague that the people of Caere had to expiate by organizing games in honor of the dead Greeks and by the construction of a sanctuary near site of the murder.

We should not overlook the Faliscan, Latin and Umbrian contributions to the formation of Etruscan cults and rituals. Of evident Latin extraction are the gods linked to man's reproductive power and to nature, and hence to the primordial landscape and the earliest notions of agricultural cycles: *Vetis/Veive-Vediovis*, Ana-Anna Perenna, *Satre-Saturnus*, *Uni-Juno*; of Faliscan origin are *Suris-Soranus*; of Umbrian influence, *Vesuna*.

Thus, some scholars underline the importance of Etruscan settlements in Po-area Etruria, where forms of Etruscan religious organization are thought to be visible.²⁸⁷⁹ In the sixth century, Etruscans from Perugia, Chiusi, Volterra, and so on migrated to northern Italy (Marzabotto, Felsina, Spina, Adria, Mantua) and founded cities where they performed rites that differed somewhat from those of the Greeks. If the orthogonal plan of the city resembles that of the cities of Magna Graecia, the general Etruscan conception of urban planning depends on religious principles. At the junction of the two largest streets, a stone marked with a cross facing the cardinal points of the compass was found. Above all, in a place of the acropolis overlooking the city, there are remains of walls that are thought to be an *auguraculum* and an altar with a *mundus*, a tripartite temple, another altar with a molded base and access stairs.

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Hilary Becker

55Economy, 580–450 BCE

Abstract: This chapter reviews the evidence for the mainstays of the Etruscan economy during the Archaic and early Classical periods. In order to form a picture of the domestic economy, Etruscan agricultural production as well as the collection and processing of metal resources are considered. The economy of this period is also robust due to the system of cabotage along the Etruscan coast and the *emporia* that flourished at this time. Important evidence can be gleaned about the littoral trade by reviewing evidence from these *emporia*, as well as shipwrecks, epigraphic and iconographic sources, and the ubiquitous “Etruscan pirates.” Different methods of exchange, from bartering to the use of coinage, which first appears in this time, is also presented. While this period marks a highpoint for Etruscan international commerce, beginning in the early fifth century, the pattern of international trade changes significantly. This chapter assesses this changing commercial scene in southern coastal Etruria as well as in northern areas (i.e. Populonia and the Po Plain).

Keywords: Agriculture, coinage, economy, *emporia*

Introduction

Etruria is often thought of as a loose grouping of city-states that did not have a federal organization. The regional diversity can be identified thanks to the different months used in Etruscan calendars, or by the fact that some city-states may have two eponymous *zilath* (chief magistrates) while others have only one.²⁸⁸⁰ But even economic exchanges do not seem to be uniform across Etruria, as the standards of weights and coinage could both vary.²⁸⁸¹ The economic experience was not uniform across Etruria as the city-states enjoyed varied trade routes and local products. This diversity is perhaps best expressed in the seminal time of the Archaic and early Classical periods, when many Etruscan centers were at the height of their commercial power. When there was a sudden downturn in commercial contact along the Tyrrhenian shores at the end of the Archaic period, the economy of some Etruscan territories suffered deleterious effects, while other Etruscan centers continued unchanged or even experienced expansion; these transitions are explored in this chapter and elsewhere (see [chapter 61](#) Becker).

1Etruscan Resources

Products including cereals, wine, and livestock were undoubtedly the mainstays of the agricultural economy of Etruria. Due to the ephemeral nature of these products, it is impossible to make a quantitative analysis of productive capacity during the Archaic period. In Roman times, the fecundity of Etruscan soil was legendary. Diodorus Siculus (5.40.3–5) wrote that the soil of Etruria was moist in both winter and summer and capable of bearing every crop. Varro (*Rust.* 1.44.1) believed that seeds planted in Etruscan soil (*Tusci campi*) would produce substantially more in volume compared with other regions.²⁸⁸² Certainly there would have been variation in the agricultural economies across Etruria, and that much is clear from the different contributions given by the Etruscan city-states in 205 BCE to support the fleet of Scipio (Livy 28.45.13–18). This is also clear in coastal Southern Etruria, where both Caere and Vulci produced enough surplus wine in the sixth century that the transport *amphorae* from each have been found abroad. For example, the archaic shipwreck at Antibes had *amphorae* from Caere, whereas the shipwreck at Bon-Porté had wine *amphorae* from Vulci.²⁸⁸³ In contrast, Tarquinia did not produce significant amounts of wine.

The farmhouse excavated at Podere Tartuchino (near Saturnia) provides an opportunity to understand what agricultural life was like during the Archaic period and beyond (Fig. 55.1). This farm had two phases stretching from the late sixth to the late fourth century. The house had a portico and a courtyard, which could have been used for both farming and domestic activities.²⁸⁸⁴ The farm once had mixed crops, including spelt. Such a varied strategy would have given variety to the inhabitants' diet and protected them against the potential of blight destroying a single crop.

The remains of a large *pithos* with a protective interior coating of resin, as well as hundreds of carbonized grape seeds, indicate that wine may have been produced here, even if at a small scale. The *pithos*, which once held ca. 350 liters, can be helpful in determining the farm's potential productive capacity with respect to wine. It is possible that wine could be produced in multiple batches (as many as five to six fermentations) each season. If the *pithos* was used each time wine was fermented, as many as 1, 575–1,890 liters of wine could have been made each year—an amount that would far exceed the consumptive needs of the residents of the house (estimated at 4 adults). Even if the *pithos* was filled only once per annum, a surplus would probably still remain. In either case, any leftover wine could have been traded for whatever was not made locally (such as the nails, soapstone beads, or ceramics found at the site).

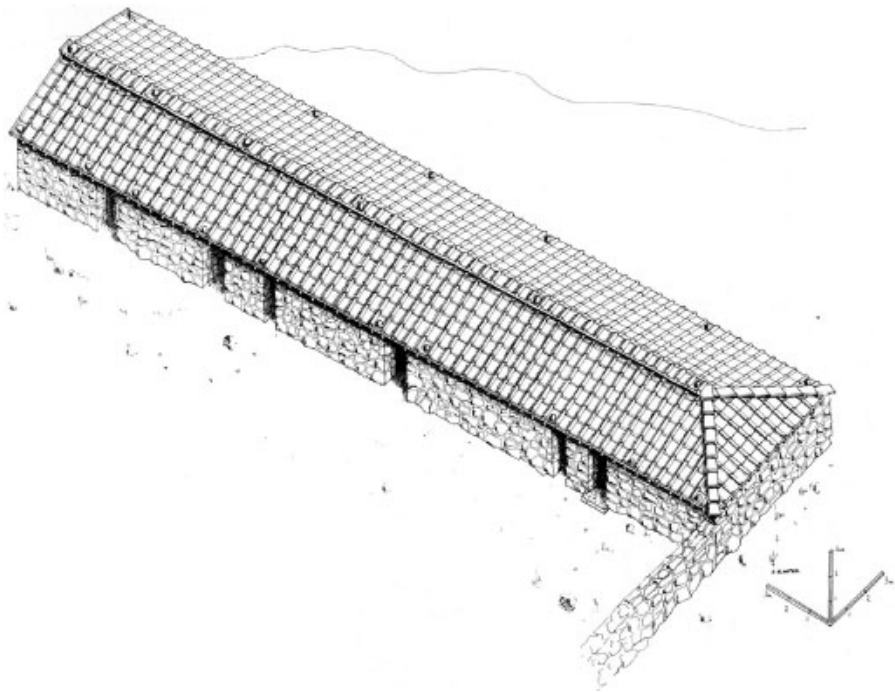


Fig. 55.1: Farm house at PodereTartuchino, reconstruction of the Phase II building, (after Perkins and Attolini 1992, fig. 22)

Another settlement that provides a window into life and economy is at Lago dell’Accesa, a mining settlement of the Archaic period near modern Massa Marittima. The site was ideally situated close to mines, a lake, and a river. The proximity of the residences to the mining area has prompted excavators to suggest that the directors of the mines lived there.²⁸⁸⁵ The proceeds from the mining activities (and perhaps other ventures) allowed the residents to have imports from outside the local area in their homes and tombs, including amber, Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, Attic vessels, in addition to local materials.²⁸⁸⁶ Residents were also able to extract many of the resources they needed from the surrounding area, as exemplified by a fishing weight which was found in one house and also by spears for hunting, which were found in many tomb assemblages. Inside complex X, 20 loom weights have been discovered, providing evidence for the domestic production of textiles at the site.²⁸⁸⁷ It is also thought that the wooded area now surrounding the site may have been cut back in antiquity, providing wood fuel for metal-working. A bronze device that may have been a pruning tool for vines was also found near the river.²⁸⁸⁸ While the residents of these houses were participating in an industry that would potentially send their refined metals far afield, it is interesting to note that while their trade enabled them to import goods, like their peers at Podere Tartuchino, they were able to produce at least some of their daily needs locally.

A glance at a map of Etruria reveals that during the Archaic period many minor settlements existed, in addition to the chief cities, which would have helped to absorb some of the surplus agricultural products of the surrounding farms from their catchment area and potentially to serve as places of exchange. In the last decades of the sixth century, for example, the areas around Castro (Vulci) and the valley of the Mignone (Caere) both saw an increase in the number of minor settlements, allowing for much more intense agricultural production.²⁸⁸⁹ These minor settlements may be connected to members of the aristocracy who acquired rural land during this time and who had connections to the major centers. The presence of aristocrats in some areas has been indicated by the construction of funerary monuments, such as the chamber tomb built near the small hilltop settlement at Poggio la Croce (Fiesole).²⁸⁹⁰

In addition to the agricultural fecundity of Etruria, significant mineral resources were also present. Paul Craddock notes that “virtually all the metals of antiquity with the exception of gold are represented” in Etruria.²⁸⁹¹ The distribution of these mines was laid out in such a way that many important centers were close to mines (see [chapter 25](#) Zifferero). Caere and Tarquinia were near Monti della Tolfa, Vetulonia near the Colline Metallifere, Populonia near the Campigliese and Volterra was near to mines in the Val di Cecina. Populonia in particular had long been an important center of processing and redistribution for the metal-rich areas of inland Etruria, but its economic orbit expanded in the Archaic period. For it was in the second half of the sixth century that the iron from the nearby metal-rich island of Elba began to be imported into the Porto Baratti in raw form so that it could be processed at Populonia. Strabo (5.2.6) explains that the reason for this change was that on-site furnaces at Elba could not process the ore sufficiently.²⁸⁹² At the same time, an industrial quarter was built outside Populonia’s walls at Poggio della Porcareccia, which had different areas for habitation and production.²⁸⁹³ The regularized placement of the industrial quarter and adjacent habitations inside the urban plan suggests the city’s involvement in this area.²⁸⁹⁴ A natural question then relates to who or what controlled the industry at Populonia. Did the wealthy elite or the state direct this production, did they work in harmony, or were these two groups, at this early period, indistinguishable? Certainly, a synergy between these two groups might have been important to protect these resources from foreign powers (e.g. raiding Syracusans) in the centuries that followed (Diod. Sic. 11.88.4–5; 15.14.3).

Populonia was not the only site where Elban ore was processed, as a series of small- and medium-sized refineries existed in the hinterland of Populonia and Vetulonia.²⁸⁹⁵ Follonica (località Rondelli) was one of those sites, and, like the area of Poggio della Porcareccia at Populonia, there was both an industrial area for processing iron, and a habitation area adjacent to it.²⁸⁹⁶ One thousand kg of slag were found there, as well as twenty-one furnaces (although the excavators believe that there could have been even more

furnaces). In addition, a lead and bronze weight (315.41 g) was found there that might have been used for weighing and trading the refined iron.²⁸⁹⁷ One of the advantages of this informal network of processing sites is that their fuel supply of charcoal would have been plentiful, as the coastline was wooded. A large quantity of charcoal is needed to reach the high temperatures (ca. 1060°–1300° C) required for metal smelting and iron working.²⁸⁹⁸

After the metal had been smelted at Populonia, Follonica, and other sites, Diodorus Siculus explains (5.13.1), this refined product was exported by merchants “in exchange either for money or for goods” and brought to Dicaearchia (modern Pozzuoli) or other trading centers (*emporia*) and worked by artisans there.²⁸⁹⁹ And while Diodorus gives the impression that raw iron was transported elsewhere to be processed, we know that at least some of it was forged locally. For example, the habitation of Fonteblanda (near ancient Talamone), a site nearly 1 km from the coast, which was busy with the trade coming from inland areas toward the coast, had a blacksmith’s workshop that worked Elban iron (see [chapter 26](#) Corretti).²⁹⁰⁰

2Etruscan trade at the ports and foreign contacts

It is clear that Etruria had, at that time, agricultural products and raw and finished metal goods to trade, as well as a settled landscape composed of city-states that were strong enough to protect their economic interests from potential maritime raiders. The foreign contacts that first developed along the Etruscan littoral to handle the export of Etruria’s agricultural products and raw and finished metal goods in the Orientalizing period continued into the Archaic period. The southern cities of Caere, Tarquinia, and Vulci continued to export the majority in metals that originated from the Colline Metallifere, Elba, and elsewhere in Etruria. But these southern cities did not develop directly on the coastline, and while this circumstance protected them from piracy and afforded each city with natural defense and easy access to rivers, they were thus removed from direct trade. In the Orientalizing period, any traders would have had to travel to the cities themselves to trade for resources, but in the sixth century, trading *emporia* were developed along the coast by these cities and their elites. Such *emporia* would provide a trading port that could be used by merchants passing through or lingering, as well as by the native inhabitants. Each of these trading ports also had at least one sanctuary whose god(s) would serve to mediate the space so that all might feel more comfortable trading near this sanctified space, whether one worshipped, for example, the Etruscan goddess Uni or Punic Astarte.

Tarquinia’s *emporium* at Graviscae offered multiple sanctuaries, including one to Aphrodite. This sanctuary thrived from around 600 to 480, and Greek inscriptions demonstrate that visitors appeared to be from different areas of

East Greece (especially Samos, Ephesus, and Miletus) and beyond.²⁹⁰¹ These visitors sought the help of Aphrodite, who in other Mediterranean contexts is associated with aiding navigation, as well as other Olympian gods.²⁹⁰² But interestingly, a sixth-century Etruscan inscription was dedicated to Turan, the nearest Etruscan equivalent to Aphrodite, thus indicating the international scope of this sanctuary at Graviscae. This sanctuary was prominent enough to attract a Greek named Sostratos, who dedicated a stone anchor and who may well have been the very successful merchant who made a large profit in cargo abroad and came to be immortalized by Herodotus (4.152). This same Sostratos may have also been an important importer of Attic vases to Etruria in the late sixth century.²⁹⁰³

The sanctuaries associated with the *emporia* certainly had an active economic life. Just to give an indication of this, Rome's early treaty with Carthage prohibited Rome from trading or buying things past the Fair Promontory of Carthage, but an exception was made for vital needs, such as repairing one's ship or for sacrifices (Polyb. 3.22.5). Making dedications to the gods is something that sailors did, and such sacred commerce at the *emporia* would have provided a comfortable intercultural scene for people of different languages and cultures to connect to trade products, customs, and ideas.

The unusual fresco of the Tomb of the Ship (mid fifth century BCE) from Tarquinia helps us visualize the key stages of exchange that transpired in Etruscan *emporia*, serving as visual documentation of a key socioeconomic phenomenon that no doubt transpired at many commercial sites along the Tyrrhenian seaboard (Fig. 51.8). The fresco scene depicts a merchant ship pulling in its sails and nearing the port while being saluted by a richly dressed man on shore. Near this individual is a *kylikeia*, a stand full of different types of Attic vases.²⁹⁰⁴ Even though the intrinsic value of vases continues to be debated, it is clear that to the family that owned this tomb, these products carried important socio-economic valence.²⁹⁰⁵ One intriguing and unanswerable question is what the arriving ship might have carried in its hold. Was the vessel bringing more Attic vases to Tarquinia, such as those depicted in the fresco, and/or other imported products? In return, would this ship have picked up items such as metal ingots or grain?

The banquet, which the Attic vases helped to facilitate, served to underscore the prominent social status of the tomb occupant and/or his family. Each banquet would have displayed the wealth (and some of the products of trade) that was made possible by the tomb owner's own involvement in trade. It is also possible to speculate about the relationship between the merchants and the individual waiting at the shore. It is very likely that foreign merchants had connections with particular elite citizens in each city, which may have involved hospitality, the sharing of lodging, or gift exchange. It is because of such social institutions that Demaratus of Corinth might have known that he would be well-received by fellow aristocrats in Tarquinia, and such social

connections would have facilitated the movements of Etruscans into other regions.²⁹⁰⁶ It may be that the merchants sailing into Tarquinia on the fresco of the Tomb of the Ship are about to be hosted at the very banquet depicted in that scene. With practices like hospitality, it may be possible that the Tarquinian depicted on this fresco may not ever have had to travel beyond Etruria to nurture trade relationships with foreign partners.

3Etruscan trade abroad

These Etruscan ports and *emporia* were engaged in a trade that not only came to their shores for raw materials, but that continued along a coastal route to southern France and beyond. Small ships would make stops at the different *emporia* of Etruria, picking up and dropping off goods (the practice of cabotage). This scenario is revealed by the sixth-century transport *amphorae* found at Graviscae.²⁹⁰⁷ As mentioned in [section 1](#), Tarquinia was not significantly engaged in wine export, but her neighbors were. Since the port-to-port trade traveled northward, it is not surprising to find that a significant number of the *amphorae* found there were made at Caere and not Vulci, not counting all the imported wares found there.²⁹⁰⁸ Thus Graviscae is not a port only for the goods of Tarquinia, but a “relay” point for coastal exchange.

This exchange route is in fact marked by contemporary shipwrecks that bore not only Etruscan goods, but also other products from around the Mediterranean, which are representative of this port-to-port trade. For example, a shipwreck (600–590) near the island of Giglio contained items that can be traced to Etruscan, East Greek, Corinthian, and Punic sources. Other shipwrecks, those from Bon Porté (540 and 510) and that from Cap d’Antibes (560–550), and the Grand Ribaud F wreck (500–475), also had similarly mixed cargos.²⁹⁰⁹ The evidence from the Giglio shipwreck confirms our understanding, which is that vessels, probably of small size, stopped at many ports along the Tyrrhenian coast, visiting ports of call in Campania, Latium, Etruria, and beyond, all the time acquiring new cargo and dropping off items.²⁹¹⁰

Etruscan ports and *emporia* were clearly not passive hosts and traders but were engaged in this long-distance trade. In Greek, the word “Tyrrhenian” was often synonymous with “pirate” because of the Etruscans’ prowess at sea.²⁹¹¹ Their power was so strong into the fifth century that Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.11) named them *thalassokratores*, “masters of the sea.” Cato even believed that, at that time, almost all of Italy was under their control.²⁹¹² It could be that in some cases, when the Etruscans acted in defense of the control of preferred trading routes (e.g. Battle of Alalia) or the metal ores, this behavior could be construed as piracy.

The Carthaginians, the most famous seafaring traders of the Mediterranean

world in their time, evidently had a symbiotic relationship with the Etruscans. We know this because of a treaty that existed between the Carthaginians and the Etruscans (Arist. *Pol.* 3.5.10–11). Aristotle mentions that this treaty involved Etruscans, but since each city-state was independent, it is likely that each of the coastal city-states active in maritime trade (i.e. namely Caere and Vulci) would have had its own treaty with Carthage.²⁹¹³ Polybius (3.22.4–13) mentions an early treaty (509) between Rome and Carthage that had specific provisions about where Romans could trade. It is possible that the diplomatic and contractual agreements between city-states in Etruria and Carthage also addressed “spheres of trade.” Archaeological evidence may support this idea of a commercial agreement, as Etruscan goods are not found west of Cadiz in Spain.

The Caeretans famously attempted to flex their naval power when they united forces with the Carthaginians against Alalia (Aleria) at Corsica in 540. For it seems that new colonists in Alalia (e.g. Phocaeans) had been encroaching on the trade routes of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, and thus in the context of this naval battle the colonists were viewed as the pirates (Hdt. 1.167). This battle resulted in the abandonment of Alalia by the Phocaeans.²⁹¹⁴ The Carthaginians also took advantage of the religious aspects of the *emporion*, such that the dedicatory hammered gold plaques (ca. 500) at Pyrgi had text written in both Etruscan and Punic. These plaques show how a goddess (Uni or Astarte, literally *Unialastres*, i.e. “Uni-Astarte” in the Etruscan version) helped the local tyrant Thefarie Velianas of Caere (Fig. 35.2).

The Etruscan presence in the western Mediterranean is attested by the presence of inscriptions at sites such as Saint-Blaise, Lattes, Collège Vieux-Port de Marseille, and even Ampurias.²⁹¹⁵ Etruscan participation in trade was made more real by the discovery of the Pech Maho plaque (near Narbonne). This is a contract from the first half of the fifth century written in Etruscan that mentions *kisne*, the Etruscan word for “down payment”, and Massalia (Matalia, possibly an origin or destination). Etruscan individuals (a *Venel* and an *Utavu*) are mentioned on the Etruscan text.²⁹¹⁶ This inscription was written on the reverse side of a similar commercial contract in Greek, this time discussing the purchase of goods from Emporitans. Were contracts standard for Etruscans like Venel who traded in the Mediterranean? And for Venel’s counterparts in mainland Etruria, were contracts used at the Etruscan *emporion* or for commerce further inland? To date, the only other recognizable Etruscan contracts deal with private land and date to the Hellenistic period (the Cortona tablet and the Perugia cippus: see chapter 67 Becker).

4Methods of exchange

Coinage, which began to be used in the Archaic period, was never the predominant means of exchange in Etruria, so much so that it is not clear that all Etruscan cities even minted coins (see [chapter 27](#) Catalli). Bartering, then, would have been a primary means for Etruscans to acquire what they did not produce themselves. One of the simplest transactions would be the exchange of surplus goods among neighbors, either at the home or at a property boundary, transactions categorized by Colin Renfrew as “home base reciprocity” and “boundary reciprocity” respectively.²⁹¹⁷ But sometimes a simple exchange would not have sufficed, for instance if a consumer wanted to buy sandals and only had spelt, but the sandal maker did not need any spelt. More complex bartering could then be employed for “down-the-line trade,” trading product A for B, B for C, and so on. Such an activity could result in a product traveling a considerable distance.

Metal offered an attractive alternative to an agricultural society because it provided a means to store surplus over a much longer time, whereas surplus spelt, for example, only had a limited duration. Two pre-monetary forms of exchange existed before the introduction of standardized coinage, *aes rude* and *aes signatum*; neither of these was currency per se, but the quality and quantity of the metal would have been a factor in their exchange.²⁹¹⁸ *Aes rude* was found primarily in the form of rough lumps but also was fused into bars or plates. A small piece of *aes rude* from the plow soil of the farm at Podere Tartuchino may indicate an instance of surplus exchange.²⁹¹⁹ Excavations at Bagnolo San Vito, in the Po Valley, have uncovered 343 pieces of *aes rude*.²⁹²⁰ What is interesting about this sample is that there is a sufficient quantity available to study and compare, and with that in mind, no clear weight systems have emerged. Instead, it can be imagined that when these pieces were traded, they would have been weighed individually in order to determine their intrinsic value.

Aes rude is often found in context together with *aes signatum*, and they could clearly be used interchangeably. The advantage of *aes signatum* is that it is a bar of bronze, characterized by a countersign on its face that guarantees the quality and weight of the metal by a particular authority. Servius Tullius is credited with introducing *aes signatum* to Rome.²⁹²¹

When the Etruscans began to mint their own coinage toward the end of the sixth and the early fifth centuries, eastern Greek (Phocaeen) coins provided models for the coin typologies as well as the weight standard, although different standards prevailed later.²⁹²² The earliest datable coins found so far in Etruria are from the late sixth or early fifth century.²⁹²³ These coins (thirty-nine in all) were silver and were found near the walls of Volterra together with Phocaeen and Massaliot coins. These coins feature either a pegasus or the head of a gorgon and are not marked by an inscription. Marina Martelli believes that the iconography indicates that the coin was minted by Populonia, since Populonia later came to use the head of a gorgon on some of its civic coinage.²⁹²⁴

Etruscan coins were first produced in small quantities and had a high face value— “small change” would come later (see [chapter 27](#) Catalli).²⁹²⁵ Fiorenzo Catalli observes that the earliest coins had a limited area of circulation and were probably not produced on the authority of any Etruscan city but rather “were produced to circulate within particular patrician groups for the payment and acquisition of services and goods.”²⁹²⁶ Another limited series dates roughly to the first half of the fifth century from Vulci and bears the legend *Thezi* or *Thezle* and is thought to have been made in the area of Vulci, a city whose *emporium* also made it a commercial hotspot of sorts for international trade.²⁹²⁷ The *Thezi/Thezle* coins were produced in small quantities and are thought to refer to the name of the family that authorized the coins.²⁹²⁸ A logical question centers around what provided the impetus for these initial limited emissions. Whether these coins were needed by a gentilician group or the state, they would have provided a means for outlaying a large sum, such as for buying armor or hiring mercenaries, in a short period of time. Securely dated coinage minted by Etruscan city-states does not pre-date the middle of the fifth century.

5The crisis and southern Etruria

A pivotal event in Etruscan history was the defeat of the Etruscan fleet at Cumae in 474 by Hieron of Syracuse. This battle, coupled with the waning presence of Etruscan influence in Rome and (eventually) Campania, signaled the end of Etruscan thalassocracy. This “crisis” absolutely changed the economic role of the coastal south Etruscan centers at the end of the Archaic period. The sanctuary of Graviscae, once populated by Greeks and Etruscans, was now frequented only by local, Etruscan traffic, which sought the benefits of Turan. The importation of Attic pottery into the ports of southern Etruria was curtailed dramatically by 460–450.²⁹²⁹ By around 450, the tombs at Tarquinia, Caere, and even Orvieto had diminished and the funerary assemblages were less lavish.²⁹³⁰

6The crisis and how the north adapted

6.1Populonia

With the sudden decline in trade experienced by the southern Etruscan ports, Populonia began to absorb some of the slack. Populonia’s apparent control over the Elban mines reinforced the site’s centrality, as discussed in [section 1](#), as a place to obtain important raw materials. The importation of Attic vases to

Populonia increased from 450–350.²⁹³¹

6.2The Po Plain

The Po Plain was transformed in the middle of the sixth century as Etruscans sought out both new commercial opportunities and access to the Adriatic Sea in place of the Tyrrhenian Sea (Liv. 5.33.9–10). The long-active city of Felsina (modern Bologna) was reorganized and became the leading city of the reinvigorated and expanding Po Plain (Pliny *HN* 3.15.115–16). Sites were founded or refounded, such as Marzabotto, which lay on a key communication route in the Apennines near Bologna that led to Tyrrhenian Etruria, Spina (on the Adriatic coast), and Mantua, which connected to routes coming from Transalpine Europe.²⁹³² Some of these important demographic shifts can be attributed to new inhabitants from northern Etruria, but the majority of evidence from nomenclature indicates that the majority of residents of this new order were originally from the Po Plain.²⁹³³

6.2.1Marzabotto

Marzabotto, founded on an orthogonal plan by the end of the sixth century, was a vital commercial and industrial city. City blocks contained both domestic quarters and workshops for tile making, bronze foundries, and iron smithies.²⁹³⁴ One of the most striking discoveries that testifies to the orbit of this city's commerce are the stone weights that have been found there.²⁹³⁵ While it is often said that it is hard for us today to make a quantitative estimate of the Etruscan economy, it can be said that in antiquity quantity was very important. At Marzabotto, more than sixty stone weights have been discovered. What is interesting about these weights is that they are not all based on the same ponderal system. The system can be reconstructed in each case thanks to the many stone weights that have numbers. For example, each of two stone weights has one tick mark inscribed on it, indicating that its weight is one times the ponderal base (in this case the ponderal base of each is 114–115 g).²⁹³⁶ Another weight has three tick marks and weighs 1,135 g, while yet another has five tick marks and weighs 1,905 g. A quick calculation reveals that these latter weights are both based on a standard that is roughly 380 g; clearly this standard is different from that shared by the first two weights discussed.²⁹³⁷ A weight of roughly 380 g is the most common standard found at the site; it was also found among the Picenes and the Vestini.²⁹³⁸

Another weight shows the coexistence of these different systems well, as one face of the weight bears the Etruscan numeral “X,” or ten, while the other side has three tick marks crossed by a fourth, and so, as Maggiani reads it, it represents four.²⁹³⁹ This weight weighs 1,432 g; thus if the weight is signaling

on one side that it represents 10 times a certain base weight (or pound), this weight standard is 143.2 g (i.e. yet another standard of measure!). Whereas, on the other side, dividing the known weight of the stone by four gives a ponderal standard of 358 g. Both these standards are clearly different from those of the weights described above.

It is evident that different weight standards were in use at Marzabotto, and the reasons for this could be manifold. It could be that different industries used different weight standards (e.g., agricultural produce, metallurgy, or regional coins set on different weight standards?). Or it could be that certain standards prevailed in certain places or at certain times. Above all, especially in an economy that was never fully monetized, weights allowed consumers to make regulated exchanges using the weight of bronze, in particular, as a standard.²⁹⁴⁰ Finally, a loanword that the Romans borrowed from the Etruscans may give some indication of the Etruscans' use of weights, namely, *mantis(s)a*, meaning "makeweight," although we do not know precisely how the Etruscans used this word.²⁹⁴¹

6.2.2Spina

Spina, founded along the Adriatic coast after the middle of the sixth century, was ideally situated to participate in Adriatic trade with Athens and continental Europe, but its own land was marginal and marshy. The land was reclaimed by means of a series of canals gridded within the orthogonal street plan, and houses were built on wooden piles.²⁹⁴² These modifications allowed this less than optimal land to be usable, allowing Spina to participate in the bustling trade. This massive endeavor speaks to well organized planning in terms of the organization of local labor.²⁹⁴³

Spina, like Caere before it, was a major port for maritime traffic, and like Caere, even had its own treasury at Delphi, perhaps by the first half of the fifth century.²⁹⁴⁴ Interestingly, of the approximately 1,700 Attic vases that Beazley counted in the Po Valley, nearly 1,400 of them come from Spina, indicating that not a lot of the wares (ca. 20%) were traded beyond the port.²⁹⁴⁵ Goods exported from Spina no doubt included grain from the Po Valley, animal products, amber and tin from the north, and perhaps metals from Etruria proper.²⁹⁴⁶

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56External relationships, 580–450 BCE

Abstract: This chapter deals with the importation of Attic pottery, which set in with transport amphorae of the SOS type shortly before the middle of the seventh century BCE, and which are found exclusively in particularly rich burials such as the Regolini-Galassi tomb in Caere. Around 600, the pottery imported from Athens gradually rose in both quantity and quality (fine wares appeared for the first time), and from the second quarter of the sixth century onward it dominated the entire Italian—and specifically the Etruscan—market. Since the beginnings of the importation of Attic vases were recently studied, this need not be discussed here. This chapter looks more closely at certain aspects of the peak period of Attic importation, which lasted from the middle of the sixth century to the early fourth century. In addition, for selected aspects the chapter examines the situation in Greece itself.

Keywords: Athens, Attic pottery, Etruscan market, Bologna, Kamiros Macri Langoni

Introduction

This chapter deals with the importation of Attic pottery, which set in with transport amphorae with typical SOS decoration on the neck shortly before the middle of the seventh century BCE, which are found exclusively in particularly rich burials such as the Regolini-Galassi tomb in Caere.²⁹⁴⁷ Around 600, the pottery imported from Athens gradually rose both in quantity and quality (fine wares appeared for the first time), and from the second quarter of the sixth century onward it dominated the entire Italian—and specifically the Etruscan—market. Since the beginnings of the importation of Attic vases have recently been studied, this need not be discussed here.²⁹⁴⁸ The chapter looks more closely at certain aspects of the peak period of Attic importation, which lasted from the middle of the sixth to the early fourth century. In addition, for selected aspects the chapter examines the situation in Greece itself.

1Etruscan customers

A few years ago I undertook a critical reconsideration of this topic and developed a new model of interpretation, putting forward several theses.²⁹⁴⁹

Since a large quantity of Attic vases had been found in funeral contexts, it was commonly held that such pottery must have had a specifically funerary

dimension, that these vases were intended for tombs in the first place, and that Etruscan customers bought them for this purpose. This is unlikely to have been the case, however, because Attic vessels of the same shape and imagery were present in Etruria in greater numbers in both private dwellings and public sanctuaries. Significantly, Attic vases were distributed in large numbers throughout Etruria and are found in coastal and inland areas. There is evidence to suggest that in the main sites the quality of the imports was higher than in the smaller cities and the villages in the hinterlands.

Figural pottery clearly dominates the archaeological record. In addition, most Etruscan settlements, sanctuaries, and necropolises yield Attic black-gloss ware, albeit in considerably smaller quantities.²⁹⁵⁰ These types of pottery complement each other in terms of shape, with smaller shapes dominating in black-gloss. It is also worth pointing out that the question of individual painters or potters—which has so concerned many a Classical archaeologist—does not seem to have played any significant role for Etruscan customers.

Much Attic pottery has been found in Etruscan sanctuaries.²⁹⁵¹ This is true not only for the large sanctuaries of the main sites in southern Etruria but also for sanctuaries of smaller settlements, for humble sacral precincts outside the cities, and for remote shrines in rural areas. Attic pottery must therefore have commonly belonged to the inventory of Etruscan sanctuaries from the sixth to the early fourth century.

These Attic vases may well have fulfilled several functions in Etruscan sanctuaries, as was the case in Greece.²⁹⁵² They either belonged to the actual cultic apparatus and served as dishes on the occasion of sacred meals (which are well known from Greek contexts and which, it seems, are to be assumed for Etruria as well); or they were brought to the sanctuaries as votive offerings, as is suggested by the dedicatory inscriptions which are occasionally found.²⁹⁵³ From the shapes of these vases it can tentatively be inferred that Attic imported pottery was primarily used for drinking, and potentially used for libations in sacred rituals. In the cases where only a single or very few Attic vessels are known in an Etruscan sanctuary, these objects are, with few exceptions, cups.

Athenian vessels belonged to the usual inventory of simple as well as more complex Etruscan houses.²⁹⁵⁴ Again, this is true not only for larger cities but also for smaller villages and even individual estates, in coastal as well as inland areas.

The frequency of cups, *skyphoi*, and, to a lesser degree, kraters in the context of most Etruscan settlements underlines the fact that, as concerns private houses, the importation from Attica is to be seen in connection with banquets and symposia. Whether these vessels were used in daily life or whether they served festive and representative purposes is, however, a question that remains unanswered.

In the sixth and fifth centuries, Attic vases were commonly used as funeral

offerings in the bigger cities as well as in the smaller centers and villages.²⁹⁵⁵ It is therefore erroneous to regard these vases as luxury items, because Attic pottery was used not only by the elite but also by people from a wider social spectrum, in both urban and rural areas. Men, women and children received Attic vessels as burial offerings, which were of equal quality; no distinctions seem to have been made in terms of shape or imagery. A detailed study of child burials in Spina has shown, however, that at least in the case of children, there was likely a more complex situation.²⁹⁵⁶ Unfortunately, similar studies for other Etruscan necropolises are lacking.

A survey of a larger number of funeral contexts shows that in many cases a conscious choice of form and—at least partly—imagery can be demonstrated. It must therefore be assumed that Etruscan customers did not buy Attic vessels at random but made conscious selections. Most of the black-figure and red-figure imagery on imported vases possessed certain meanings for the Etruscans, who had a rich world of mythological images. Even though this imagery was closely connected to its Greek counterpart, it was Etruscan. Moreover, these were meanings that Etruscan viewers could “read” and interpret.

For the Etruscan customer, the shape of the pottery imported from Athens was of central importance.²⁹⁵⁷ Most Attic shapes were popular in Etruria, too, and met with a ready market. Conversely, individual Athenian workshops are known to have copied certain Etruscan shapes and to have produced them almost exclusively for an Etruscan market, in particular for Caere or Vulci.²⁹⁵⁸ This seems to be the story told by the manifold examples of Nikosthenic *Bandhenkel* amphorae, *kyathoi*, mastoid cups, stands with half-cylinders, and *stamnoi* which Etruscan sites yield regularly. The potters in the Athenian *Kerameikos* must have been well aware of the possibilities of a flourishing Etruscan market.

For the most part, the shapes of Attic pottery in Etruscan tombs, like those in houses, can be seen in a clearly functional context. Storage jars for wine and water, vessels for libations and for drinking, and oil flasks form comprehensive table services for drinking and libations. Such sets were part of a “symposium culture”, which in Etruscan society must have played an important role in daily life, cult activities, and funerary rites.

Several years ago, Karim Arafat and Catherine Morgan presented a stimulating paper discussing some general aspects of the significance of Attic pottery in Etruria (and some Celtic territories).²⁹⁵⁹ They were correct to postulate that certain types of material gain new and different meanings in the transition from the primary culture to a secondary cultural context and that it is of particular importance to examine their new meaning in the recipient society. The following analysis adds a further dimension by suggesting that comparison with the situation of the producing culture, too, can yield useful results and is in fact indispensable because it leads to new insights into the nature and significance of the cultural contacts between two societies. As the

two authors emphasize, Attic pottery was mainly a possession in private hands and was produced primarily for the home market. It did not rank among the most important commercial articles of merchant ships, and traders and middlemen from various regions of Greece and probably Etruria itself were involved.²⁹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, there are many hints to suggest that Athenian producers were well aware of the preferences and needs of their Etruscan customers and that they took into consideration the exigencies of the Italian market; this becomes obvious above all in the adoption of several Etruscan shapes into the Athenian repertoire. It is safe to assume that export activity from Attica was not connected to any Athenian interests, military or political, in Etruria. The sources provide no support whatsoever for making such an assumption.

The vase shapes and the particular preference for Dionysian themes and symposiast scenes further show the context in which this pottery is to be placed: the banquet and the symposium. This becomes obvious not only from the evidence provided by the artifacts found in tombs, but also from the finds from settlement areas and, at least in part, sanctuaries (where other factors such as particular connections to the deity were taken into account).²⁹⁶¹ For sacred contexts, a more detailed study is certainly required.²⁹⁶² In any case, in comparison with other Italic or even Greek sites, it would certainly be wrong, in the case of Etruria, to speak of a limited and one-sided selection of shapes of Attic pottery.

There are some shortcomings in Arafat and Morgan's analysis. The lack—or insufficient consideration—of less well-known sites, the specific contexts in Etruria, and all the regions to which the Etruscans had spread, led to a number of statements that more recent studies have seriously called into question.²⁹⁶³ Attic fine wares were disseminated even to remote regions and to small contexts of very different character—settlements and sanctuaries, not only tombs.²⁹⁶⁴ The evidence forbids us to speak of diffusion only to urban centers and trading posts in southern Etruria (Chiusi is considered exceptional).²⁹⁶⁵ Bologna and Spina were not Graeco-Etruscan *emporia* but Etruscan cities—and in the case of Spina, with some Greek inhabitants.

Analysis looking separately at the different geographical regions shows that with respect to types, shapes, and imagery, the situation can differ greatly according to time and place, and that such differences must consequently be taken into account in generalizing surveys. It is erroneous to say that in the urban centers red-figure pottery ceased to play any role around the middle of the fifth century. An interruption did take place more than a generation later and must have had various causes, among which the decline of Athenian production and the almost parallel rise of Etruscan red-figure workshops must have been of central importance. There is no evidence for the supposed “return to old native values.” There is, for example, no rise in the quantity of metalware.

In view of the wide dissemination of the imported pottery and the

knowledge of central but also of quite specific Greek myths that can be traced to the middle of the seventh century onward, in Etruscan culture at large and in Etruscan imagery in particular,²⁹⁶⁶ a further question arises. Namely, was the popularity of these types really due to the fact that the complex mythological imagery was understood exclusively by an elite who could bolster their social standing through this “control of myth information”?²⁹⁶⁷ By reducing these vases to elements in an urban elite display, and by analyzing them exclusively under the aspect of “elite material behavior,” a general assessment of their role in Etruscan society emerges that can hardly be considered convincing. The widespread frequency of these vessels in a large number of tombs, which is attested for the larger Etruscan necropolises, shows that we are dealing here with a wider cultural phenomenon, one which affected a large part of Etruscan society and is therefore of great interest in the assessment of social and cultural circumstances and interactions within it. The analysis of the data suggests a varied and very complex picture.

2Attic exports within Etruria and Greece: A comparison of two cemeteries

In the case of Etruria, Magna Graecia, and other regions of Italy, a considerable amount of data has been subjected to detailed analyses. These allow the study of both the dissemination and the significance of Attic pottery. For the same regions (as well as for the Iberian peninsula and, most recently, the Black Sea area), some studies provide valuable surveys of the extant material.²⁹⁶⁸ This is not the case for mainland Greece. A few exceptions aside (among them Olynthus),²⁹⁶⁹ there is a dearth of similar studies. This is surprising considering the amount of relevant data available.

The extensive data from various necropolises on Rhodes, for example, which after the extensive treasure hunting of the nineteenth century were excavated and published by Italian archaeologists in the early twentieth century, have largely been neglected.²⁹⁷⁰

2.1Macri Langoni, Kamiros (Rhodes)

Among the Rhodian cemeteries excavated in the early twentieth century, the Macri Langoni necropolis (Fig. 56.1) is of particular interest,²⁹⁷¹ not only because of its large dimensions and clearly defined topographical and chronological boundaries (later seventh to late fifth century), but also because it has yielded a vast number—more than 1,100—of artifacts, almost exclusively from single burials. The site therefore allows us to make statistically relevant statements and to compare the available data with

corresponding Etruscan sites. The chronological focus of the necropolis falls in the second half of the sixth century and in the years around 500.

Macri Langoni—on terraces hemmed in by the sea, a small valley, and a hill—contains 257 burials of newborn babies, children, youths, and adults. The various types of burials are laid out close to each other, and consist of 235 inhumations and twenty-two cremations; around forty of these contained no grave goods, and around thirty contained only scraps.²⁹⁷² In Giulio Jacopi's detailed publication of the material, 198 tombs were presented, of which three were clearly situated outside of the cemetery and are therefore not considered in the following analysis. Some of the grave goods were placed on or immediately beside the tombs, where, at least in some cases, a number of transport amphorae were also found. Of the remaining 195 tombs, 130 contained Attic pottery (Fig. 56.1), whose importation began around the middle of the sixth century and continued until the end of the fifth.²⁹⁷³

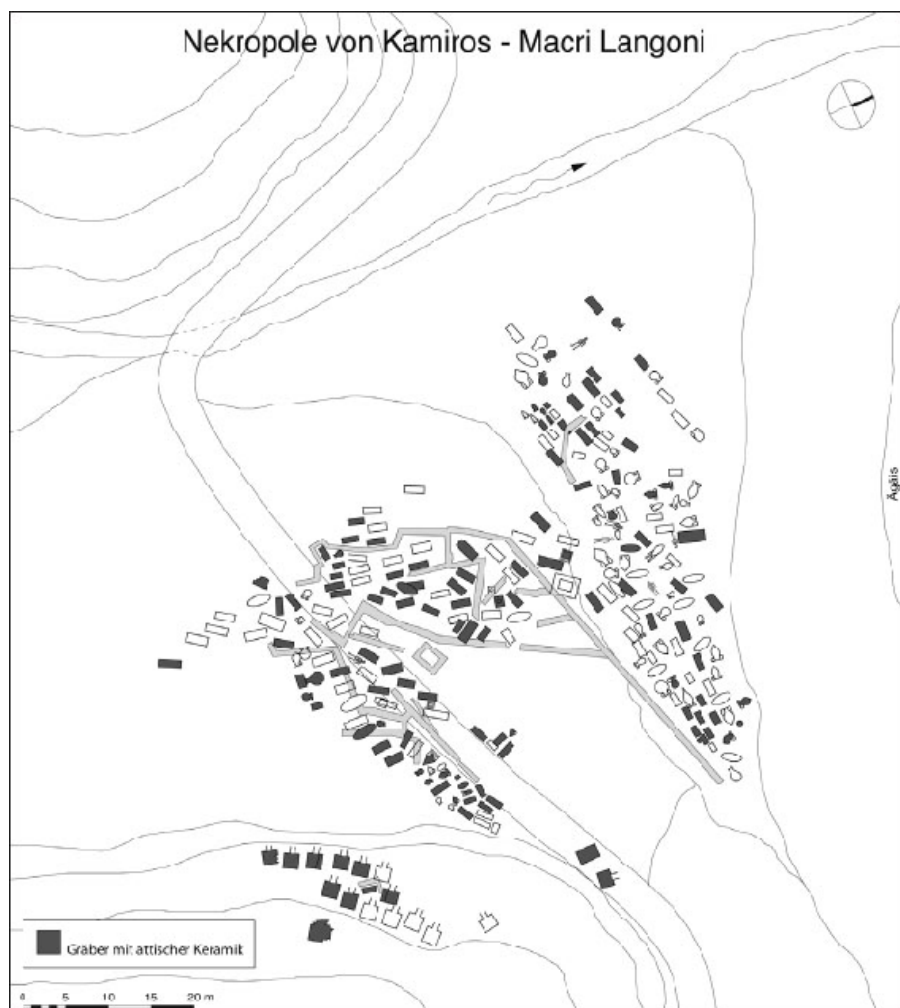


Fig. 56.1: Kamiros (Rhodes), Macri Langoni necropolis. Tombs with Attic pottery.
Drawing by T. Palugyay, Regensburg.

Vases from Athens are present only in reduced quantities. Almost three quarters of the burials with Attic pottery contained only one or two such vases; only rarely were more found (on average 2.23 vases). A detailed analysis provides the numbers shown in [Table 1](#).

Table 1: Number of tombs containing specified number of vases (Macri Langoni)

Vases/tomb	Tombs	Vases/tomb	Tombs	Vases/tomb	Tombs
1	59	3	9	7	1
1?	5	3?	2	8	1
2	30	4	11	9	1
2?	1	5	5	10	1
at least 2?	1	6	2	15	1

Vases/tomb	Tombs	Vases/tomb	Tombs	Vases/tomb	Tombs
1	59	3	9	7	1
1?	5	3?	2	8	1
2	30	4	11	9	1
2?	1	5	5	10	1
at least 2?	1	6	2	15	1

The 291 Athenian vases from these 130 tombs fall into the categories shown in [Table 2](#).

Table 2: Vases per category (Macri Langoni)

Category	Number
black-figure	130
red-figure	35
white-ground	2
black-gloss	124

The shapes found are shown in [Table 3](#).

	Black-figure (<i>n</i> = 130)	Red-figure (<i>n</i> = 35)	White-ground (<i>n</i> = 2)	Black-gloss (<i>n</i> = 124)
cups	49 (16 miniature)	5 (1 small)		44 (9 small)
small cups				37
<i>lekythoi</i>	22 (7 miniature)	3 (1 small)	2	5 (2 small)
belly <i>lekythoi</i>		3		6
<i>olpai</i>	19			2 (1 small)
<i>oinochoai</i>	14 (10 miniature)	1		5
<i>pelikai</i>		6 (1 small)		1
<i>amphoriskoi</i>				6
neck amphorae	6	1		
belly amphorae	4 (1 miniature)			
<i>skyphoi</i>	5 (2 miniature)			5 (1 small)
<i>hydriai</i>	4 (2 miniature)	6		
<i>phiaiai</i> in Six's technique ^a		3		2 (1 small)
salt-cells				3
feeder				3
<i>askoi</i>		3		
<i>alabastra</i>	2			1 (small)
female-head vases		2		
<i>psykter</i>	1			
<i>lekaniis</i>				1
<i>askos</i>				1
plate				1
<i>stamnos</i>	1			
column krater	1	1		
<i>kantharos</i> Saint-Valentin		1		
unidentified shapes	2			1

^aNamed after the Dutch archaeologist Jan Six.

2.2 Certosa necropolis, Bologna

The tombs of Felsina (Bologna), whose cemeteries are spread out along the ancient streets leading out of the city,²⁹⁷⁴ suggest themselves for comparison with the data from Macri Langoni because the burials fall into the same chronological framework. Moreover, the Felsina necropolises too consist almost exclusively of single burials and provide statistically relevant numbers of tombs and artifacts. Among the various cemeteries of Bologna, the Certosa area in the western part of the ancient city allows the strongest comparisons, not only because of the number of relevant tombs and grave goods, but also because it has been described in the most detail (Figs. 56.2.–56.3).²⁹⁷⁵ In the nineteenth century, 418 tombs containing both children and adults and dating from the later sixth, the fifth, and the early fourth centuries (with most burials dating from the fifth) were excavated at this site; 287 burials were inhumations, 131 were cremations.²⁹⁷⁶ As to the age of the deceased, the current state of research does not allow for conclusions as exact as those

reached for Macri Langoni. Of the tombs, 331 contained material, and the rest contained either no or almost no grave goods; in some cases grave goods were found but could not be identified and/or classified in any meaningful way. The tomb types are on the whole simpler; architectural features are lacking. Cremations occur much more frequently than at Macri Langoni.

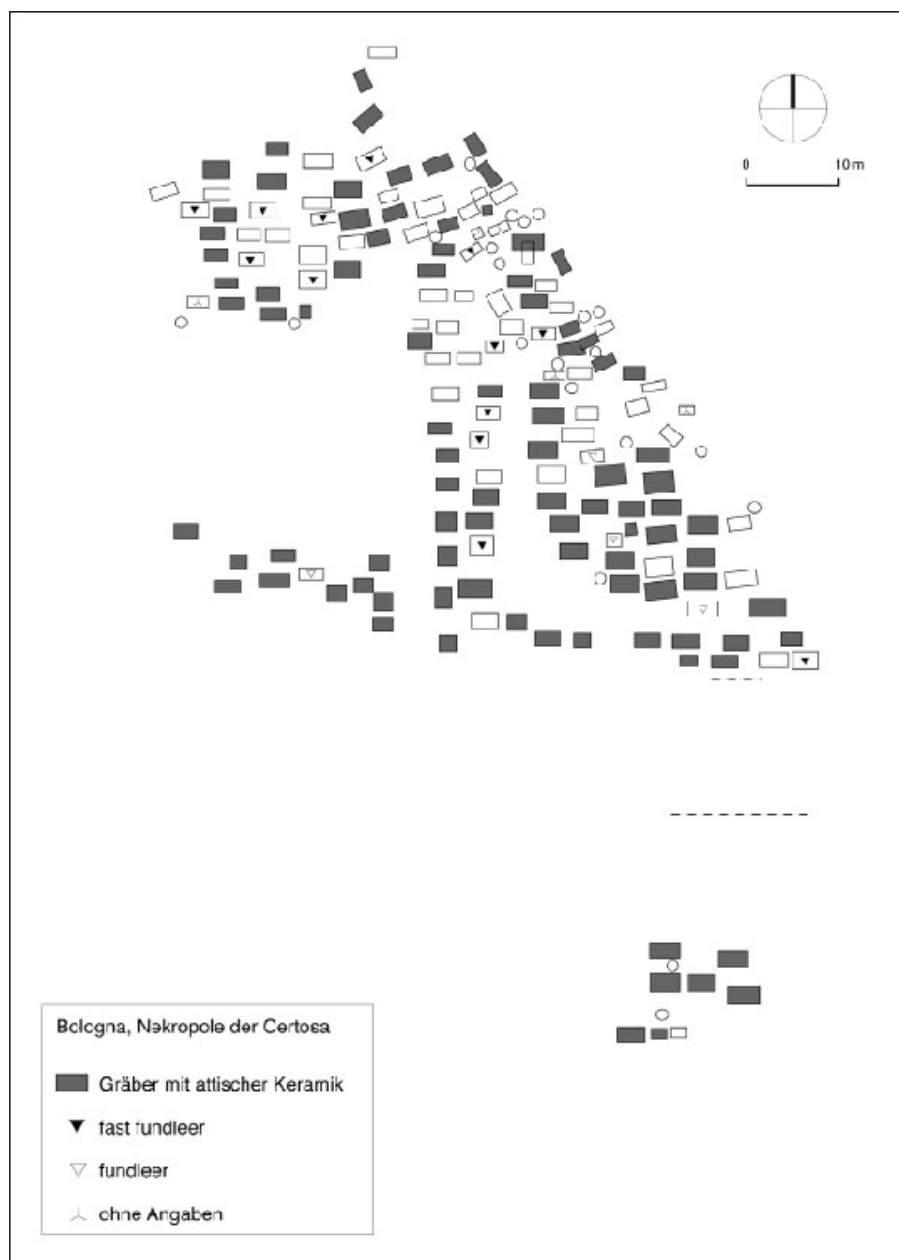


Fig. 56.2: Bologna, Certosa necropolis, western part. Tombs with Attic pottery. Drawing by T. Palugay, Regensburg.



Fig. 56.3: Bologna, Certosa necropolis, eastern part. Tombs with Attic pottery.
Drawing by T. Palugyay, Regensburg.

The Certosa necropolis contained 196 tombs with Attic pottery (Figs. 56.2.–56.3), of which 440 examples were found (on average 2.24 per tomb). The analysis provides the details shown in Table 4.2977

Table 4: Number of graves containing specified number of vases (Certosa)

Vases/grave	Graves	Vases/grave	Graves
-------------	--------	-------------	--------

1	85	at least 6	4
at least 2	53	7	2
at least 3	25	8	1
at least 4	16	9	1
at least 5	8	1	1

Vases/grave	Graves	Vases/grave	Graves
1	85	at least 6	4
at least 2	53	7	2
at least 3	25	8	1
at least 4	16	9	1
at least 5	8	11	1

The types and shapes found are listed in [Tables 5](#) and [6](#).

Table 5: Vases per category (Certosa)

Category	Number
black-figure	100
red-figure	184
black-gloss	156

Table 6: Shapes of pottery (Certosa)

	Black-figure (<i>n</i> = 100)	Red-figure (<i>n</i> = 184)	Black-gloss (<i>n</i> = 156)
neck amphorae	14		
belly amphorae	4		
pseudo-Panathenaic 1 amphora			
amphorae of unidentified shape	12	8	
column kraters	19	50	
bell kraters		6	1
calyx kraters		5	1
volute kraters		4	
unidentified kraters		3	
<i>oinochoai</i> and <i>olpai</i>	16	5	24 + 2
<i>skyphoi</i>	6	26	33
<i>cup-skyphoi</i> (?)	2		
mastoid cups	5		
<i>lekythoi</i>	9		4
cups (with and without handles)	4	54	49
<i>kantharoi</i>	2 ^a	4	1
<i>alabastron</i>	1		
<i>pelikai</i>	1	4	
<i>phialai</i>		2	
<i>hydriai</i>		2	
<i>stamnos</i>		1	
plastic vases		6	

(2 ram-head <i>rhyta</i> 2 female-head <i>oinochoai</i> , 2 female-head <i>kantharoi</i>)		
stemmed dishes of chalice shape		14
bowls		11
saltcellar		1
"coppe," "tazze," or "tazzette" (probably bowls)		8
"piattelli" (probably plates)		4
vases of unidentified 4 shape	4	3

	Black-figure (<i>n</i> = 100)	Red-figure (<i>n</i> = 184)	Black-gloss (<i>n</i> = 156)
neck amphorae	14		
belly amphorae	4		
pseudo-Panathenaic amphora	1		
amphorae of unidentified shape	12	8	
column kraters	19	50	
bell kraters		6	1
calyx kraters		5	1
volute kraters		4	
unidentified kraters		3	
<i>oinochoai</i> and <i>olpai</i>	16	5	24 + 2
<i>skyphoi</i>	6	26	33
cup- <i>skyphoi</i> (?)	2		
mastoid cups	5		
<i>lekychoi</i>	9		4
cups (with and without handles)	4	54	49
<i>kantharoi</i>	2 ^a	4	1
<i>alabastron</i>	1		
<i>pelikai</i>	1	4	
<i>phiaiai</i>		2	
<i>hydriai</i>		2	
<i>stamnos</i>		1	
plastic vases		6	
(2 ram-head <i>rhyta</i> 2 female-head <i>oinochoai</i> , 2 female-head <i>kantharoi</i>)			
stemmed dishes of chalice shape			14
bowls			11
saltcellar			1
"coppe," "tazze," or "tazzette" (probably bowls)			8
"piattelli" (probably plates)			4
vases of unidentified shape	4	4	3

^a According to Zannoni; the identification is uncertain.

2.3 Comparison

The data from Macri Langoni, Kamiros, and the Certosa necropolis, Bologna, correspond in a number of cases but also show some important differences. In Bologna, grave goods were placed only in the tombs themselves but not, as in Kamiros, beside or on top of the tombs. In Macri Langoni, imported pottery other than that from Attica (from East Greece and Corinth) plays an important role,²⁹⁷⁸ whereas in Bologna such pottery is almost entirely lacking. Instead, local ware, which is not common at Macri Langoni, occurs with some frequency. Further differences can be detected in the other types of grave goods but will not be discussed here.²⁹⁷⁹ At both sites, Attic pottery occurs in burials of adults as well as children, both female and male. The number of Attic vases in the individual sets of grave goods is limited in both cases; for the most part, there are only one or two vessels in each tomb, and only in isolated cases are there more than five. The average number of vessels per tomb is almost identical in both cases (Macri Langoni, 2.23; Certosa, 2.24). It is true for both sites that Attic pottery constitutes an important part of the respective sets of grave goods, and that the vases were not chosen at random but were, as a rule, consciously selected according to shape and partly according to imagery. The range of types of Athenian pottery found at each site is roughly the same.²⁹⁸⁰ That fact that in each case there is a difference in the percentage of black- and red-figure vases in the overall record can be ascribed to the different peak periods of the two cemeteries. In both cases, works of famous artists are largely absent, especially in the case of red-figure pottery, and at Macri Langoni the pots tend to be of poor quality. Black-gloss ware plays an important role at both sites, constituting around 35% of the total of Attic pottery at Certosa and around 42% at Macri Langoni.²⁹⁸¹

For all three categories (black-figure, red-figure, black-gloss), the range of shapes found at Macri Langoni and Certosa is roughly the same. The two sites differ in that black-figure mastoid cups (a shape that was taken over from the Etruscan repertoire) and red-figure *skyphoi* are absent from Kamiros, and feeders and red-figure *lekythoi* are absent from Bologna. Furthermore, large vessels are rare at Macri Langoni. In terms of the frequency of the various shapes, there are even more remarkable differences. Kraters constitute the second-largest group in Bologna but are almost entirely absent from Macri Langoni, where instead *lekythoi* occur in large numbers, as is the case throughout Greece. In Macri Langoni, black-figure cups are common but red-figure cups are rare. The opposite is true for the Certosa. *Skyphoi* are very common in Bologna but quite rare in Kamiros. In Kamiros, *hydriai* were deposited in tombs relatively often, but only in individual cases in the Certosa necropolis. *Oinochoai* and *olpai* occur in considerable numbers at both sites. It seems to be the case, then, that the differences in the arrangement of the grave goods are greater than the similarities.

In the composition of the imported Athenian pottery in Bologna, there is a

clear tendency toward sets of banquet and symposium services (consisting of krater or amphora, cup or *skyphos*, and *oinochoe*)²⁹⁸² and hence a conscious choice which is further suggested by the frequency of symposium or *Komos* scenes.²⁹⁸³ A similar tendency does not appear in Macri Langoni, where similar sets are found in only three tombs. In tomb VIII, a black-figure neck amphora, a black-gloss *olpe*, two black-gloss cups, and a black-gloss saltcellar were found.²⁹⁸⁴ In tomb XVII, a belly amphora, a cup featuring a symposium scene, and a *skyphos*, all in black-figure, a red-figure cup with a *Komos* scene; and an *omphalos-phiale* in Six's technique were found.²⁹⁸⁵ In tomb CV, a column krater, a cup, a *lekythos*, all in black-figure, and a black-gloss *lekythos* were found.²⁹⁸⁶ It seems, then, that in Kamiros, symposium and banquet ware did not play any significant role in the choice of the sets of grave goods.

In Kamiros, the imagery of the Attic pottery is dominated by rather generalized scenes with clad female and male figures, warriors, animals, and ornaments.

Mythological scenes, including the labors of Heracles, are very rare, and only Dionysos and his entourage occur somewhat more frequently. In Bologna, the selection of scenes is larger and more varied. This could simply be attributed to the fact that large vessels are present in the record in greater numbers.

One remarkable difference between the two sites is the frequency of miniature vase shapes in Macri Langoni. Importantly, these miniature vessels are not restricted to child burials, as is the case in Bologna. A possible explanation of this phenomenon may be that in Bolognese burials, shapes and sizes occur which were used in everyday life, whereas in the case of Kamiros it may be a matter of pottery specially produced or bought for use solely in tombs.

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IV. Civilization

Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

Fernando Gilotta

57Late Classical and Hellenistic art, 450–250 BCE

Abstract: This chapter deals with developments in Etruscan culture in a crucial and troubled period of transition, from the collapse of the Archaic world to Middle Hellenism and the almost total conquest of southern Etruria by the Romans. The specifically architectural side saw the construction—or rebuilding and restoration—of major temple buildings, both of peripteral and (mainly) of Tuscanic type, in the coastal areas as well as in the prosperous towns along the Tiber Valley, reaching as far as northern sub-Appennine Etruria and Marzabotto. Town walls and dwellings are also briefly surveyed, with reference to local building traditions and to Greek models for specific defensive devices and for the adoption of “atrium-type” houses. The best achievements in sculpture for the fifth and fourth centuries BCE seem to be concentrated in the rich towns of the Tiber Valley area (from Falerii up to Chiusi and Arezzo), thanks to a wide circulation and *Umbildung* of models (of “Severe” and Classical imprint), most probably through the major production centers of the western Greek world. Wall painting, still essentially from the Tarquinia area, seems to be rather conservative in style and repertory—influenced as it is by ritual images and signs—and shows a considerable propensity for the persistence of several old figural themes, celebrating the deceased’s social role in life and his destiny in the Netherworld. At the end of the fifth century, a new system of funerary themes centered on the Netherworld, with its gods and daemons, comes to the forefront with the Tomb of the Blue Demons, and was destined to be reproduced with variants and extended throughout numerous Tarquinian hypogea of the fourth and third centuries.

Splendid architectural sculptures belonging to temples, and many fragments of sculpture in stone from tombs or *naiskoi*, which seem to be inspired by works of great masters that were probably echoed through vigorous exchanges with neighboring Magna Graecia, can be assigned to the new Late Classical/Early Hellenistic koine, which predominated from about the mid fourth century to the first half of the third.

Keywords: architecture, sculpture, painting, elites

1Architecture

The period between the mid fifth and mid third centuries hosted crucial stages in Etruscan civilization, from the *Interimperiode* following the collapse of the Archaic world and its economic and cultural structures, with a general readjustment of power balances in the Italian peninsula, particularly its Tyrrhenian coast, to Middle Hellenism and the almost total conquest of southern Etruria by the Romans.

The undeniable crisis experienced by the towns, especially in the south and on the coast, after the epoch-making clashes (and defeats) of the first decades

of the fifth century, did not, however, involve complete stasis in the organization of towns and sanctuaries, or in artistic production and handicrafts. Changes in Gravisca, Pyrgi (and, later, Volterra), to indicate just some of the more interesting sites, include a presence of worshippers and cults of Western Greek origin previously totally unknown in the heart of Etruria. This concrete premise of a Western Greek “influence” in Etruscan material culture—always assumed, but never completely and convincingly motivated historically—will be briefly mentioned below. Yet again, as far as sanctuaries are concerned, on the specifically architectural side we see the construction, or rebuilding and restoration, of major temple buildings, both in the coastal areas and in the prosperous towns along the Tiber Valley, reaching as far as northern sub-Apennine Etruria and Marzabotto.

1.1 The peripteral temple

Temple A on the Marzabotto acropolis (dated around the middle of the fifth century, with an assumed peripteral plan of 7×4 columns, on a podium, with a long, narrow *naos*) seems to lie in the wake of experiments such as the Tempio Grande at Vulci and temple B at Pyrgi. Our understanding of its architectonic relevance, however, has improved with the discovery of a second peripteral temple, dedicated to Tinia, in the urban area of the same town, dating from the early decades of the fifth century. Western Greek monumental models were assimilated and reformulated in this inland and Apennine context in the Late Archaic and Proto-Classical periods, probably thanks to the pliant and still pervasive mediation of southern Etruscan centers, as would seem to be indicated by other, fragmentary evidence from Chiusi, Arezzo and Volterra.

1.2 The tuscanic temple

Most of the remaining sacred edifices are of Tuscanic type. The Belvedere Temple, the only one of the numerous Orvietan temples whose ground plan is known with some certainty, was undoubtedly built in the first half of the fifth century, but was remodeled at the end of the same century, as shown by a set of pedimental high-reliefs. The building opened on the back side of a *temenos*, had a roughly square shape, with the central *cella* wider than the side ones, a double row of columns in the *pronaos* not in line with the walls of the *cellae*, and access steps, with proportional modules similar on the whole to Vitruvian ones. The votive inscriptions, altars with central hole, cippi with lightning in relief, ensure its connection with a chthonic cult of *Tinia Caluśna*.

Not very different from the ground plan of the Belvedere Temple is that of

the sacred building discovered at Piazzale del Cassero (Castiglion Fiorentino). Located in an area of Val di Chiana between Cortona and Arezzo, it was crucial to the control of the roads running through the valley and thus open to cultural experiment of various origins. Conspicuous fragments of architectural decoration, belonging to a stage dating to the mid fourth century, reveal significant matches with materials from sacred buildings at Orvieto and with the Belvedere itself.

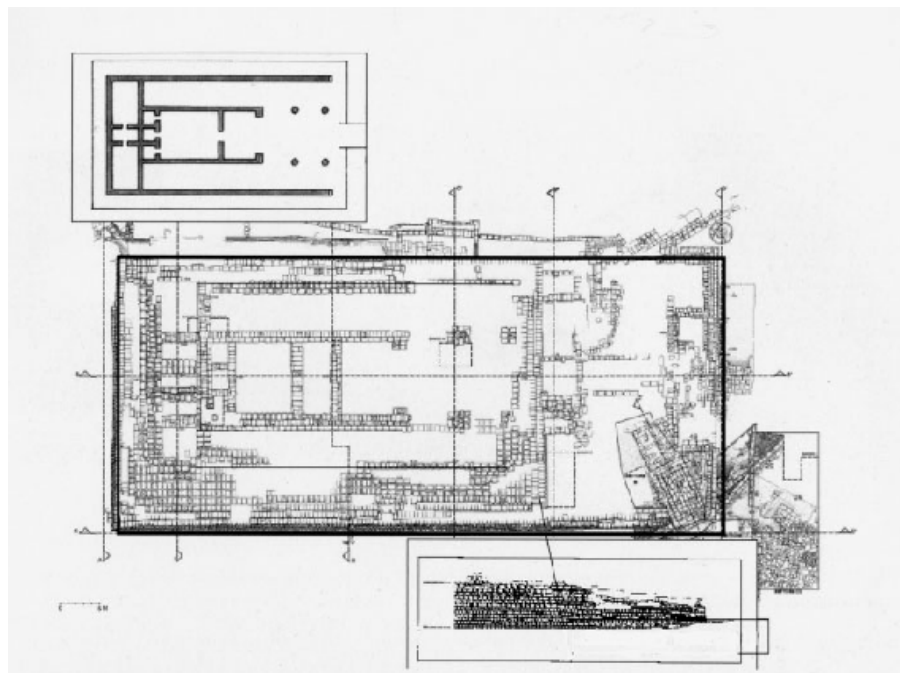


Fig. 57.1: Tarquinia, Ara della Regina temple, phase III. Late Classical-Hellenistic period (after Bagnasco Gianni 2011, 51 fig. 1)

More or less of the same period, according to the most recent research, is the temple at Fiesole, rebuilt in Tuscanic style, with central *cella* and *alae*, two (?) columns and access steps in front. Nothing is known about the roof covering, to which belong excellent figured reliefs preserved only in fragments, while its attribution to the cult of Menerva currently appears to be based solely on weak evidence.

The temple of Celle at Falerii (Ager Faliscus, in the Tiber Valley), outside the properly defined Etruscan area, is dedicated to a female deity, probably Juno Curitis, and again features what has recently been tentatively reconstructed as a square ground plan, a *pars postica* made up of a central *cella* and two *alae* and a *pars antica* of similar dimensions, and a double row of four columns in front. Several architectural and decorative stages have been identified between the fifth century and the Late Classical period.

Different or more uncertain, on the other hand, are the versions of Tuscanic

ground plans known from other places. This is the case, for example, of the building at Fontanile di Legnisina (fifth–fourth centuries)—a suburban Vulcian sanctuary close to a road into the town, which housed the cults of Uni and Vei—with *cella* and *alae* and columns in front delimiting an ample (perhaps double) *pronaos*, in which part of the sacred rites were celebrated.

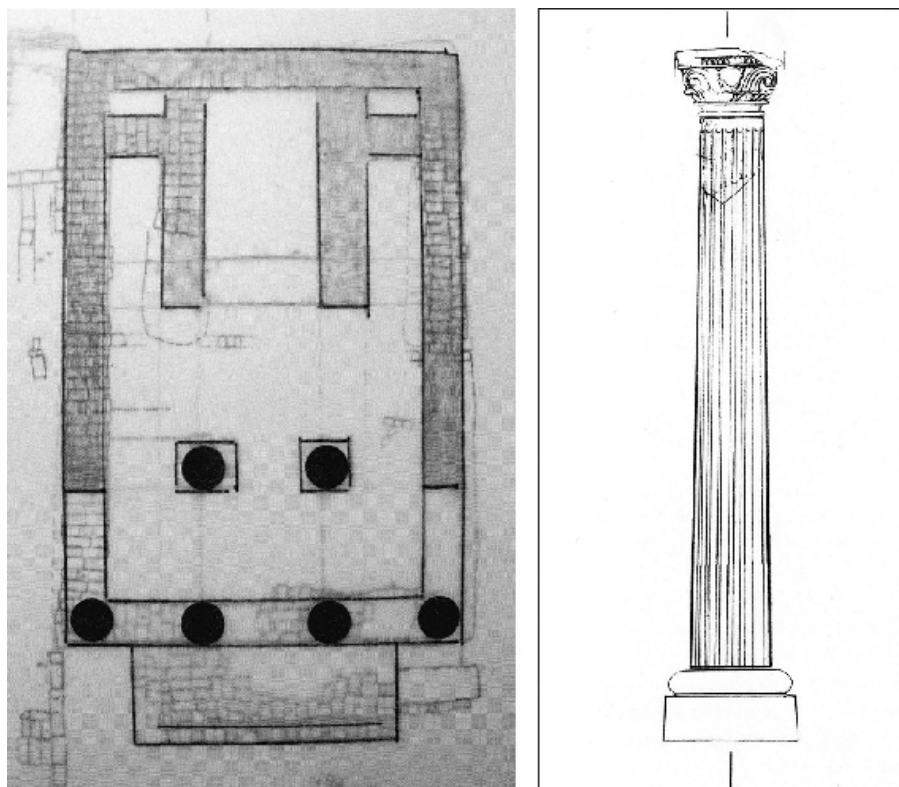


Fig. 57.2a-b: Cerveteri, Sant'Antonio, temple A, assumed plan and column.
Hellenistic period (after Maggiani 2008, 131, fig. 16b; 135, fig. 25)

The ground plan of the first phase (middle to second half of the fourth century) of the temple on the acropolis at Talamonaccio, in the Albegna Valley (Vulcian territory), must have been rather long. It was built in the Late Classical period, again with *cella*, probably *alae*, and *pronaos* with a double row of two columns, aligned on the front with the side walls.

The most relevant architectonic enterprise of the period (around the middle of the fourth century) is the complete remodeling of the Ara della Regina temple at Tarquinia, a town once again of primary importance as the protagonist against increasing Roman expansionism. This large sacred building, perhaps dedicated to *Artumes*, rose on a foundation of tufa blocks. The south side of the facade included a large terrace that gave access to the temple itself by means of a flight of steps made monumental by two projections with a molded base. The temple's ground plan seems to combine

elements typical of the peripteral, such as the extended plan, with what are essentially Tuscanic structural features, such as the central *cella* (probably with *alae*) and side walls reaching the facade and enclosing a double row of two columns provided with “Ionic-Italic” capitals (Fig. 57.1).

In the first half of the third century, Temple A (dedicated to Hercle) at Sant’Antonio at Caere was remodeled with a Tuscanic plan similar to that of the Late Archaic phase, with a colonnade of four columns in front and a second row of two columns aligned with the side walls. Tufa architectural fragments have made it possible to reconstruct the fluted columns with figured capitals, showing human heads (*Hercle* and *Acheloos*?) enclosed between scrolls. These are similar, but not identical, to those found in other Late Classical and Hellenistic architecture in southern Etruria, which were probably inspired by roughly contemporary Western Greek models (Fig. 57.2a–b). For the time being, it is difficult to say whether the temple was refurbished before or after the events of 273, which saw Rome deprive Caere of its autonomy, for the celebration of which a subterranean area was created in the town center with the inscription of C. Genucius Clepsina, perhaps the *mundus* of the new “refounded” Caere (Fig. 38.3).

1.3 Shrines

The knowledge of shrines has substantially increased over the last decades at both major sanctuaries and minor cultic sites. For the period we are examining, we refer to the *gamma* (mid fifth century) and *alpha* (roughly one century later) buildings in the Area Sud of Pyrgi, both without podium, with a rectangular and square ground plan respectively, and an off-axis entrance to safeguard the secrecy of the rites. They housed cults to *Śuri* (*gamma*) and *Cavatha* (*alpha*), and were furnished with benches along the facade, apparently intended for the comfort and rest of devotees. The ground plan of each shrine is of the *oikos* type, one of the most ancient types of sacred Etruscan edifice.

1.4 Town Walls

The crisis of the fifth century, with its traumatic military repercussions, followed by growing aggressiveness from Rome in the fourth and third centuries – which ended, as noted above, with the fall of the southern Etruscan towns – favoured the creation or rebuilding of town walls, which are still visible in the Etruscan landscape even today. These were mostly built in ashlar masonry, particularly in central-southern Etruria, owing to the abundance of tufa, a soft and easily workable stone, albeit with different

typologies and a considerable variety of solutions, sometimes even within the same circuit. The major towns were provided with walls, as also numerous smaller ones that controlled territories from strongholds strategic in position and elevation. The functional and ideological relevance of the defenses was often emphasized by the location of liminal cults close to the town gates, as, for example, at Tarquinia, Vulci and Cortona; but on the whole, fortifications never lost their primary character as utilitarian constructions and rarely reached high technical standards.

The fortification system of Caere appears to be substantially adapted to the structure of the tufa plateau on which the town rises, consisting of works differing in structure and defensive purposes, which, between the late sixth and the fifth or fourth centuries, covered the long sides of the plateau. At Tarquinia, between the fifth and fourth centuries, an actual circuit of walls enclosed a relatively large area, including Pian di Civita and Pian della Regina, the sites of the town itself, and the nearby Castellina hill (once deemed the town's acropolis). In this latter case, the technique adopted—*isodomic ashlar masonry*—appears to be largely heir to that used in all probability for the smaller circuit of the Archaic period. Only at a few points is it possible to see the *emplecton* building technique, with a double curtain of blocks and an inner filling of stones and earth, which was also known in Etruria from archaic times. Well known among the defenses at Tarquinia is the gate on the northern side, at the narrow point between Pian di Civita and Pian della Regina, of the inner-chamber type, perhaps with a vaulted roof, which was inspired by Greek defensive architecture of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and, as we shall see, was also adopted at other sites.

Recent research has helped reconstruct a single circuit of walls at Vulci, dating to the late fourth century, which was mostly built in *isodomic ashlar masonry*, but with sections using the *emplecton* technique. It was provided with defensive devices such as the triangular structure at the West Gate, whose chronology, immediately prior to the Roman conquest, may prove the adoption of actual defensive war engines necessitated by the impending clash with Rome.

Cases of elaborate defenses are not lacking in the smaller towns of southern Etruria, either. In the hinterland of Tarquinia at Musarna, a *proteichisma* and a moat on the east side of the fortifications—part of a system of *aggeres* and mighty ashlar walls—appear to have a protective function with the purpose of delaying the progress of enemy troops and war machinery. Similarly, at Ghiaccio Forte, a fortified site of the *ager volcentanus* in the Albegna Valley, the wall circuit built using the *emplecton* technique, perhaps with mud bricks, had three monumental inner-chamber type gates. Unlike the walls, these were constructed with care and, it appears, protected by towers or outward projections from the walls.

In northern coastal Etruria, the remains of the wall circuit of Populonia are particularly conspicuous. Their dating is still debated, owing to destruction

over the centuries (including in modern times) and stratigraphic complexity. Recent research tends to favor an early chronology, for both the circuit around the acropolis, which might date to the Late Archaic period, and the wall around the lower town, from Cala S. Quirico as far as Baratti, which was built in ashlar masonry and provided with (at least) two towers. The various stages of the last circuit may date to between the fifth century and the Early Hellenistic period. This chronological assumption would of course coincide with the most critical moments of the town's history.

Outside Etruria, but of great relevance for the history of the Etruscan presence in the central-western Mediterranean, fortifications were discovered in the Genoa *oppidum*, on the Castello hill, in a position dominating the coast. This strong circuit, dry-laid using the *emplecton* technique, and with a double face of regular rows of well-squared blocks, seems to date to the first half of the fifth century. It is thus more or less contemporary with the building of the walls surrounding Populonia, and with the reinforcement of the Etruscans' presence in the Po Valley area as well as in indigenous contexts in nearby southern Gaul.

Among inland northern Etruscan towns, the wall circuit of Cortona—which appears datable to the Late Classical period (fourth century)—was built of large roughly squared blocks, and must have seen partial rebuilding in the second century, probably including the double-arched Porta Bifora. In most recent proposals, the travertine wall circuit of Perugia is dated to the mid third century, a period of great development for the town, which was located along the line of northward Roman expansion. The circuit, seemingly inspired in its building technique and defensive devices by sophisticated Hellenistic models, is provided with gates, some monumental and covered with arches, and some arranged in pairs, one in front of the other, to facilitate crossfire against the enemy. The two main gates, Porta Marzia and Porta di Augusto, are worth noting for the two towers that flank them and for the elegant and elaborate two-story architectonic facade with busts of deities.

A great circuit of irregular, pseudo-polygonal walls—not rare in northern Etruria, due to the lack of soft tufa-type stone that is so abundant in the South—was erected at Volterra in the late fourth century, considerably extending the area protected by the previous walls, which must have left plenty of open spaces. The main roads began, at both the south and the north, from the town's inner-chamber type gates. The southern gate, known as the Porta dell'Arco, was provided with three plastic heads at the base and on the keystone—probably the tutelary deities of the gate itself. Though rather worn, these heads unquestionably belong to the Early Hellenistic tradition and are also fundamental for the dating of the entire defense system.

Lastly, the wall circuit of present-day Orbetello, in the *ager volcentanus*, must be briefly mentioned. Its magnificent polygonal technique seems to have been the model used for the walls built by Roman colonists at nearby Cosa.

1.5Dwell6ings

Among the most relevant architectural evidence are functionally highly developed and sometimes monumental versions of dwellings belonging to the fifth century. It can now be said with certainty that the ground plan of the “Pompeian” house, with an atrium and numerous rooms arranged around a central courtyard, is the result of experiments in Middle Tyrrhenian—Etruscan and (later) Roman—contexts, starting at least from the second half of the sixth century. Their line of development is linked to the concept of houses, sacred buildings and tombs that can be traced in the Etruscan milieu starting from the Orientalizing period. They favor a division between the front part of the house (Lat. *antica*) near the entrance, for receiving guests, and the inner part of the house (Lat. *postica*), which comprised the actual living quarters. The most significant evidence of this type of establishment is to be found in a newly founded “colonial” (see [chapter 76](#) Malnati) town like Marzabotto. This town was designed with rationally arranged spaces within an orthogonal urban grid, and was used for the more central districts with buildings of greater prestige and of greater size (Insula IV, 1, 2, probably dating from the mid fifth century). Here we see a long entrance corridor and a central cruciform courtyard with a well, in which we recognize the layout of a Roman-type atrium, with *tablinum*, *alae* and *cubicula*, clearly celebrating a function and social status of absolute preeminence ([Fig. 57.3](#)).

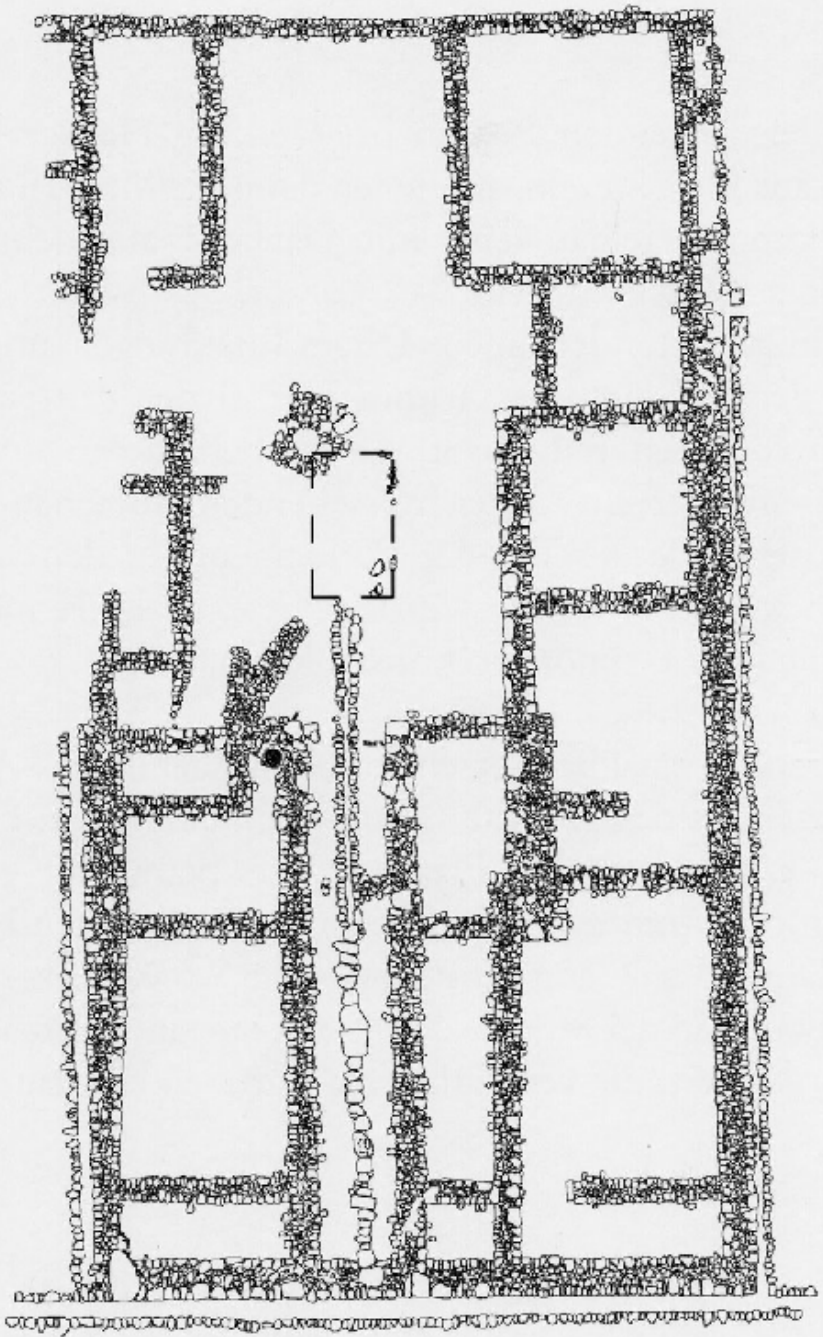


Fig. 57.3: Marzabotto, Casa degli Ippocampi (IV 1, 2), plan. Second half of the fifth century (after Häuser 2010, 107, fig. 2d)

The type of building with a square ground plan and rooms arranged around an open central courtyard and *compluvium* sometimes delimited by a portico,

is well rooted in Etruria between the Late Archaic period and the fifth century, even in suburban and rural areas. It was sometimes used for residential purposes, and sometimes for the storage and/or processing of agricultural produce. Among the most interesting examples recently found is the Casa delle Anfore at Poggio Alto, a few kilometers south of Poggio del Castello (Marsiliana). Some of the structure's rooms contained a conspicuous number of Etruscan transport amphorae and domestic pottery, certainly pointing to its use as a store for food products, in a territorial context involved in considerable demographic and economic expansion at that time.

Specimens of residential architecture are abundant also for the period between the fourth and the third centuries, in both major and minor towns and even at boundary sites. At the aforementioned Ghiaccio Forte, a residential complex dating to just before the Roman conquest between the late fourth and early third centuries has been excavated. It includes storage rooms, kitchens, bathrooms, and rooms for domestic activities, in which partial affinity to Greek dwelling-house architecture of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods has been observed. Again in the Po Valley area, the town of Spina certainly still possessed outstanding dwelling structures in the fourth century; in its northeastern area, a house has partially been brought to light, with several rooms arranged at right angles around an open space. For this important center in the Po Delta, even the structural features of floors and elevations can be described with a degree of precision. Light perishable materials were used on timber skeletons, some of which had pitched roofs supported by large timber pillars.

1.6Funerary architecture

In some major southern Etruscan towns (Veii, Caere, Tarquinia), the most frequent tomb structure is a simple single chamber, as was already found in the Late- and Sub-Archaic periods. In some cases, however, the chambers were later extended in size and provided with open niches at the sides, and sometimes, with separate rooms at the back, which were destined to receive the married couple with great display of wealth. The owners of the Tomb of the Reliefs, Tomb of the Alcove, and Torlonia (second half of the fourth century) at Caere, for example, were probably members of the aristocracy who, during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, were protagonists of an extraordinary economic and cultural regeneration, open to the ideological standards and fashions launched by the Hellenic and Hellenizing elites of Macedonia and Magna Graecia. In the same decades, however, there were tombs still concretely inspired by a more elaborate domestic architecture, among which the most distinguished examples are the Tomb of the Shields at Tarquinia, with its cruciform plan around an atrium, and the François Tomb at Vulci (last third of the fourth century), with its

complex star-shaped plan around several rooms and its coffered ceiling imitating both civil and sacred architecture. The Grotte Sant'Angelo Tomb, again at Caere, which dates to the second half of the fourth century, is an architectonic complex with a monumental facade, a courtyard with two sepulchral chambers, and a terrace. The tomb commits its commemorative message to a planimetric and monumental complexity and rich plastic decoration, which is unrivalled in Etruria. Roofing the interior of one of the burial chambers is the most ancient (and refined) example of the adoption of barrel-vaulting in the region, according to a Macedonian model perhaps transmitted with Western Greek—and particularly Neapolitan—mediation.

Excluded from this brief general view, owing to their typological-stylistic specificity, are problems concerning the rock-cut tombs, which are among the most refined and original specimens of architecture of Hellenistic type in the Italian peninsula.

2Sculpture

As mentioned above, the end of the Archaic period was followed by a transition—the Interimperiode—during which it appears that, from a formal and ideological point of view, Middle Tyrrhenian material culture was no longer moving in perfect parallel with that of the Greek world. The reasons are many, and their effects seem to overlap. The end of an urban koine civilization—markedly Greek and to a conspicuous extent East Greek—which had involved the Hellenic, mix-Hellenic and barbarian cultures, and which in Etruria had seen wide acceptance and creativity, led to the rise of new regional realities that were accompanied by new political ideologies, economic structures, and cultures. Thus, Athens saw the birth of a “Severe” and then Classical style that, flourishing on the ruins of the Persians’ destruction of the Acropolis, were nourished by a favorable economic situation and febrile intellectual activity. These styles reached heights of originality clearly connected with the philosophical and political developments of the civic community, and were difficult to export as such to environments lacking similar ideals. What happened in Etruria is, so to speak, the other side of the medal. Particularly in the coastal town, the people of Etruria, defeated in the epoch-making clashes with the emerging Western Greek powers (in 474), appear to have retreated within themselves, continuing to draw on their own abundant tradition in major arts and handicrafts. At least during the early decades of the period, there was a contraction in production and consumption as a result of the spread of political models of oligarchic nature. Not all was stagnation in Etruria, however. The archaeological traces of attendance at the major southern Etruscan sanctuaries by Western Greeks during the first half of the fifth century have already been mentioned, which must have had

repercussions on the degree of acculturation by local populations. Also to be remembered are the always-open channels between Spina and the Greek world, and the prosperity of the Tiber Valley towns, whose wealth depended on their abundant agriculture and the overland exchanges with two of the most important poles of development in the peninsula at that time: Hellenized southern Italy and the Po Valley world, which opened onto the Adriatic Sea. For any historically complete analysis of the artistic expressions of the period, the scarcity of major monuments also requires taking into account minor handicrafts (see [chapter 58](#) Ambrosini), of which there are signs of a fair degree of lively receptivity. The possible public results of this—particularly as far as sculpture is concerned—have been irremediably lost.

The delay in comparison with the evolution of the formal Greek (actually, Athenian) *Vorbild* and our recognition of the most significant centers of stylistic development should therefore be read with full awareness of all the phenomena briefly described here and in the certainty, as also indicated by the latest surprising archaeological discoveries, that our knowledge has the precarious nature of a jobsite perpetually under construction.

2.1 Classical sculpture

The Late- and Sub-Archaic sculpture from southern and northern Etruria, with a sound formal coherence and acceptance of the dictates of an international, Ionic-Peloponnesian style, was followed in the mid fifth century by pieces embodying the canons of the Severe and Classical styles. This was true especially in the towns of the Tiber Valley (Veii, Falerii, Orvieto, Chiusi, as well as Cortona and Arezzo), perhaps as a result of the direct contribution of Western Greek craftsmen. The excellence of the clay mold with a female head discovered in 2008 at Orvieto, datable to between 460 and 450 BCE ([Fig. 57.4](#)), reveals a formal culture recognizable as the one traced in the major sculptural creations as well as in the votive terracottas of eastern Sicily. The characteristics of this new work, moreover, make it possible to introduce and more easily understand one of the most important groups of Etruscan sculpture of the period—namely, the stone cinerary urns of Chiusi, thus saving from their isolation specimens of very high quality, such as a splendid fragmentary head at the Chiusi Museum. After the “tyrannical” eclipse of the Porsenna period, the funerary sculpture of Chiusi—whose clients were members of the local aristocracy in a position to order rich chamber tombs between the second quarter of the fifth century and the outset of the fourth—consigned its commemorative message to statues of enthroned female figures, recumbent male personages accompanied by daemons of death, and married couples with the wife seated on a *kline* and later recumbent on a couch beside her husband. The language used in these sculptures, while preserving a certain rigid composure, gradually incorporates, together with Sub-Archaic features,

elements that were certainly inspired by Classical models (hairstyle, facial features, arrangement of folds). A similar formal approach is shown by the prestigious votive terracotta sculptures from the sanctuary of *Menerva* at Veii (Fig. 57.5). Veii was a town that, owing to its geographical position, had always readily accepted foreign models (and, perhaps, craftsmen), including those from Hellenized southern Italy. The funerary and votive spheres were consequently the primary points of reference for both urban and rural aristocratic clients of the fifth century. For them, sculptors in stone and terracotta could provide commemorative imagery (relating to their other-worldly destiny, or self-portrayal before the deity) aware of the latest trends in Greek style, thanks to the circulation of models, or even molds, most probably through the major production centers of the Western Greek world.

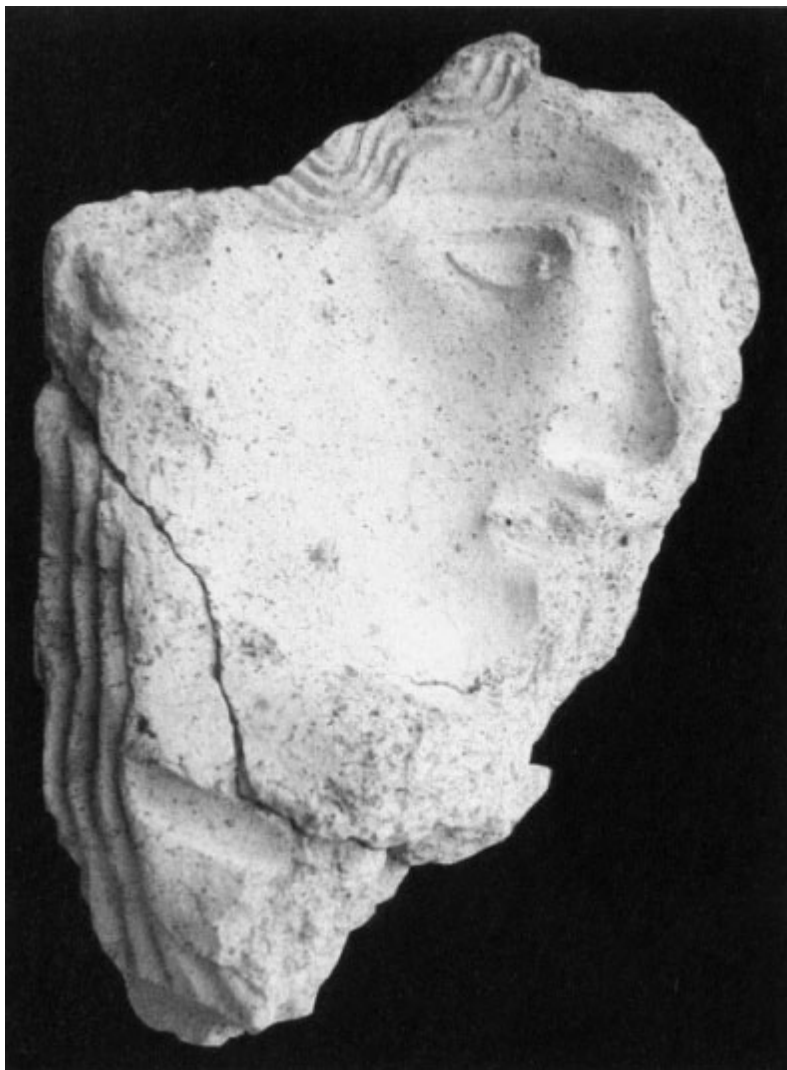


Fig. 57.4: Terracotta mould for a female head, from Campo della Fiera, Orvieto, excavations 2008. Mid fifth century. Orvieto, Archaeol. Mus. (after Stopponi 2009, 471, fig. 33)

Also from the Tiber Valley area comes one of the most celebrated (and rare) large bronzes that have come down to us: the Chimaera, a valuable votive offering dedicated in a suburban sanctuary of Arezzo, located at the entrance to major communication routes. Recent research indicates a dating to around the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the fourth, and attributes it to a workshop either at Chiusi or even Arezzo itself. Its overall naturalism, the plasticity of the muzzle, and the stylizing of the coat, all seem to point to Attic or southern Italian experiments in monumental sculpture, transferred to Etruria perhaps through the activity of (itinerant) Western Greek masters, who followed similar methods of transmission for same period as were found in the less prestigious sectors of painted pottery and small decorative sculpture. Another exceptional bronze object, the Cortona lamp, is also a votive offering. Its relief decoration reveals adherence to the canons of the Ripe Classical period (end of the fifth century–beginning of the fourth), reinterpreted—particularly the *gorgoneion* and the masks of Acheloos—with Tiber Valley, and perhaps Orvieto, nuances.



Fig. 57.5: Terracotta female votive statue, from the Portonaccio sanctuary, Veii. Second half of the fifth century, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia (Photo SAR-Laz)

Starting from the late second half of the fifth century, with increasing public clients, sacred places continued to be, or rather were once more, the main destination for major sculptural works embellishing both new and renovated temples. Once again, the towns of the Tiber Valley provide the most meaningful evidence. Of them all, Orvieto occupies a place of particular importance, as the strategic center for all of inland Etruria and a natural bridge to the Italic areas on the eastern side of the peninsula, as well as the seat of a major federal sanctuary. Architectural terracotta remains of the decoration of several temples (only one of which—the Belvedere—is sufficiently known in terms of its ground plan and related cults) testify to the existence of a major local coroplastic school, which worked for public bodies desirous of celebrating their ethical-genealogical profile and the town's political destiny through the narration of mythical events. The extremely fragmentary condition of the sculptures makes it difficult to define with any certainty the themes portrayed or composition models adopted, but we can certainly appreciate the formal ability of the *plastai* who produced them. The Classical canon in fashion at Athens in the last thirty years of the fifth century, of which the best evidence in Etruria is a single splendid head—now in the British Museum—that may be of Orvietan provenance, can be described in the Via S. Leonardo heads (late fifth century). They do, however, exhibit some rigidity in rendering facial features—as in the lengthened cut of the eyes and mouth and rendition of the beard. Better preserved is the cycle of the temple of *Tinia Caluśna* at the Belvedere (final decades of the fifth century), in which an assembly of heroes seems to take part in an event of special importance. In this case too, the expressive language appears aligned with the noble models of major Hellenic sculpture—from the eastern pediment of Olympia, to the Parthenon metopes, to draped post-Pheidian statues—albeit with stylistic streaks of “severity.” Such a style must have become widespread among local sculptors and craftsmen, and significant echoes of it are found in later decades, even in works such as the Torre San Severo stone sarcophagus and in small bronze and terracotta Instrumentum-sculptures. The posture of some of the statues of the Belvedere cycle may be understood only as having assimilated the *Kanon* of the great Argive artist Polykleitos, of whom however only a partial echo is found here (as in Etruria, generally speaking), due to a substantial Etruscan extraneousness to the theoretical reflections underlying the Hellenic Polykleitan creation.

At roughly the same time, the same tendencies appear in a major bronze, the so-called *Mars* from Todi, which is probably once again from an Orvietan workshop. It is not known whether this work was a votive statue in the strict sense or a cult image. Any chiastic portrayal appears to be betrayed by the feet, which are both firmly planted on the ground, by the wide arm gesture, and by the cuirass, which diminishes the balance of the composition while stiffening the torso. Its relationship to one of the Belvedere warriors is very strong, and the modeling of the face certainly recalls on the whole the

sculptures from Chiusi, Veii, and Orvieto. In the same geographical area, but to a slightly later period, belongs another basic bronze work. This is the head from Lake Bolsena, which may have been part of a votive (or honorary) statue. The construction of the face and hair, similar to that of later funerary sculpture from Chiusi, is accompanied by a very light outlining of facial planes and beard, giving it softly individual features unlike the rather more mannered and academic Classicism of the *Mars*.

2.2 Late Classical and Hellenistic Sculpture

The traumatic events of the conquest of Veii by Rome in 396 and of Syracusan pressure on the Tyrrhenian coasts (the sack of Pyrgi in 384) triggered a change in the Etruscan world. This was destined to accelerate with the increasing ascent of Rome, with the overall restructuring of territorial management and the strong commitment of the new aristocracies to occupying or reoccupying minor towns, thus starting a process of social maturing and development that embraced and strengthened a wider middle class. Starting from the mid fourth century, new conditions of mobility arose from international changes, from the rise of Macedonia as a dominant power, to the activism of Greek *condottieri* in southern Italy. This led to a gradual overcoming of the cultural barriers created during the fifth century, thanks also to the dynamism of greatly expanding Western Greek centers like Taranto. It also supported the establishment of a new Mediterranean koine, whose pillars were Macedonia itself, the northern Greek potentates, the more developed areas of Magna Graecia and, subsequently, Alexandria. The whole Etrusco-Italic Middle Tyrrhenian area benefitted from the new climate and took part in the splendid cultural flowering that marks the entire Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period.

In the early decades of the fourth century, among the more properly Etruscan centers of the Tiber Valley, a role of absolute prominence must be given to Falerii and the *ager faliscus*, a cultural area that, lying just to the north of Rome, assumed prime importance after the fall of Veii, including as a bastion against Roman expansionism. Numerous temples must have been built or renovated during this period, following a tradition that had already been well consolidated in the previous century. The group of terracottas from Scasato II (ca. 380), belonging to an urban temple that may have been dedicated to Minerva, comprises fragments of a complex composition with divine personages and flying chariots against a backdrop of clouds. Their stylistic characteristics—albeit obscured by a certain atony and heaviness in the faces—reveal the strong inspiration of Attic Classical style of the late fifth century (Fig. 57.6), a style also echoed widely in outlying environments even outside Etruria. Evidence of the high quality achieved by Faliscan coroplastic workshops was also found in the suburban sanctuary of *Juno Curitis* in the

Celle district in the form of an extraordinary statue of a draped female deity, still largely retaining its original polychromy; in the suburban sanctuary of Sassi Caduti, with the fragmentary relief figure of Mercury (etr. Turms), whose slender lower limbs recall the sensitive plasticity of an image by Praxiteles or an early Lysippos; and in other cult places in the area, with two figures of *Nikai* (?) that are very similar to the best architectural sculpture produced by Hellenic centers between the end of the fifth century and the early fourth.

The influence of the schools of *plastai* active in the Tiber Valley towns, first and foremost at Orvieto, must have been considerable, since its traces can be recognized in fragmentary architectural remains even in central coastal Etruria (e.g., Talamone, Vulci) and northern inland areas, from the Val di Chiana (Castiglion Fiorentino, Arezzo) as far as Fiesole.

Again within the context of terracotta sculpture (whether votive or, more often, architectural), among the most significant discoveries belonging to the fourth century (perhaps the first half) is a fine beardless head of Heracles. In a language permeated with "Falisco-caeretan" and Latial stylistic traits, its lengthened face seems to recall images of the Late Classical period, which had been known so far in the Middle Tyrrhenian environment only through a minor series of small bronzes, appliques of precious metals or relief-pottery of purely Greek and Western Greek inspiration. This rare piece contributes to our knowledge of the southern Late Classical schools that not long after were capable of producing works of great refinement, such as the statues of the renovated Temple A at Pyrgi, among which should be mentioned an extraordinary "Praxitelean" Heracles (?).

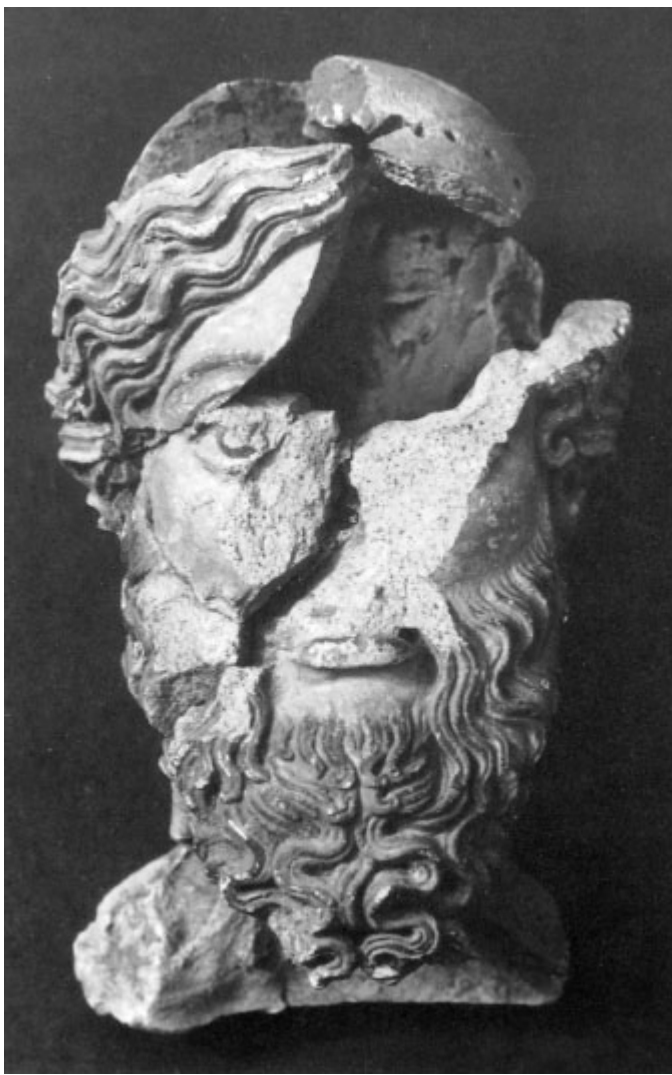


Fig. 57.6: Terracotta fragmentary bearded head, from the Scasato II temple, Falerii. First half of the fourth century. Rome, Villa Giulia (Photo SAR-Laz)

In any overview of fourth century sculpture, a fundamental role, particularly in southern Etruria, is played by images of the deceased sculpted on the lids of stone sarcophagi that decorate the chamber tombs of members of the middle and upper classes and of the aristocracy. Quite clearly, although wholly private, they appear to be highly representative of the status of the deceased and sometimes even indicate his religious or political role within the community, thus partly compensating for the lack of actual public honorary statues. The origin of the sarcophagus with a figured cover is still uncertain. It must have incorporated the local tradition of the cinerary urn with the deceased semi-recumbent at a banquet or portrayed stretched out on his deathbed, which is well attested between the Archaic and Classical periods

both in southern Etruria and, as noted above, in the Chiusi area. However, chronological coincidences, specific typologies of lids, and the concentration of the most ancient specimens in southern Etruria lead us to believe that even outside models were not wholly foreign to this process.

Mid fourth century stone sarcophagi found in Etruria—such as the Sarcophago del Sacerdote, from the tomb of the aristocratic Partunu family at Tarquinia—portray the deceased supine on the cover in a standing (if seen from above) position. Such valuable marble products were created mainly for Punic customers (in Carthage) by craftsmen of Greek training and origin (Paros?) lending the figures of the deceased features of a purely Late Classical Greek imprint. Creations such as the bearded face attributed to the deceased member of the Partunu family were probably well accepted in Etruria by local craftsmen, as appears to witness the man's face on a double sarcophagus from Vulci that belonged to the Tetnie family and dates to the mid fourth century.

At Caere the oldest sarcophagus in the Tomba dei Sarcofagi (dating to the second quarter or middle decades of the fourth century) reveals in the typology of the deceased on the lid links with the just-mentioned sarcophagi of Greco-Punic manufacture, which reached Etruria in the same period and, perhaps, even with their anthropoid antecedents. This sarcophagus is accompanied in the same Caeretan tomb by other architectural type specimens, with ridged lid and with no figure of the deceased, which in turn imitate sarcophagi from Greek workshops. The face of the Caeretan deceased, who was certainly a person in the public eye (a magistrate?), is characterized by an anonymous and remote dignity, permeated by “Severizing” stylizations, which are comparable to contemporary funerary and votive sculpture and wall-painting.

Later, from the second half of the fourth century to at least the first half of the third, the main schools of southern Etruscan sculptors—first and foremost in the Tarquinian area—gave rise to an abundant production of sarcophagi, as shown by the tombs of the prominent and emerging classes in the towns and their hinterland, whose material was the cheap local stone, *nenfro*. The deceased is portrayed standing in the manner of Greco-Punic specimens, stretched out on his deathbed or banqueting, with an increasingly marked twist and raising of the torso toward the onlooker. The deceased are characterized by faces whose massive structures are often spherical, in an attempt to reproduce to some extent the features of an adult or an old man. These faces bear traces of an intent to portray only a generalized indication of age and social and intellectual status. This was variously interpreted over the decades. At the beginning, faces are of sub-Polykleitan or purely Classical type, with measured plastic treatment of single traits. Later, inspiration was drawn from the best of Late Classical and Early Hellenistic portraits, first and foremost the dynastic images of Alexander and the Diadochoi. An echo of these images reached Etruria through numerous channels of exchange, largely reactivated on the Italian peninsula, and also through the fruitful presence of

major Greek artists in nearby southern Italy (see [chapter 36](#) Haumesser). The final result of this multifaceted process of assimilation and re-composition was consequently not the formulation of truly physiognomic portraits, nor—as has recently been assumed (Papini)—the mechanical adoption of Hellenistic portrait standards. This latter suggestion would consequently involve the greatest caution in proposing a dating of Etruscan sarcophagi on the basis of their (presumed) automatic equivalence with the portraits of eastern Mediterranean sovereigns.

Such sarcophagi, however, constitute important evidence of the developments in Etruscan sculpture at the end of the fourth century and first half of the third, also as regards the wide repertory of reliefs that embellish the various typologies of their boxes. This includes episodes from Hellenic and sometimes even local myth celebrating or evoking the funerary dimension (e.g. Amazonomachies) in an iconographic guise that is largely, but not exclusively, of Western Greek origin. These subjects are increasingly, and with an ever more rough and simplified style, accompanied by images of the separation brought by death, of the journey to and arrival in the Netherworld, in ambiguously-set parades (earthly or chthonian?) that may take on the character of actual magistrates' processions, aimed at emphasizing the social prestige of the deceased in life.

Apart from sarcophagi, the funerary sphere has also provided us with valuable, albeit fragmentary, sculptural evidence belonging to the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. Indeed, many such fragments of stone sculpture belong to the architectonic decoration of tombs or *naiskoi*. These include figured capitals with human faces in vegetal calyxes, heads of Gorgons or of death daemons (Charun) that probably belong to ceilings or architraves, and sculptural groups with figured scenes (Amazonomachies). They also include images in full relief of animals and fantastic creatures that embellished monumental tomb enclosures, discovered in the principal towns of southern Etruria (Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci). Both the style and function of these sculptural embellishments largely derive from the contemporary creations of Magna Graecia (particularly Taranto). There is no lack, however, of interesting sculptural specimens (e.g. Caere, Grotte Sant'Angelo) in which a conservative stylistic approach appears to be deliberate, aimed at defined and recognized ritual messages. Furthermore, fragments of figured funerary stelae have been found at Tarquinia, their typology and style accompanying the sarcophagi with figures stretched out on the lid discovered in the same town, and also hinting at partial inspiration from Greco-Punic models. Lastly, we must mention the draped female figures of stone or marble found at Tarquinia and around Volterra and used as funerary *semata*. Their iconographic-stylistic characteristics reveal late Praxitelean models that were possibly filtered through Western Greek (Tarentine) channels, a route that may be more clearly understood today thanks also to the identification, at Taranto itself, of remains of funerary monuments of certain Greek inspiration. It may

also be possible to link to such a climate some major bronzes discovered in Etruria that are of uncertain function, chronology and attribution. These are wholly isolated, owing to our almost total loss of the great bronze sculpture tradition. They include the Menerva of Arezzo (first half of the third century?) and the so-called Filatrice from the *Fulgur conditum* at the Great Temple of Vulci (an original of the Praxitelean period, a creation of the third–second centuries, or of the Roman age?).



Fig. 57.7: Terracotta fragmentary male statue, from the Scasato I temple, Falerii. Late fourth–beginning of the third century. Rome, Villa Giulia (Photo SAR-Laz)

The splendid architectural terracotta sculptures of the Scasato I cycle at Falerii can satisfactorily be assigned to the dominant Late Classical/Early Hellenistic koine. They must relate to a temple decoration dating to the end of the fourth century–beginning of the third. It is possible to appreciate the great technical and formal refinement of the decorative elements despite the extremely fragmentary nature of the remains—including high reliefs, acroteria, and antefixes—whose overall arrangement escapes us with regard to both its structural function and narrative content. The celebrated bust of the youthful deity—perhaps an oracular Apollo, to whom the temple was

dedicated, inspired by the dynastic portraits that became established at the court of Alexander—is accompanied by statues, whose Praxitelean-Skopadean features (Fig. 57.7) appear to alternate with more Classicistic trends, and by hand-molded antefixes of extraordinary coloristic effect. Today, they provide a valuable reference for the roughly contemporary terracotta decoration of the Temple A recently discovered in the Forum at Cumae. This new archaeological datum is of importance in identifying the main topographical reference points of the international Hellenistic koine to the north of Taranto, between by then Samnitic Campania, Mid-Republican Latium and Etruria.

As the symbolic end to this rapid overview we must place the so-called Capitoline Brutus, dated to around the end of the fourth century—beginning of the third. The vivacious flow of facial features gives this image all the inflections of an honorary portrait. It has an intense spirituality, but no truly individual features; it is a merger of the already consolidated Etruscan capacity of experimenting with non-ideal traits with Late Classical and Early Hellenistic elements of true Greek portraiture, traces of which can be recognized just as much in minor handicrafts as in properly major sculpture (portrait-statue of Demosthenes). Identifying the place where it was produced is rather more difficult, but must be sought—judging from what we have so far examined—in southern Etruria or in the Tiberine district of Latium.

3Painting

The basic problems with defining developments in wall painting—still essentially, if not exclusively, from the Tarquinia area—starting from the mid fifth century draw on the historical motivations indicated for sculpture above. This sector of artistic production also comes to a standstill for monuments related to the second half of the fifth century and resumed in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic age.

3.1A conservative art

Exacerbating the problems concerning the stylistic and chronological clarity of monuments, especially during the period from the mid fifth century to about the mid fourth, the funerary context—influenced as it was by ritual images and signs—displays a considerable propensity for the persistence of several old figurative themes that celebrate the deceased's social role in life and his destiny in the Netherworld. Thus, tombs of this period, as in the Late Archaic period, continue to emphasize the central importance of scenes of the deceased banqueting, surrounded by dances, music and games in his honor.

Even the style of such scenes appears highly conservative, long preserving a Severe or Proto-Classical, and to a certain extent even ritualistic, imprint—perhaps because it was deemed more suitable to represent a world of traditional values solidly rooted in Etruscan society. Stylistic and thematic updates are clearly not absent, and have only started to be properly assessed in the last few decades, leading to a better, if not conclusive, definition of the chronological sequence of the paintings.

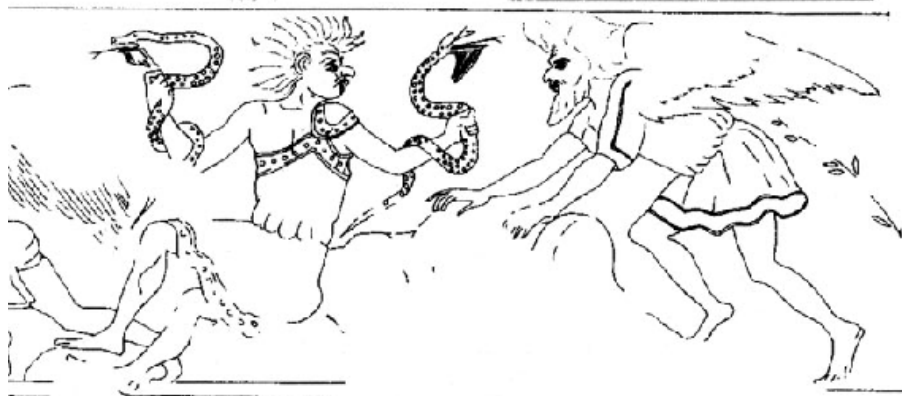
Some tombs at Tarquinia that seem to assimilate innovative hints from the great Greek paintings of Polygnotan lineage can be dated to the second quarter and the central decades of the fifth century. The Tomba del Letto Funebre (Tomb of the Funerary Bed) provides a complex, spatially articulated scene of funerary banquet and games, dominated by a great bed that was perhaps intended to display the deceased or to host rites for a funerary cult of the Dioscuri. The side walls of the Tomba della Nave (Tomb of the Ship), a seascape with a trading vessel of enormously effective realism and perspective, appear to provide an allusion to the deceased's business in life, sublimed in an Elysian banquet that constitutes the focal point of the entire composition and dominates the back wall. Repertorial novelties include individual hunting scenes (e.g. Tomba della Scrofa Nera or Tomb of the Black Sow) that replace the more “choral” compositions of the Archaic period. A few decades later, tombs convey a strong moral exemplum (Tomba del Biclinio or Tomb of the Biclinium) and occasionally portray the ceremonies in honor of the deceased (Tomb Querciola I).

3.2 New Images of the Netherworld

Some of the Tarquinian tombs dating to the second half of the fifth century, such as the Francesca Giustiniani Tomb, the Tomba della Pulcella (Tomb of the Maiden) and the Tomba del Guerriero (Tomb of the Warrior), with their festive processions and the first appearance of winged funerary daemons, constitute a conceptual bridge toward the Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri (Tomb of the Blue Demons), which is now deemed to be the turning point in Tarquinian painting of the Classical period. Indeed, it is in this tomb, which dates to the end of the fifth century—onset of the fourth, that a new system of funerary themes comes to the forefront. This system would be adopted and reproduced with variants in numerous Tarquinian hypogea of the fourth and third centuries. Studies of the various narrative themes of this monument's painting cycle, paralleled by those on contemporary painted funerary vases, have made it possible to identify a Netherworld in Etruscan beliefs of this period. It is a world with well-structured morphological and topographic features, in which the death-daemons have differentiated tasks of supervising and assisting the deceased on their journey to their final destination (**Figure 57.8**). This world does not appear to be oppressed by any pessimistic view, as

maintained on several occasions in the past. The inclusion of daemons, also found in Greek figural art of the same period, seems to be suggested by the overlapping of different elements (popular beliefs, the influences of the theatre) and by the concept of the family hypogeum as the home of several generations of deceased members. That is, the hypogeum was seen as a physical Hades, portrayed with all its legitimate inhabitants and with the creatures that “manage” it—deities and daemons.

In particular, on the left wall of the Tomb of the Blue Demons, the Netherworld is located on the banks of the River Acheron, where the ferryman *Charun* (the Greek demon *Charon*) controls the flow of souls of the deceased, allowing them to join their family members under the vigilant eyes of other custodian and escort daemons. On the opposite wall, a male figure is the protagonist of a triumphal chariot parade, accompanied by musicians and dancers, that seems to be directed toward the Elysian banquet on the back wall, the goal of the deceased at the end of their unequal and varied journeys. The Acheron scene with the ferryman demon appears to be solidly inspired by the iconography depicted on Greek funerary vases of the Classical period. At the same time, it seems to echo the spatial and compositional qualities of lost monumental Hellenic painting, as does the complex hunting scene on the entrance wall (almost totally vanished). The lively plasticity and coloring of the demon figures also gives the impression of a fairly advanced pictorial language. There is no other comparable work from this period, in contrast with the more traditional and still Proto-Classical profiles of figures employed at the banquet and in the triumphal procession. In turn, the latter, though traditional in form, seems innovatory in its commemorative content, and in fact, is the forerunner of depictions of magistrates’ ceremonies frequently found on sarcophagi and, later, in Hellenistic tombs. In short, the whole complex simultaneously provides new themes and episodes of family commemoration that were already rooted in local tradition, such as the banquet on the back wall. It also illustrates rather vividly a profile of aristocratic culture at the time, its figurative codes, and the changes taking place within it.



3.3 In the Beyond, with gods and Greek heroes, accompanied by funerary elogia

The Tomba dell'Orco I (Tomb of the Orcus I) at Tarquinia can be dated to the second quarter, or mid fourth century. With still firmly traditional pictorial language based on outlined design, but in what is now a fully Classical style, its aristocratic owners are portrayed at a funerary banquet in which the Beyond—with its daemons—is indicated in an original fashion by a curtain of black clouds. In the Tomb of the Orcus II, which dates to the third quarter of the fourth century, the Beyond is once again represented as a place wrapped in mists and black clouds, its entrance presided over by the pair of infernal deities, Hades and Persephone. Within its landscape, which is depicted as an infernal marsh, are portrayed heroes and characters of Greek myth—Theseus, *Pirithoos*, *Agamemnon*, *Tiresias* (**Fig. 19.6**)—engaged in sundry narrative contexts. In even greater detail than in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, we are dealing with an ideological plan hinging on Greek literary and figural traditions, in which the commemoration of aristocrats is placed in a catachthonic frame that almost precisely coincides with the tradition of the Odyssean *Nekyia*. The tomb also marks the introduction of innovatory painting techniques, which derive from development in major Greek paintings, with the adoption of a hatched chiaroscuro or with a veil of denser color around the outlines.

Roughly contemporary or slightly earlier is the Tomba degli Scudi (Tomb of the Shields), another great Tarquinian family hypogeum, mentioned in **section 1.6**. Here, the technical procedure is still traditional and does not accomplish much more than to fairly skillfully highlight the outlines and internal details. The painter does show considerable ability in drawing plastic monumental figures and faces with non-ideal features, but they do not reach the level of true portraits. On the compositional side, careful studies of the articulated funerary architecture have made it possible to identify a module-structure centered on the tomb's founder and his father, who is seen engaged in timeless activities in which earthly and infernal dimensions sit side by side and somehow overlap. There is a strong emphasis on the solemnity of banquets and magistrates' processions, and on the inscriptions that give details of the kinship of the protagonists and the *cursus honorum* of the monument's founder.

On a similar stylistic and chronological level are the Orvietan family tombs at Settecamini, which may also have been painted by craftsmen working at Tarquinia. In the Golini Tomb I, the two frescoed zones represent, respectively, the lively preparations for a banquet—with images of a larder

stocked with various meats and a crowd of servants busy in the kitchen—and the Elysian banquet itself, once again taking place in the presence of the gods of the Netherworld. A newly deceased member of the family appears to be making his way to this banquet, portrayed on a chariot and accompanied by a female daemon (*Vanth*). Here too, painted inscriptions contribute to celebrating the memory of the deceased, recording their social rank and the public offices held by members of the *gens* when alive.

Restoration and modern electronic techniques that activate the original colors have made it possible to recover in part the narrative and stylistic legibility of another major Orvietan tomb, the Hescanas Tomb, which can be tentatively dated to the third quarter of the fourth century. Its walls illustrate the journey of the deceased in the Netherworld, from his arrival on a chariot to the triumphal procession, from the meeting with his family members, to his final point of arrival at an altar (?), where a complex initiatory sacrificial scene appears to be taking place.

3.4Funerary and ethical-political commemoration

Of primary importance from a historical as well as pictorial point of view is the François Tomb at Vulci, which dates roughly to the last third of the fourth century, and belonged to the Saties family. Indeed, the frescoes on its central walls (the so-called *atrium* and *tablinum*) narrate episodes of archaic Etruscan history, in which warriors (each of them provided with a painted onomastic-ethnic inscription) of Vulci and from several towns in the Tiber valley hinterland are involved in conflicts that will end in Rome itself. These can probably be identified as the fall of king Tarquinius and the rise of Servius Tullius in the first half of the sixth century. Over two hundred years later in around 330, Vel Saties, the tomb's noble owner, in exhuming these historic events, mirrors them with episodes from Greek myth, which are depicted in the same spaces. The final aim, it seems, is to celebrate the heroic nature of those distant events, and to evoke the certainty that similar splendors will return in the present (different but not less problematic) context. This was a context marked by Rome's strong expansionist drive in the direction of Vulci and central-southern Etruria. On the more properly pictorial side, experiments with chiaroscuro hatching are accompanied by a certain stylistic conservatism in the tomb, which is especially evident in some of the faces (e.g. Nestor, Phoenix). The minor friezes, on the other hand, like the one with a meander in perspective and images of animal fights, reveal familiarity with more recent conquests of Greek and Western Greek painting, achieved by veiling or by points of color and hatching, and indicated by a comparison with Macedonian monuments and Apulian ceramography.

3.5 Other evidence. The new “journey” of Sarteano

The Sarcophagus of the Amazons and the Sarcophagus of the Priest, which were found in aristocratic tombs at Tarquinia, constitute two valuable examples of major funerary painting other than on walls. They date to or shortly after the middle of the fourth century, and are expressions of a composite handicraft tradition, with Greco-Punic, Western Greek and Etruscan features. The two sarcophagi actually have complex paintings on the sides of the box and are thus to some extent, both functionally and ideologically, comparable to a painted tomb. In the Amazonomachy of the former (Fig. 57.9), which is probably based on Western Greek (Tarantine) icono-graphic models, a highly articulated use of color is seen that is aimed at conferring plasticity on the figures. The color is thicker for the orbital cavities and for shaded areas, together with a lightly hatched chiaroscuro and the use of yellow and light blue, with skillfully applied chiaroscuro, which provides a plastic finish to bronze or iron weapons. At the same time, as far as can be deduced from its bad state of preservation, the Amazonomachy of the Sarcophagus of the Priest appears more schematic, with a simplified perspective. The pictorial qualities of the two sarcophagi seem to equate them with tombs such as the François Tomb at Vulci or the Tomb of Orcus II at Tarquinia, whereas the use of mythical battles as Hellenizing images of the rough journey from life to death recalls numerous other contemporary funerary monuments, whether western Greek or Etruscan.



Fig. 57.9: Tarquinia, sarcophagus of the Amazons. Mid-third quarter of the fourth century. Florence, Nat. Archaeol. Mus. (Photo SAT)

Unfortunately, almost totally lost are the wall paintings of public buildings, making it all the more essential to mention the small fragment of a painted terracotta slab from the sanctuary at Celle (Falerii) dedicated to *Juno Curitis*, which shows the profile of a youthful head, the style and graphic conventions of which are wholly similar to Tarquinian and Orvietan tomb frescoes of the mid fourth century.

Besides Tarquinia, Orvieto, and Vulci, painted tombs are also found, for example, at Caere, Blera, Bomarzo, Chiusi, but it is proper to close this chapter on Late Classical painting with the newly found Tomba della Quadriga Infernale (Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga), which was discovered in 2003 at Sarteano, a site of strategic importance for the control of the Val di Chiana and routes to Orvieto and Chiusi. Its paintings, traditional in their layout, and largely lacking chiaroscuro elements, date on a stylistic basis to the last decades of the fourth century and provide evidence of strong links with the tomb painting and still more so with contemporary ceramography of Orvieto. This has led to the hypothesis of the direct involvement of Orvietan craftsmen, who were clearly still active and inventive in this important sector of Etruscan artistic production. The figured scenes, yet again centered on the Netherworld banquet presided over by monstrous creatures (bearded snakes), include a subject otherwise unknown in funerary wall-painting—a red-haired daemon on a wagon drawn by wild and fantastic animals, who, having concluded his journey ferrying souls, starts off once more toward the exit to collect his next load. This novelty may be taken as the metaphorical conclusion of an entire age and an introduction to further developments of what may be termed Hellenistic painting.

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Laura Ambrosini

58Handicraft, 450–250 BCE

Abstract: From the mid fifth to the mid third centuries BCE, the middle class aspired to identify itself with the role played by the aristocratic families, which stimulated the production of high quality handicrafts. These included pottery (ancient black-glazed ware with overpainted decoration in “Six’s technique;” red-figure, silvered, yellow slip, polychrome and unglazed relief pottery; black-glazed ware, bronzes (vessels and utensils), jewelry, and glyptic, many of which, intended to be used in life, were buried in tombs.

Keywords: Red-figure pottery, black-glazed pottery, jewelry, glyptic

Introduction

The political and social situation of Etruria from the mid-fifth century to the mid-third century BCE was highly diversified, depending not only on the period, but also on region (see previous chapters)²⁹⁸⁷. During the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the re-occupation of the country, which was accompanied by a revival of small and mid-size properties, is evident. The middle class aspired to identify itself with the role played by the old aristocratic families. The middle class became important through production and exchange activities and stimulated the production of high-quality handicrafts,²⁹⁸⁸ including pottery, bronze vessels and utensils, and jewelry, many of which, intended to be used in life, were buried in tombs.

1The Red-figure Pottery

Arnthe Praxias, who was active around 480 BCE, is one of the initiators of the Etruscan overpainting technique, which mimicked red-figure Attic pottery and called “Six’s technique”²⁹⁸⁹. His signature, written in a Chalcidian Greek alphabet, was painted before firing on the rim and handle of an amphora now in Paris. Although it is commonly accepted that he was a metic who used his Greek name as a *gentilicium* to demonstrate his incorporation into civic society and took an Etruscan personal name, he may instead have been the Etruscan son of a Greek immigrant. In the workshop of the Praxias Group, the hands of several painters can be distinguished.²⁹⁹⁰ The style is Sub-Archaic, and in some ways still linked to the Micali Painter. A subsidiary of the

Vulcian workshop of Praxias is the Vagnonville Group²⁹⁹¹ (Fig. 58.1), which was probably active in Chiusi in the third quarter of the fifth century. Apart from some strongly Atticizing large vases made in inland Etruria (Orvieto and Chiusi) even in the fifth century—which are still connected with the black-figure (Orvieto Group) and the Praxias Group—the real red-figure technique seems to have been born at Vulci. The Rodin cup, made in Vulci, seems to date to around 400.²⁹⁹² The external decoration faithfully copies an Attic *kylix* by the Oedipus Painter found at Vulci and an amphora by the Painter of Achilles. Later, there is *Pheziu Paleś* or *Taleś* (now read as *Hezi Utaveś*)²⁹⁹³ on a *kylix* from Grotti (Siena) (Fig. 58.2). The artisan does not have a *gentilicium*, but has only a personal name and a name, maybe, of the father rather than the master. According to Mario Torelli, it is an Attic red-figure *kylix* made in Athens in the workshop of the Penthesilea Painter by an Etruscan slave (440) for the Etruscan market, but according to Mauro Cristofani it is a north Etruscan red-figure *kylix* (similar to the work of the Argonauts Painter) made on Attic model (380–350).²⁹⁹⁴



Fig. 58.1: *Stamnos* with decoration in superposed color, from Chiusi. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. Vagnonville 14 (Photo SAT)



Fig. 58.2: Red-figured *kylix* from Grotti (Siena), Tomb 3. Siena, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 36602 (Photo SAT)

We must also list the groups gathered around the Stamnos of Bologna 824 and the *kylikes*, which mimic the Attic red-figure *kylikes* with Atticizing style and Lucanian characters. The Painter of Bologna 824 and the Argonauts Painter are connected to the technique of “superposed color” used by the successors of the Vagnonville Group. Around the end of the fifth century the Attic “earlier red-figure” production technique began.²⁹⁹⁵ Recent research has shown that the use of the first productions of Etruscan red-figure pottery in Etruria was intended for middle-upper class people, mostly concentrated in the Tiber valley and in the Val di Chiana, but also in Volterra, in the Apennine area, at Felsina and in the maritime commercial site of Genoa. Recently, Martine Denoyelle²⁹⁹⁶ proposed identifying the Perugia Painter (one of the painters of this early production active at the end of the first decades of the fifth–fourth centuries) with the Lucanian Arnò Painter, who would be transferred to Etruria.²⁹⁹⁷ Fernando Gilotta stressed that these contacts with Lucanian pottery generally involve the Creusa-Dolon Group, the Intermediate Group, and the Primacy Group.²⁹⁹⁸ The vases of the Argonauts Painter are linked with the Protolucanian Amykos Painter (last quarter of the fifth century). The transfer of craftsmen from Magna Graecia to Etruria is probably connected with the foundation of Thurii (444/443). Etruscan and native buyers— and not just urban ones—adhered to especially Attic cultural models, transmitted primarily through Italiot mediation, during the second

half of the fifth century. Faliscan red-figure pottery began to be made in Falerii Veteres around 380–370 with the transfer of Attic artisans to the Ager Faliscus (e.g., the Del Chiaro Painter). This phenomenon has been linked both to the economic crisis that resulted from the Peloponnesian War and to the devastating effects of the plague (430).²⁹⁹⁹ In addition, the arrival of Attic red-figure vases at Falerii Veteres in the first decades of the fourth century³⁰⁰⁰ certainly brought new life to local pottery production. This new life is evident in the iconography, the scenic composition of scenes, the style, and the technique. Around 380 at Falerii Veteres there was a transfer of Greek craftsmen, who began to make red-figure pottery.³⁰⁰¹ The Del Chiaro Painter, founder of workshop A, identified by Benedetta Adembri, was probably a Greek (an Attic painter of the Jena Painter circle), but the next generation of painters was already of local origin. The workshop continued to operate in the following decades with the Nepi Painter and the Diespater Group, who accepted both Attic and Italiot stimuli and adapted them to a very local taste. Two other workshops, B and C, were active and headed by the Painter of Vienna 4008 (370) and the Villa Giulia Painter 8361 (360) respectively. The Painter of London F 484 and the Painter of the Vatican Biga worked in a workshop connected to the Faliscan atelier and to the Lucanian products. Their vases circulated mainly in Vulci. The Campanizing Group³⁰⁰² in the second quarter of the fourth century made vases in southern Etruria and Falerii with a Campanizing/Paestanizing language. The Settecimini Painter worked in inland Etruria (Chiusi or Orvieto), and was inspired by Faliscan painters. The Vanth Painter,³⁰⁰³ who had Faliscan training, produced monumental vases for tombs in his workshop in Orvieto. In the third quarter of the fourth century, the *Clusium* Group³⁰⁰⁴ (Fig. 58.3), created *kylikes*, plastic terra-cotta vases, and small *skyphoi* and disseminated them to Chiusi and the Val di Chiana; while later, around 320 two workshop teachers moved to Volterra and specialized in the production of large column-kraters (*kelebai*) (Fig. 58.4)—which were intended primarily for funerary use—and *stamnoi*. The *tondi* of *kylikes* are decorated with scenes related to Dionysian or erotic themes. This production seems not to have derived—as was previously thought—from a branch of the Faliscan *kylikes* of the mid fourth century, because it was contemporaneous with them. The northern Etruria output had three phases: early (340–330), transitional (330–310), and fully-developed (310–300). The scenes, often with funerary meaning, seem to depict initiation rites and/or the transfer of persons related to the sphere of Dionysus.³⁰⁰⁵ The production of the Alcestis Group and of the Turmuca Group can be located in the Vulci area³⁰⁰⁶. This red-figure pottery is rife with iconographic and symbolic religious meaning, which is also evident in the Funnel Group.³⁰⁰⁷ The Funnel Group (Fig. 58.5), which had been considered Vulcian (possibly with a Tarquinian branch), was recently assigned by Gilotta to craftsmen with Faliscan training. Two famous Fould *stamnoi*,³⁰⁰⁸ one with a Dionysiac scene and the other with stories of Achilles, and a chalice-krater are assigned to the

Hague Painter, the leader of the Frontal Workshop of the Funnel Group, who was active around 300. He was a skilled designer, attentive to spatial effects, chiaroscuro, and anatomy. The Faliscan workshops in the mid-fourth century began making more standardized vases for the middle class, especially *kylikes*, mainly with Dionysian themes—at first, with the relief line (class α , Würzburg 818), and then without (class β , Würzburg 820). The output of the Faliscan workshops in the second half of the fourth century was standardized and of ordinary quality, with figured scenes with erotic or Dionysiac themes (Faliscan Figured Group, 340–280); the Full *Sakkos* Group³⁰⁰⁹, named for the distinctive headgear worn by the women on the vases, and the Barbarano Group, which consists of *oinochoai* decorated with a female head in profile. The Fluid Group is late Faliscan, and takes its name from the appearance of thinned paint on most of the vases.³⁰¹⁰ The style is smooth, rounded, easy, and plenty of water, according to the definition of John Beazley³⁰¹¹. The meander has the “soft” form, with no relief line. The vases are *stamnoi*, amphorae, calyx-kraters, *oinochoai*, *skyphoi*, and so on, and feature the themes of *Nikai*, Dionysos, Maenads, and Satyrs. Caeretan figural production (340–300/280), dependent on the Faliscan, can be identified. In the Caeretan Figured Group, the oldest painter—and one of the most prolific—was the Villa Giulia Caeretan Painter, who was probably still working at Falerii, in the Faliscan-Caeretan style), and later moved to Caere (Caeretan old, middle, and recent styles).³⁰¹² The Torcop Group³⁰¹³ of the second half of the fourth to the early third century is named for the vases in the museums of Toronto and Copenhagen. The vases are *oinochoai* decorated with women’s faces in profile (two on the body and one on the neck). Mario Del Chiaro suggests Caere as the location of production, and dates it to between the second half of the fourth and the early third century. The Torcop Group was much more widely distributed than the Caeretan figured vases, including to coastal Etruria and the Faliscan and Latin areas.³⁰¹⁴ In this period, the *Genucilia* plates were a very widespread pottery class; Del Chiaro’s study is still fundamental.³⁰¹⁵ The eponymous plate in Providence, Rhode Island (USA), which might have been purchased at Falerii Veteres, has the name *Poplia Genucilia* painted below the foot. The first name is typical of the Faliscan area;³⁰¹⁶ the *gentilicium* is attested in the nearby countryside Ager Capenas at Lucus Feroniae. The production began at Falerii Veteres in the third quarter of the fourth century (350–325) and then continued in Caere. The plates are decorated with a female head (in both the Faliscan and the Caeretan versions) or with a star (in the Caeretan). But there were also local products.³⁰¹⁷ Coin-devices and shield’s episemata, according to Torelli, inspired the decoration of the plates. The *Genucilia* plates were popular in tombs, votive deposits, buildings related to worship, and the sanctuaries of Latium and Etruria. According to Torelli the main function of the *Genucilia* plates was ceremonial—to receive symbolic (or not) parts of food during the public (such as the hecatombs to Hercules) or private feasts in homes for the cult of the dead in

the graves or of Lares. The silvered³⁰¹⁸ (Fig. 58.6), yellow slip, polychrome, and unglazed relief pottery was created with the aim of mimicking metal prototypes. Volsinian, Faliscan, and Volterranean products have been identified. Their contacts with Apulia and Macedonia are noteworthy. For example, *oinochoe* shape VI is borrowed from Macedonian specimens (Stauropolis, Derveni, Arzos, and Vergina)³⁰¹⁹. In the repertoire there are many scenes of Amazons, derived from the decoration of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and revised and distributed through cartoons in the Etruscan and Italian areas. There are the labors of Herakles—which are also found in Greece and Magna Graecia on mirror cases and helmets.³⁰²⁰ In the second half of the fourth century, black-glazed ware with overpainted decoration, which initially mimicked Attic red-figure ware, spread³⁰²¹. During the fourth century, the presence of Greek metics (probably from Campania) is attested by the signature *Sokra(tes)* on a overpainted vase of the mid fourth century from Falerii Veteres, head of a large production for the middle classes (Sokra Group).³⁰²² The Phantom Group was started by a Faliscan artist who emigrated to Caere (Jolivet) or to Tarquinia (Pianu) at the time of the war of 358–351, in which Tarquinia and Falerii Veteres were allied against Rome.³⁰²³ Stefano Bruni suggests a greater articulation of production in several sites (one probably in Latium).³⁰²⁴ Bruni's hypothesis, pending confirmation, would even make it likely that this group was widely distributed in southern Latium and Rome itself. This group is connected to the Ferrara T 585 Southern Group or the Palmetta Southern Group³⁰²⁵ (late fourth or early third century), which includes *skyphoi* with white triangular palmettes within a metope. The technical characteristics of the Saint Valentin Group³⁰²⁶ vases and of the imitation of Gnathia Style³⁰²⁷ vases seem to refer back to southern Etruria, especially to Tarquinia. Many features demonstrate the transmission of technical know-how that took place through direct contact between craftsmen, perhaps by Apulian artisans who moved from Apulia to Etruria.³⁰²⁸ For that period, the problem has especially been discussed in relation to the creation of the *Pocula deorum*.³⁰²⁹ Dated to between the late fourth and the early decades of the third century, these are a small number of vases with overpainted inscriptions and—almost always—overpainted decorations, which were influenced by Apulian vase painting and connected to the vases produced by the *Atelier des Petites Estampilles*. The figure of Eros predominates, enriched with acclamations in Latin of many deities, which include some of those for whom cults were introduced in Rome between 303 and 291, such as Salus, Bellona, Venus, and Aesculapius. Cristofani thought that the production of *Pocula deorum* was related to the transfer of Vulcian artisans to Rome after the Roman conquest of Vulci in 280. The Hesse Group (300–280) is connected with the *Pocula deorum* in its painting technique of painting. The vases of the Group, which are tentatively attributed to Vulci, have overpainted decoration, but the style is more properly Etruscan. They have close contacts with the Gnathia pottery of Taranto,

although the quality of the Apulian vases is much higher. Etruscan figural pottery was superseded by black-glazed ware,³⁰³⁰ which thereafter was destined to predominate not only in Etruria, but also in the Mediterranean basin.



Fig. 58.3: Red-figured bird askos from the Cinci Collection. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 4232 (Photo SAT)



Fig. 58.4: Red-figured *stamnos* from the Chigi Zondadari Collection Funnel Group. Siena, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, without inv. no. (Photo SAT)



Fig. 58.5: Red-figured *kelebe* from Asciano, Poggio Pinci, tomb 3. Asciano, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 189 (after Martelli 1987, 234 fig. 179.4)



Fig. 58.6: Stamnoid situla in silvered pottery, probably from Chiusi. Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco, inv. no. 62523 (Photo SAT)

2Bronze vessels and utensils

*Candelabra*³⁰³¹ continued to be made until the second half of the fourth century, although southern Etruria seems to have been more engaged in the production of *thymiateria* of the tripod type (Vulcian, Faliscan, Volsinian, and Todi versions) and the portable type (the “*Curunas* type” from Tarquinia) (Fig. 58.7).³⁰³² The *candelabra*, made of bronze, was a luxury item for the wealthy classes, while the vast majority of the population used tallow candles, pitch or torches. The large bronze “lamp” with multiple noozles from Cortona,³⁰³³ an object of exceptional size, was evidently intended to be exposed in a sanctuary, as was the more recent find in the sanctuary of Fucoli in Chianciano.³⁰³⁴ More modest lamps have been found in the hypogeum of

the *Volumni*³⁰³⁵. During the Archaic period, Vulci had dominated bronze production in southern Etruria, but Orvieto took part as well. Orvieto is also believed to have manufactured various vases, tools, and mirrors. Relief mirrors were also made at Vulci.³⁰³⁶ Mirrors seem to have been made at Volsinii³⁰³⁷ around the late fifth century,³⁰³⁸ which show scenes that are directly dependent on the Attic red-figure vases of the third and fourth quarter of the fifth century. This continued during the first half of the fourth century with the San Francisco Group. Data relating to the discovery of the mirrors of this group seem to orient the location of the workshop to Orvieto, with circulation in coastal and southern Etruria, through the Tiber Valley, and to northern and inland Etruria.³⁰³⁹ As for mirrors from Perugia, Marisa Bonamici has demonstrated that workers transferred from Latium to revitalize an existing local tradition. These mirrors exhibit iconographic motifs of Paestan or Italiot origin, perhaps by way of Palestrina, because they are similar to those attested in the production of Praenestine cysts and Etruscan red-figure pottery.³⁰⁴⁰ In Etruria, circular mirrors³⁰⁴¹ with tang cast in one piece with the disk, for attaching a handle of a different material (ivory or especially bone), continued to be made until the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century. This type of mirror, with one, two, or three figures was still being made in the second half of the fourth century.³⁰⁴² The disks are normally thinner and the concavity of the reverse becomes slightly more pronounced. At that time began the production of mirrors with the disk cast in one piece with the handle (Fr. “miroir a manche massif”). The handles regularly terminate in an animal head, either a ram or a deer. In the late mirrors, the disks are smaller in diameter but have a strongly curved profile and thickened rim. In the *Lasa* Mirror Group,³⁰⁴³ the name is often conventionally applied to a nude female winged figure, a spirit associated with adornment or anointment. Tang mirrors (type A Wiman) do not appear after the first half of the third century. The chronological limit for the late *Lasa* mirrors of the tang type, indicated by the context of the finds, is the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century. Study of their contexts years ago showed that the tombs in southern Etruria in which *Lasa* mirrors of the cast-handle type (type B: 1–2–3 Wiman) (Fig. 58.8) were found dated to the beginning of the third and the mid second century, those in Picenum (Ager Gallicus) to the second half of the third century and those in northern Etruria to the first half of the second century.³⁰⁴⁴ The subsequent publication by Gabriele Cateni of Volterranean funerary contexts containing a mirror and some datable objects such as coins (given the controversial dating of “the “weight reductions” of the coins), seems to have generally confirmed the chronology proposed for *Lasa* mirrors in northern Etruria.³⁰⁴⁵ The dating of the Dioskouroi Group, with images of the Dioskouroi facing each other, is also controversial. The same is true of the localization of their centers of manufacture, because these mirrors have been found at a wide range of sites in Etruria. Most scholars support the assignment of the *Kranzspiegelgruppe* to

Volsinii (or Chiusi).³⁰⁴⁶ They date from the second half of the fourth century for the best mirrors, to the third century, with some even in the second century (according to some scholars). A recent study stressed that the earliest mirrors of the *Kranzspiegelgruppe*, which have been found in funerary contexts dating from the late fourth and early third centuries, were intended for aristocratic families living in the Volsinian countryside. The problem is certainly more complex for the most recent mirrors of the same type, with schematic scenes. There were more workshops, in both southern and northern Etruria, as the distribution of the mirrors shows.³⁰⁴⁷ In Etruria, as in Magna Graecia and Macedonia, the use of the mirror case (Ger. *Klappspiegel*) spread at this time.³⁰⁴⁸ The mirror case, which was invented at the end of the fifth century in workshops in Athens, Corinth, and Chalcis, was found in Etruria from the end of the fourth century and was widespread in the third in Tarquinia, Vulci, Tuscania, Caere, Elba, and elsewhere. There are also many representations of hinged boxes for mirrors on Volterranean urns. Especially in northern Etruria, from the third to the first century the mirror could be placed in the depression carved inside the wooden clamshell box. Bronze vessels³⁰⁴⁹ from the second half of the fifth to the fourth century were well shaped for the symposium, and intended for the middle class. The decline of the symposium as an institution, however, led to a reduction in the variety of vase shapes (the shapes seem to be more widely linked to eating a meal, than to drinking wine). As shown below, this phenomenon is connected to the imitation of metal vessels with silver or black-painted pottery (especially the Malacena made in Volterra). Among the vases is the bronze flask of the first Cianferoni type, which was made in Chiusi between the second half of the third and the early second century. These artifacts spread not only to Clusium and the surrounding territory, but as far as southern and northern—and including coastal—Etruria, the land of the Umbrians (Spello), and the Gallic sites of Picenum (Montefortino of Arcevia). The decorative elements of this type of flask are common on the precious vessels of the Hellenistic period from Dacia, Boeotia, Bithynia, and Magna Grecia.³⁰⁵⁰ Even in metal vessels, the Amazonomachy is the predominant theme.³⁰⁵¹

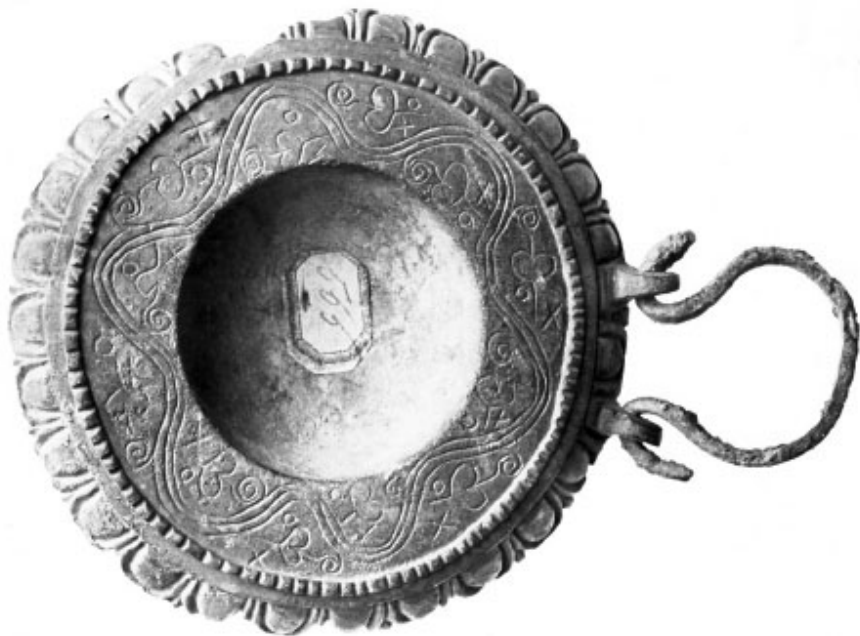


Fig. 58.7: Bronze *thymiaterion* of the portable type. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 70848 (photo SAT)

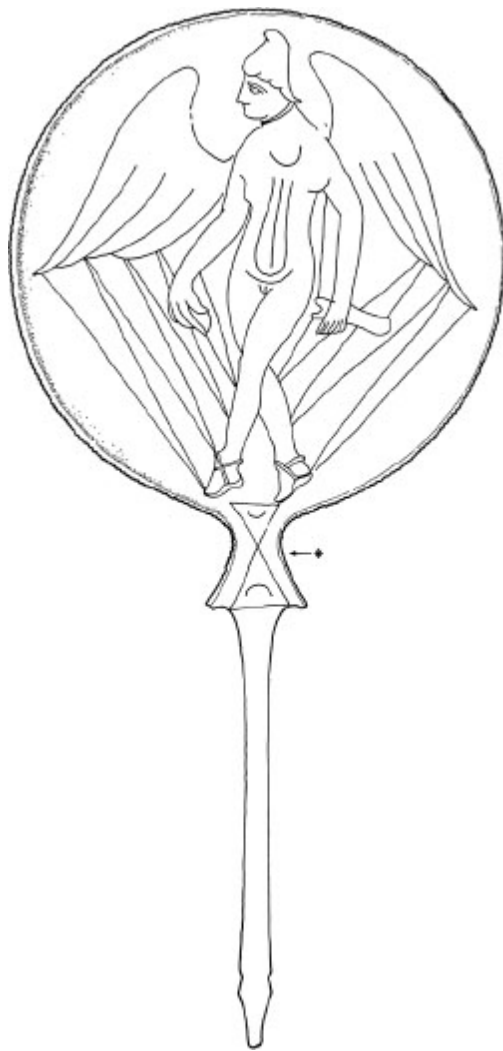


Fig. 58.8: *Lasa* bronze mirror type B:1 from Volterra. Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. no. MG 4330 (Photo SAT)

3Jewelry

Specific laws in Archaic Greece and Rome gradually limited the use of gold in the private sphere, transferring it to the public sphere and to sanctuary treasures. During the fifth century there was self-regulation as to the exhibition of luxury during the funeral in sites in southern (especially Tyrrhenian) Etruria, perhaps under the influence of Roman laws. Jewels are less numerous; they are more plentiful in the cities of the inland Etruria. Many such precious jewels are also depicted on clay votive statues (such as the very

famous example from Lavinium), tomb paintings, bronze statuettes, mirrors, and so on.³⁰⁵²

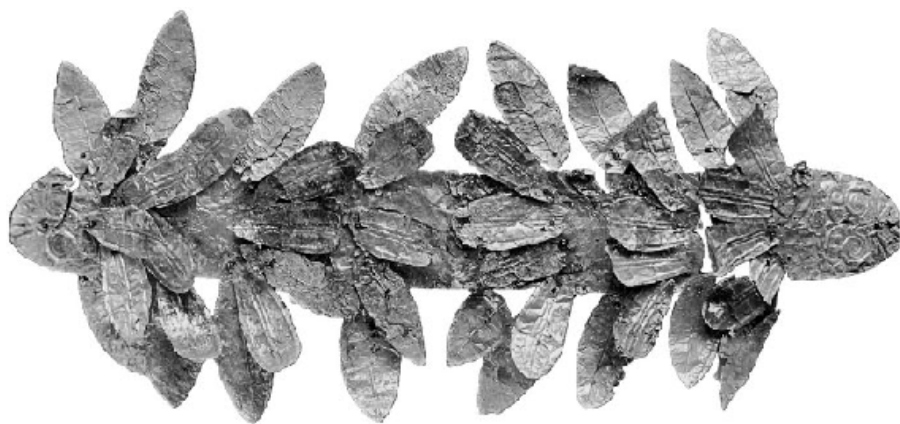


Fig. 58.9: Gold leaf crown from Volterra, Portone necropolis. Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. no. 4 (Photo SAT)

Diadems

From the late fifth century, diadems decorated with embossed ends (for example, the peacock, a symbol of death and rebirth that was perhaps connected to Dionysus, as well as the Silenus mask) were used. The crowns (Fig. 58.9)—which are particularly evidenced in Volterra, Vulci, and Chiusi—seem to end at the end of the third century.³⁰⁵³ The scope of this ideological ornamentation may be related to the military sphere, and are perhaps connected with triumphal ceremonies and worship (the Orphic religion). Some differences in iconography and techniques allow identification of Etruscan make and distinction from that of Magna Graecia. The crowns from the Greek peripheral world—and in particular the Black Sea colonies and Macedonia—do not seem to be typologically related to the Etruscan ones. It seems that in Etruria funerary use of the metal crown was usually connected to beliefs of the Dionysian type or to other mysteries.³⁰⁵⁴

Earrings

The *a grappolo* earring type circulated in Etruria during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. A recent study confirms that the *a grappolo* earring type was purely an Etruscan creation with no close Greek predecessor.³⁰⁵⁵ The contexts of the finds show that this type of earring appeared by the second or third quarter of the fifth century, and was used until the end of the fourth/beginning of the third. The tube earring, which seems to stem from older forms such as cornet earrings, seems especially prevalent in northern Etruria. These examples are widespread, being found at Vulci, Pyrgi, Volterra and the surrounding area, Bettona, and Volsinii. The use of earrings with lion

heads (such as from Caere and Volterra) relates to Macedonia and arrived in Etruria in the late fourth century by way of the Taranto area. In Etruria were found not only earrings made in Magna Graecia (mostly in Taranto, such as those from the François Tomb in Vulci),³⁰⁵⁶ but even earrings depicting the heads of African people (in amber instead of garnet)³⁰⁵⁷ (Fig. 58.10), which, while using Taranto models, are likely Etruscan-made. Other earrings of a Magna Graecia type, found in Apulia, were imitated in Etruria, including those with figured pending, little bells, amphoras, or glass paste birds. In Vulci have been found earrings type V b Schojer, with a pendant of a bunch of grapes (or a variant with glazed grapes hanging from the disk), dated at the end of the third or the early second century, and earrings of type II D Schojer with disc and triple glass paste pendant in the shape of a bird. At both Vulci and at Chiusi, earrings of type II D Schojer with disc and triple pendant with a glass paste bird have been found. Ettore Maria De Juliis believes that buttons depicting the head of Medusa—characteristic of a Taranto workshop—found in Tomb 1 of Peschiera in Todi,³⁰⁵⁸ are gold foil studs for clothes or belts. *Pelta* earrings and *disco* earrings with inverted pyramid, which concisely reproduces types that were common in Taranto in the fifth and fourth centuries, are also attested between the third and second centuries.

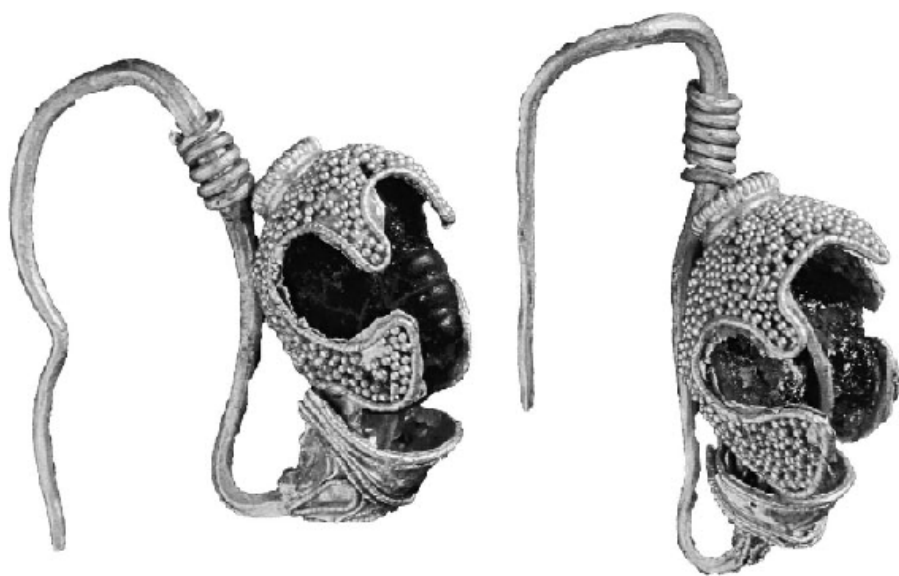


Fig. 58.10: Gold earrings with head of an African from Riparbella, Volterra. Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. no. 91 (Photo SAT)

Rings, necklaces and bullae

As for rings, there is the Fortnum Group, named for a collector³⁰⁵⁹. Devised in the late fifth century but only becoming popular in the fourth, these rings have an almond-shaped bezel, with heroic episodes and love scenes. Between the Classical and Early Hellenistic ages, eye-shaped rings are common: they

have a large oval relief bezel of obvious apotropaic significance, decorated with beads, animal (lions or dolphins, for example) or plant matter images. In both rings and necklaces, the Heraklean knot—which signified luck—is attested from the fourth century. Disk-shaped *bullae*³⁰⁶⁰ in necklaces with pendants, decorated with embossed ornaments, were typically worn by boys, but were also part of women's outfits. *Bullae* with a talismanic value have mythological subjects that are generally connected to the sphere or have apotropaic significance. Mythical characters were taken as a model of ethical reference behavior. The single *bulla* has been interpreted as an attribute of the *puer ingenuus*, to connote a particular *status*, but, according to Alessandra Coen, it is related to some aspects of Dionysian (like the necklaces with multiple *bullae*, which were worn by women). There was certainly a workshop for *bullae* and diadems in Clusium. The jewels found in Picenum, ascribed mainly to Vulci,³⁰⁶¹ show that the path from Vulci through the Tiber area to the towns of Umbria and the Picenum was still active. The Macedonian taste for the *lonchia* necklace (with thick lanceolate pendants) spread beginning in the last decades of the fourth century.

4Glyptic

There is clearly a decline in Etruscan inscriptions on scarabs, which peaked during the period of the Severe style³⁰⁶². Peter Zazoff suggests that the southern Etruscan carving workshops were at Caere or Vulci, while Marina Martelli suggests that they were at Tarquinia. Martelli considers this location most plausible because it is supported not only by the style and distribution of the scarabs, but also by the paleographic characteristics of the inscriptions that accompany the images. From the mid to the late fifth century, the glyptic passed through the “Middle” style, from the “Severe” style to the “Free” style, with softer shapes. The style at the end of the fifth century was close to the Greek model because the figures moved more freely in space. Most of the figures seem selected from and linked to Etruscan religion, with all that is connected to it, including the sacrifices, divination, and otherworldly beliefs. The *a globolo* scarabs constitute a large and distinctive group of Etrusco-Italic intaglios. Their engraved devices (human and animal figures) consist of a limited number of round cavities achieved by using the spherical drill and the disk-shaped drill. The name refers to the technique by which the figures are composed. The contexts of finds indicate a wider social stratification among owners of gems probably used as seal than was previously attested.³⁰⁶³ They come from Etruria, Campania, Apulia, and the islands, and, outside Italy, the wider Mediterranean and Black Sea areas. The datable contexts clearly show that, though they began to be made in the late fifth century, the majority of items were deposited after the mid fourth century and no later than the early

decades of the third. The peak of production was during the years 325–275, or about two generations. Ulf Hansson believes that some motifs that are less commonly attested in Etruscan culture, and which have been incorporated into the repertory of the *globolo* gemseals, are Latin and South Italian influences.³⁰⁶⁴ The end of Etruscan gem production is difficult to pinpoint. The Etruscan workshop may have continued to produce ringstones (gems intended to be set into metal finger-rings). The ringstones vary in shape from circular to oval or more angular, and depict figures from the Greek myth or anonymous male or female figures, few with inscriptions written in Latin letters. Between the third and the second centuries ringstone workshops seem to have been created in central and southern Italy. The influence of Etruscan engravers seems to be active on later Italic and Roman-Republican workshops.

5Conclusions

In the Hellenistic Etruria various production centers were engaged in the creation of artistic objects for the upper middle class. This class, thanks to the economic and social transformation, often participated to the political government of the cities and wants to regain possession of the status symbols of the oligarchic class. The future economical development will see a more standardized production for a greater number of people. Slave activity in the workshops become more intense.

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Petra Amann

59Society, 450–250 BCE

Abstract: The economic crisis of the southern Etruscan coastal metropolises in the second half of the fifth century BCE, whose social consequences are unfortunately little known to us, appears to have been overcome by a systematic reorganization of the territory at the beginning of the fourth century. The previously broader urban upper class developed into an increasingly elitist oligarchy of the nobility, in which a few gentes, strategically scattered across the territory, set the political and social tone. This circumstance was characteristic for all of Etruria and persisted until the merger into the Roman state, which promoted the *status quo* in its own interests. Large-scale landholdings now once again functioned as the economic basis of the nobility; ancestor cults, outward representation, and exhibitions of luxury were integral patterns of behavior of these elites.

Contrasting with them, especially in the larger and smaller urban centers, were large parts of the population who we shall call the free middle classes. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence from the funerary realm reveal their existence. This is true for cities in inner Etruria like Chiusi and Perugia (with their many funerary inscriptions of Etruscan citizens) as well as for coastal Tarquinia. Their rights were not equal to those of the *principes*. Transition to the lower class, the urban proletariat, was probably also fluid in Etruria. It seems that free men in rural northern Etruria could be small landowners, while in the south, beginning in the third century, they were adversely affected by large-scale Roman land confiscations. Although it is continually suggested in both older and newer research, there exists no concrete evidence of “half-free” classes of population. Client-patron relationships created a moderate balance of interests that lay in private rather than state hands. Slaveholding increased sharply in the Late Etruscan period; slaves worked in the fields of the large landowners, in manufacturing, in the metal industries (e.g. Populonia), and in private households. In contrast to Rome, most freedmen did not immediately achieve citizenship; as a rule only their descendants were entitled to it. Social tensions could lead to open revolts (e.g., in Arretium, Volsinii veteres); but the unclear terminology of the ancient authors and the indubitably broad front of discriminated persons strongly hinder a deeper understanding of these events.

The tendencies toward social liberalization typical of the Hellenistic period are also perceptible in Etruria; the weakening of the rigid Archaic family structures brought the female element more freedom (e.g. matrimonial law). The epigraphic documentation of women is now more substantial than in the sixth and fifth centuries—especially in funerary inscriptions, but also in dedicatory ones— but clearly remains less substantial than that of men. In the aristocratic environment, proud female figures made their appearance along the lines of Roman matrons; they played an important role as a means of alliance between the great *gentes*, but always against the background of basic inequality of rights.

Keywords: oligarchy, middle class, freedmen, social revolts, female element

1Crisis in the south and resurgence of the nobility

Archaeology tells us that beginning in the middle of the fifth century BCE,

large parts of southern Etruria (and Rome as well) began to slip into an economic and cultural crisis,³⁰⁶⁵ although this was less true for the interior and the more northerly regions (e.g. Volsinii veteres, Populonia, Pisa).³⁰⁶⁶ The reasons for this decline were probably complex; alongside foreign misadventures against the Greeks, domestic tensions, whose exact nature remains to be clarified by future research, must have been highly significant. The migratory movements of central Italic tribes, which had a considerable impact on the overland trading routes heading south (Aequi, Volsci, Hernici) and ultimately led to the loss of the Campanian colonies (Samnites/Campanians), contributed to the intensification of the situation. The fact is, a reorientation of the market in the direction of the eastern Po plain (with its important ports of Spina and Adria) set in at the middle of the century. It is probable that the economic recession in the southern coastal centers must have especially strongly hit the urban middle classes, whose members earned their living as traders and craftsmen. Unfortunately, we know very little of the social impact of these developments.

Overall, the southern Etruscan city-states were strong enough to overcome this temporary crisis by the beginning of the fourth century. They did so by means of a deliberate reorganization of their territory, as can be shown particularly in the case of Tarquinia, where modern research likes to speak of an “internal colonization” with the activation or reactivation of the smaller centers (such as Tuscania, Castel d’Asso, Norchia, Musarna, and Ferento).³⁰⁶⁷ Major port settlements such as Pyrgi had in fact lost their international character, but in the early fourth century again became tempting targets for looters, as shown by the raid that took place in 384, in which the Syracusans seized rich booty and many prisoners (Diod. Sic. 15.14.3; Strabo 5.226).

The driving force of this reorganization of the territory was the urban upper class of the respective urban centers, or more precisely only some of it, and in fact probably only those families who were landowners or in a position to acquire land. For, beginning in the fourth century, a situation appears throughout Etruria that can be described as an increasingly elitist oligarchy of the nobility. At the same time, a parallel (re)evaluation of the gentile structures took place, so that the end result was a few large *gentes*—strategically spread across the territory and probably with a considerable entourage—setting the political and social tone in the various city-states of Etruria. They include, among others, the Spurinna in Tarquinia, the Satie in Vulci, the Leinie in Volsinii, the Velimna (Volumnii) in Perugia, the Cilnie (Cilnii) in Arretium (one of them was the friend and political companion of Augustus, C. Cilnius Maecenas), and the Caicna (Caecina) in Volterra.³⁰⁶⁸ This situation remained essentially intact until the final incorporation of Etruria into the Roman world in 90 BCE. No longer relevant to Late Etruscan development was Veii, only 17 km distant from Rome, which already in 396 (respectively 388) fell to its old rival (Livy 5.19–22; Diod. Sic. 14.93.2). Rome enslaved a large part of Veii’s population and incorporated the

conquered territory, and through individual land appropriations divided it among its own people, which helped to relieve the social pressure in the emerging settlement on the Tiber.

The major Etruscan *gentes* had branches in the smaller centers of the territory and are recurrently cited in the local magistratal inscriptions (such as the Tarquinian *gens* Alethna in Musarna and the *gens* Curuna in Tuscania).³⁰⁶⁹ The custom of the *cursus honorum* is documented considerably more clearly in southern Etruria than in the northern part of the land. Alliances by marriage within and outside of their own spheres of influence furthered internal solidarity between these *gentes* (social endogamy).³⁰⁷⁰ Especially revealing is the funerary epigram of Larthi Cilnei, which presumably comes from one of the necropolises of Tarquinia and probably belongs to the early third century BCE.³⁰⁷¹ The text confirms marriage contacts between two politically eminent families, the Cilnii of Arretium and the *gens* Spurinna of Tarquinia. These can more easily be categorized because, thanks to the *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, we know of Tarquinia's (not precisely datable) political-military assistance, under the command of a certain Aule Spurinna, of the aristocratic elite of Arretium.³⁰⁷² Naturally there will also have been internal power struggles within the local aristocracies, which—as is sometimes suggested—in the case of Chiusi might have provoked the invasion of Celtic groups.³⁰⁷³

In order to legitimize their own position of power, the leading families now again strongly sought connection to the ancestors and their merits. This tendency found its ideal expression in the fourth century in the painted “banquet of the ancestors”, typical of some Early Hellenistic chamber tombs of the nobility. This unites the deceased of a *gens*—including also the wives—in the hereafter, sometimes in the presence of the ruling couple of the underworld. Prominent examples are the wall paintings in the Tomba dell'Orco (Tomb of the Orcus) and the Tomba degli Scudi (Tomb of the Shields) in Tarquinia, the Golini Tombs I—II and the Hescana Tomb in Orvieto, and the Tomb of the Triclinium in Caere.³⁰⁷⁴ In parallel, beginning in the fourth century, extensive tomb complexes known as gentilic tombs, with one large room or several smaller chambers, were developed for receiving numerous interments from one *gens*. With varying local manifestations, this type is found throughout Etruria. Some of the *gentes* must have been considerably ramified, so that the individual branches of a family group could have held social positions that differed in detail.

Beginning in the late fourth century, the tomb and especially its facade took on increased significance as a place for representation to the outer world. Clear tendencies toward the “heroization” of the tomb's owner can be recognized in the Late Etruscan rock-facade tombs, which are strongly oriented to Greek architectural models (e.g. temple tombs in Norchia and Sovana; *aedicula* [small shrine] tombs in Sovana with emphasis on the tomb's owner banqueting in the hereafter).³⁰⁷⁵ The material wealth of the *principes*, which to a considerable extent relied on the possession of a large amount of

agricultural land, was expressed moreover in a luxurious lifestyle in lordly manors with extensive staffing. Moralizing ancient Greek authors were quite disposed to pin on the Etruscans—and on other barbarian peoples with highly hierarchical structures as well—the label of *tryphé*, which was defined by excessive luxury at the table, exaggerated good living, and decadence. This holds even for the well-informed Posidonius, whose well-known passage on Late Etruscan society also relies on other, Etruscan-friendly sources and emphasizes various cultural achievements of this people (including signs of public authority, the type of the atrium house, and the adoption of writing) (*apud* Diod. Sic. 5.40). For the philosopher, the moral decay of the Late Etruscan upper class brought about by the agricultural surplus served as a silent warning to Rome.³⁰⁷⁶ That the clothing of the house slaves in attendance corresponded to the high status and the striving for representation of their masters should not be overinterpreted.

2The middle and lower classes

Alongside the upper class, the cities housed a broad, heterogeneous middle class with presumably fluid boundaries to the lower segment of the population, which had basically no possessions of its own. The regular city plan of the settlements like Musarna appears to reflect this broad middle class.³⁰⁷⁷ Non-state, privately based client-patron relationships provided a moderate balance of interests; the smaller tombs, such as those grouped around the central chamber tomb of the aristocratic *gens* Anina in Tarquinia (Fondo Scataglini; late fourth-first century), should probably be interpreted in this sense.³⁰⁷⁸

Regarding the access of the middle-class population element to permanent forms of burial, there were regional differences in Etruria. Especially in the inner Etruscan cities of Perugia and Chiusi, beginning in the third century, their deposition in less extravagant and increasingly standardized ash urns is strikingly high.³⁰⁷⁹ The numerous inscriptions show that these persons were citizens. This is undoubtedly a sign of an improvement in the standard of living in broader parts of the population. From the late third century onwards the general trend toward simpler forms of burial containers—in contrast with southern Etruria—did not fail to leave its mark among the Chiusian aristocracy as well. Regulating norms of a civil or religious nature are assumed, but the existence of an aristocracy is not to be doubted.³⁰⁸⁰ Little rural landholdings appear to have been a possibility for earning one's living in the inner and northern parts of the country (Chiusi, Perugia, Cortona, Volterra). Alongside the archaeological evidence, the Tabula Cortonensis, discovered in 1992 near Cortona, which belongs to the late third-early second century, is of interest in this regard.³⁰⁸¹ It seems to be a sort of evidentiary

document for the purchase of estates. A fairly large number of persons with Etruscan citizenship, but of different social status, are enumerated, among them probably—although the interpretations of the document differ in detail—smallholders (and/or free tenants).

Little known are the urban middle classes in the Late Etruscan south. The many simple chamber tombs found at Tarquinia have, in contrast to the *hypogaea* (underground tombs) of the nobility, no figural wall paintings, but in the Hellenistic period sometimes exhibit painted inscriptions.³⁰⁸² Yet altogether, the epigraphic remains of the middle classes in the south are considerably thinner than in the inner parts of northern Etruria. Also to be assigned to this segment are the less prestigious fourth- and third-century tomb complexes in the smaller urban centers in the southern Etruscan rock tomb area (e.g. Castel d'Asso).³⁰⁸³

In the second half of the fourth century, the conflicts with expansion-hungry Rome increased (according to the tradition Caere appears to have been closely linked with Rome, as among other evidence the Tomb of the Clavtie/Claudii suggests³⁰⁸⁴). The final outcome was the permanent subjection of Etruria, at the latest in the second quarter of the third century. Its city-states became Roman allies with the obligation to military service.³⁰⁸⁵ Whereas the more distant north did not fall among the direct territorial interests of Rome and profited economically, in the first half of the third century the Etruscan south had to put up with extensive territorial annexations. It was presumably mainly the local nobility that managed to repossess the available *ager publicus* for agricultural purposes. The long-term losers in these developments were more likely the mid-sized and especially small landowners of southern Etruria. Unfortunately, no basic study of social relationships in the rural and urban area of southern Etruria between the fourth and second centuries has yet been done.

As for craft production, beginning in the third century there is a noticeably stronger trend toward mass production (ceramics, votive statues, mirrors, etc.), and, as a result, a clear increase in larger establishments. In 'industrial' cities such as Arretium, which provided a large amount of weaponry for Scipio's African campaign of 205 (Livy 28.45.16–17), beginning in the third century there must have been a fairly high pool of cheap labor, whether slave or freeborn. Naturally this 'mass' production—which was also exported, but in good measure remained in the land itself—on the other side presupposes a corresponding buyers potential, which in turn points to a broad middle class.

The Roman literary tradition wavers between *plebs* and—more commonly—*servi* to describe the lower classes, generally having in mind the existence of a dependency relationship. The Greek sources, however, only very rarely use the Classical Greek word for slave, *doûlos* (as a rule in Greek consciousness referring to a foreigner); instead they speak of "household servants" (*oikétai*) and "servants" (*therápontes*). The term *penéstai* is used only once, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (9.5.4), to describe the Etruscan

troops in the war between Veii and Rome in 480 (cf. chapters 53 Amann, 65 Marcone). Although both older and modern literature relies on this passage again and again,³⁰⁸⁶ it is not evidence for the existence of a class of half-free persons in Etruria along the lines of the *penéstai* of Thessaly or the helots of Messenia.³⁰⁸⁷ As Enrico Benelli rightly insists, in this context it was merely a designation for a group of persons dependent on the ruling upper class, without reference to their concrete legal status.³⁰⁸⁸ It is reasonable to recognize client relationships that cannot be more closely described, but must have been normal in the ancient world. The parallel version in Livy is marked by the Roman Conflict of the Orders, whose excesses would have been used as an advantage in the war by the Etruscan *principes* (cf. 2.44.7–12). Livy (9.36.12) knows of emergency troops among the rural population, who were promptly invoked by the noble lords in 310 in order to face the Roman army that had surprisingly invaded the country. This appears to be a sort of rural Etruscan *plebs*. In this context, there has been much discussion about the meaning of the term *etera* (or *lautn eteri*), epigraphically attested several times in the Late Etruscan period, which appears in connection with personal names (usually with *praenomen* and *nomen gentile*).³⁰⁸⁹ It is neither the Etruscan designation for the slave or the “half free” nor, probably, for the client.³⁰⁹⁰ There were (state or religious?) offices like the *zilath eterau* and *zileteraia* (Tarquinia, Musarna, Vulci, Orvieto) and the *camθi eterau* (Tarquinia), whose holders came from the upper class. Since in some cases the holder of the title is quite young, it has been thought that the office of the *zilath eterau* meant some sort of youth organization under a—likewise youthful—*praetor iuventutis*.³⁰⁹¹ But this interpretation too is problematic; hence Benelli’s latest proposal to understand the term not in relation to the person, but to the tomb or the burial, constitutes an interesting alternative.³⁰⁹² What remains certain is that the word can in no way be cited as evidence for the existence of Etruscan “half-free” persons.

In any case, the steadily increasing groups of slaves included foreigners, who (through abduction, war, etc.) were deprived of their human rights or held the status of a slave from birth. This last possibility must have drastically increased in the Hellenistic period. Whether debt slavery was lessened for Etruscans, or—as in Rome—might have been abolished for full citizens, is just as unknown as the Etruscan term for “unfree” (respectively the enslaved person). The name formula consisted of the individual name of the slave, to which the owner’s *nomen gentile* was added in the genitive.³⁰⁹³ Naturally, names of slaves are rarely documented, and moreover the ambivalent formula often leads to hermeneutic uncertainties. Interesting name material in this regard can be found in the few Late Etruscan chamber tombs nearby Orvieto, which accommodate the members of a small oligarchic circle. Of note, for example, is the *petinate hescanas* in the Tomb of the Hescana in Porano (*ET*² Vs 7.38); of special interest, however, is the problematic Golini Tomb I near Settecaminì. This tomb of the Leinie *gens* shows the banqueting nobility (with

long inscriptions) in the presence of the ruling couple of the Underworld and the activities of the servants in the kitchen physically separated from the banquet of the nobles by a partition.³⁰⁹⁴ The short labels on the servant figures are morphologically heterogeneous; alongside appellatives that less resemble personal names than a description of individual duties (e.g. *tesinθ tamiaθuras*, *ET² Vs 7.9*) are found binomial names that are hard to interpret in view of the concrete social status of their bearers—*runxlvis papnas* and *θresu penznas*, for example, could be slaves (who belonged to other families?).³⁰⁹⁵ In theory, the hiring of a “catering staff” with both free and non-free workers for upper-class banquets (as known from the comedies) is also a possibility.

The fate and living conditions of slaves depended, as elsewhere, on their use. Hard physical labor was performed by work-slaves in the fields of large landowners, in the factories, mines, and generally in the area of metalworking (Accesa, Populonia). Among house slaves there were certainly grades. Valuable slaves, their lack of freedom aside, were accustomed to a higher lifestyle than that of the Etruscan proletariat and belonged among the equipment of lordly representation (as shown by the servant figures in the tomb paintings). Unprovable, but quite likely, is the *peculium* of slaves known from Rome.

The existence of some sort of setting free (manumission) is certain, although its procedures and legal extent remain in the dark. The outcome was that the *lautni* (m.)/*lautniθα* (f.) achieved his/her personal freedom but definitely remained closely bound to the patron (hence *lautni* = “the one who belongs to the family”).³⁰⁹⁶ Full equality and political integration into the state—which in the name formula is made clear by a *praenomen* and a *nomen gentile* of their own—was as a rule achieved only by their descendants, whose *nomen gentile* was formed from the individual name of the (freed) father. Yet the quite numerous *lautni* inscriptions—which with a few exceptions (including one from the Late Archaic period) mostly come from Late Etruscan northern and inner Etruria—exhibit a certain degree of fluctuation in the formula.³⁰⁹⁷ Alongside Etruscan names, many foreign individual names are found that indicate the origin of the erstwhile slaves. Greek names are especially common (e.g. Clepatra/ Kleopatra, Apluni/Apollonios, Atunes/ Adonis, Tiphile/Diphilos),³⁰⁹⁸ but Italic and occasionally Celtic names (such as Mucetis/Mogetios) are also found.

As a rule the *lautni* did not have civil rights (and so politically was not directly useful to his former master), but economically he was in a position to fend for himself. A few examples of votive gifts from freed persons are known from inscriptions (e.g. in Vulci).³⁰⁹⁹ His (freeborn) descendants did not bear the *nomen gentile* of the former owner. Freedwomen could marry outside the manumitting *gens*, in fact either freedmen or freeborn.³¹⁰⁰ The Roman system, which generally allowed freed persons (= *liberti*) limited civil rights, differed clearly on some points, although it too knew different kinds of manumission and in theory discriminated against the *libertus*. These

differences could thus have led to misunderstandings among the ancient authors.

3Social unrest

Beginning in the fourth century, severe social unrest in some Etruscan city-states is documented, namely in the inner and northern parts of the country. In general, the oligarchic upper class seems to have been quite unwilling to share political and economic power. The ancient tradition, however, scarcely makes it possible to precisely define the social groups that acted against the ruling nobility: urban *plebs*, freedmen according to Etruscan law, or true slaves. This problem interferes considerably with the analysis of the real causes of the revolts. Were they prefigured as inherent to the system, or were they prompted by especially harsh special circumstances in each individual case?

According to Livy, the unrest in Arretium in 302 was a rebellion of the *plebs* against the omnipotent *gens* Cilnia.³¹⁰¹ As regards the Roman intervention, which led to reconciliation, he had different sources available. Social tensions also appear in the *Elogia Tarquiniensia* of the Spurinna *gens*, engraved in the Claudian period, which speaks of a suppression of a *bellum servile* in Arretium that is not precisely datable.³¹⁰²

Even more unclear and interpreted by modern research in the most varied ways is the bloody revolt of 265–264 in Volsinii veteres, which left a lasting impression, not least because it resulted in the destruction of Orvieto by Rome (aside from the detailed account of Zonar. 8.7, see Val. Max. 9.1, ext. 2; Flor. 1.16; Oros. 4.5.3–5; *De vir. ill.* 36; John of Antioch, *FHG* IV.557 fr. 50.).³¹⁰³ Blended with the motif of *tryphé*, the accounts of the ancient authors seem to repeat the stages of the Roman Conflict of the Orders in a very accelerated way. The question of who the real actors were remains open. The vehemence of the events, however, shows that the oligarchic upper class must have completely lost control of the city at some point. Unfortunately, the prehistory of the events is also unknown to us. (Had the number of *domini* been thinned out in the struggle against Rome? How did the flagging of economic power affect the lower classes?)

The first true and unequivocally recognizable slave revolt took place in Etruria in 197/196 (Livy 33.36.1–31; see chapters 65 Marcone and 68 de Angelis).

4On the presence of foreigners in Etruria

Whereas the coastal cities in the Po delta like Spina and Adria clearly had a Greek component in their population before the invasion of the Celts, the

number of Greeks living in the southern Etruscan urban areas as merchants and craftsmen decreased sharply during the second half of the fifth century. With regard to the presence of foreigners, however, port cities lying farther north remained interesting, such as Populonia, with its flourishing metal industry,³¹⁰⁴ which even in the Late Etruscan period attracted foreign laborers, craftsmen, and merchants. Thus a Neo-Punic vase inscription of the third century has recently been recovered in the dromos of chamber tomb 4 of the Le Grotte necropolis;³¹⁰⁵ if there is, in fact, a direct connection between the occupancy of the tomb and the inscription, the presence of a socially and economically well integrated Phoenician-Punic metec in Populonia could be assured.

Alongside these personally free individuals, of course the slave trade brought to Etruria an increase in foreigners, often originating in the eastern Mediterranean, who on occasion achieved at least partial social integration as freedmen (see above).

Additionally, the onomastic material of Hellenistic Etruria includes a fairly large group of names that are of Italic—often Sabellic—origin or are ethnika on such a basis, particularly in the inner Etrurian areas (Volsinii, Chiusi, Perugia).³¹⁰⁶ The integration of Italics—in legally quite different ways—must be recognized since the earliest period. It appears in the Late Etruscan period, though, to have reached a new dimension, to some extent, especially in Perugia. From the start, that settlement had had the function of a bridgehead toward Umbria, and from the fourth century on it expanded considerably into these areas. Here the usually so-called “Vornamengentilizia” (= gentile names formed on the basis of a *praenomen*) are well documented. According to Enrico Benelli, these names were actually for the most part not formed on (Italic) *praenomina*, but on true (Italic) *gentilicia*.³¹⁰⁷ This could mean that freeborn Italics (in this case Umbrians) were taken in during the course of territorial incorporation into the polity of Perugia, although complete legal equality must not be assumed.

5 Women’s lifestyle and Hellenistic liberalization tendencies

Despite the general background of basic inequality of the sexes and traditional gender roles (cf. chapters 12 Amann and 53 Amann), in the Late Etruscan period, self-aware, proud Etruscan women take the stage. For example, we have Ramtha Visnai from Vulci, whose splendid mid-fourth-century sarcophagus depicts her together with her husband Arnth Tetnie. Larthi Cilnei, from Arretium, died highly honored in her new home, Tarquinia, at the age of 83. Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa, whose well-preserved skeleton provides information about the living conditions of this matron of the Chiusinian

aristocracy of the late third-early second century.³¹⁰⁸ All three were honored members of the nobility and in this framework had representative duties to carry out. As brides they constituted an important means of alliance between the significant families of the land.

A passage by Theopompus of Chios from the second half of the fourth century (*apud* Athen. 12.517d–518b) is often—wrongly—cited for information about the freedom of Etruscan women. It reveals information about Greek self-definition, but it is not helpful for the evaluation of Etruscan social structures. In no way did the Greek have in mind a precise description of Etruscan customs, of which he had only the vaguest knowledge; rather it was his intention to define the Etruscans as barbarians of the West. To that end he invented a social organization the exact opposite of the Greek way of life, in which monogamic, marriage-like relations between the sexes were unknown, as were the fathers of all children, this being “customs of the land.”³¹⁰⁹ It is significant that Roman or Rome-influenced Greek writers never mention an extraordinary position for Etruscan women.

At the same time, the tendencies toward social liberalization typical of the Hellenistic period brought to Etruria a weakening of the rigid Archaic family structures and probably created greater freedom for women. Thus second-century inscriptions exhibit a clear increase in the custom of interring married women in the burial site of their family of origin, especially in northern Etruria. This probably reflects a change in matrimonial law, which now also knew forms of marriage with less legally-binding entry into the husband’s family (behind which, as in Rome, could lie requirements of inheritance law).³¹¹⁰ The role of the mother was generally respected, with the motif of mother and child a favored theme of Hellenistic tomb sculpture (e.g. the so-called *kourotrophos* Maffei from Volterra).³¹¹¹ Also, Late Etruscan tomb inscriptions sometimes give the number of children who were born or fathered, which usually amounted to fewer than five (thus not particularly high). The small single-chamber tomb of the Spitu, a family of the upper middle class in Tarquinia (*ET*² Ta 1.164–68), is informative in this regard.³¹¹²

Beginning in the fourth century, women are somewhat better attested epigraphically in the votive area as well;³¹¹³ dedications were made in the interest of the family, and perhaps even of the public (the sex of the dedicator of the two well-known bronze statuettes from the Porta Bifora of Cortona, which took on a protective function for the city, is unfortunately controversial).³¹¹⁴ There remains, of course, the problem of their active engagement in (public) cult practices outside the home. Aside from the oft-cited but lexically unclear appellative *hatrencu* in Vulci, we have only a few possible indications of priestesses.³¹¹⁵ The “Tomb of the Mothers and Daughters” in Perugia, whose inscriptions name only women related in a direct line, is an interesting case.³¹¹⁶ Whether it is more than the inevitable reaction to the epigraphically attested custom in Perugia of burying only men of one *gens* in a family tomb must for the time being remain an open question.

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Marie-Laurence Haack

60Ritual and cults, 450–250 BCE

Abstract: A novelty of the Classical and Hellenistic periods is that a greater number of anatomical votive offerings were found in sanctuaries than before. This chapter endeavors to understand the meaning of that change by examining their medical, political and religious significance. It also examines the implication of the change in how the Etruscans related to death.

Keywords: Body, votive offerings, sanctuaries, health, fertility

Introduction

In the Classic and Hellenistic periods, there was a change in the forms of worship in comparison with the Archaic period, with new gods that were introduced. Offerings were dedicated to them, often in great number and in the image of human body parts. The richness of these deposits has been systematically studied since the mid 1970s.³¹¹⁷ These studies have allowed searchers to unveil the existence of worshippers who were often invisible in the Archaic period, a period when luxury and precious temple ornaments suggest that the donors of offerings were probably cities, communities, dynasts or tyrants.³¹¹⁸

1Medical significance of offerings

The offerings of Etruria's Classic and Hellenistic sanctuaries offer an overwhelming proportion of anatomical representations featuring limbs. From their presence, the healing character of the sanctuaries where the offerings were set down has long been deduced; in particular, the shape and quantity of these objects have given us information about the diseases from which the ancients suffered. The problem is that healing sanctuaries do not necessarily contain anatomical ex-votos and do not necessarily show that the disease was cured. For example, ex-votos in the shape of ears indicated that in some cases the dedicator sought the “ear”—the benevolent attention—of the deity. In addition, many offerings were terra-cotta votive offerings made from a mold, and therefore intended to meet the demand of the faithful suffering from various illnesses. Besides, the baking of clay could cause distortions in form

of protuberances, the material also wore out with time, the limestone was damaged, the terra-cotta broke, or coatings lost their original color. We should therefore wonder more about what this abundance of fragmented bodies and the massive presence of certain body parts—and not others—reveal.

1.1 Representations of human heads

Heads are the most ancient and numerous anatomical representations set down in the shrines of Etruria. The first heads date from the Late Archaic period and are attested in Falerii and Veii. According to some scholars, the heads are thought to represent the goddess worshipped in the sanctuary and were made on the model of masks and busts for Demeter and Kore in Sicily and Magna Graecia. According to others, to make votive heads, the Veian terra-cotta artists would have used prototypes intended for antefixes. Some votive heads, however, are covered or half-covered by a veil, which is mostly the prerogative of pious men. The appearance of terra-cotta heads in sanctuaries could thus mark a significant break in the history of worship in the sanctuaries of Tyrrhenian Etruria. Worshippers offered the gods a representation of themselves, rather than one of the gods they honored.

1.2 Representations of penises and uteri

After heads, internal and external genitalia were most often represented. The concern for worshippers to give birth to descendants naturally explains the profusion of votive offerings of this type, but some uteri have abnormal characters, such as appendages, small fibroids, or small ribs. It is not certain whether to consider these pathological pieces, because this type of interpretation is based on contemporary gynecological knowledge, and not on the anatomical knowledge of the Etruscans.

The only medical treatises or statements dealing with gynecology that could be used for medical practice in Etruria—the Hippocratic treatises—were written in Greek and therefore could be known only to a very limited elite. The first physician known in Rome, by comparison, is a Peloponnesian called Archagathos who came to Rome in 219 BCE, and the dissection of human bodies was not performed until the third century BCE at the medical school in Alexandria.

In addition, not all anatomical offerings should be explained in terms of the body part they represent, because anatomical offerings were also conceived of as representing the whole body. Aelius Aristides (*Orat.* 48.27.472) writes that to divert death, the god Asclepius advised him to “cut off some part of my body for the sake of the well-being of the whole. But since it was difficult, he

remitted it for me. Instead of this, he ordered me to remove the ring which I wore and to dedicate it to Telesphorus—for this had the same effect, as if I should give up my finger—and to inscribe on the band of the ring, ‘Son of Cronus.’ And if I did this, I would be saved.”³¹¹⁹

2Political significance

An explanation offered for the sudden spread and immediate success of the practice of anatomical ex-votos is that the increasing distribution of terra-cotta offerings would be the result of the simultaneous conquest of central Italy by Rome. The custom of making terra-cotta offerings would have spread from Rome to the subjugated territories, where the new *nobilitas* stemming from the *leges Liciniae Sextiae* would have imitated Greek forms of self-representation and terra-cotta limbs would have recorded the material stages of Roman expansion and the installation of Roman colonists in central Italy, from the conquest of Veii in 396 until the First Punic War.³¹²⁰

One of the consequences of this was that worshippers in the shrines were represented as givers or deeply religious people performing acts of Roman piety in Roman garb.

2.1The veil of piety

The presence of a veil on votive heads would indicate a Roman influence, not to say a “religious Romanization.” Roman rites were distinguished from Greek rites by the fact that the Roman sacrificer officiated with his head covered, while the Greek sacrificer was bareheaded. However, we should hesitate to attribute all the veiled votive heads to one of the consequences of the Roman conquest. The phenomenon of veiled heads made a late appearance in Rome, either in the late fourth or the third century. Moreover, Roman influence cannot explain why the most ancient heads, veiled or not, are overwhelmingly female. Another type of foreign influence should therefore be considered, either Campanian or Magna Graecian.³¹²¹ Indeed, in the Greek world, the veil is associated with marriage, especially for the worshippers of infernal gods, and veiling one’s head is also required in Greek mysteries. It was not until the very last years of the fourth century that Etruria’s votive heads displayed a veil closely associated with Roman piety.

In Rome and Latium this spread occurred at the same time on male heads as well. It was not characteristic of the worship of a specific god.

In the Etruscan area, veiled heads are to be found in large quantities, but in very different proportions in different shrines. From the late fourth and the third century, the geographic areas where votive heads were veiled

encompassed almost exactly those of the *ager Romanus*. In Veii, the first male votive heads—that is, heads which are not likely to be related to a female chthonic cult—are attested once the city was incorporated into the *ager Romanus*, after the defeat of 396. In Lucus Feroniae, where veiled votive heads were found in the third century, there occurred, according to Livy, so disturbing a portent in the year 210, that the pontiffs called for a *supplicatio* in Rome: thus Lucus Feroniae was considered a part of Roman territory. At Tessennano, where the territory has been divided into parcels of twenty *actus* reserved for settlers, over 60% of adult heads were veiled.³¹²²

2.2The citizen's toga

Toga-clad figurines in the votive deposits representing worshippers in Hellenistic Etruscan shrines signal a clear break with the customs of self-representation. Indeed, both male and female Etruscans during the independence period wore either a round mantle revealing a shoulder, called *tebenna* or the Greek mantle, called *himation*. The Romans wore the toga when they wanted to show that they belonged to the Roman city—especially in the Forum in Rome. In the minds of those who wore them, togas showed more a sense of commitment to citizenship and its functions than the actual possession of that right. In Etruria, togas were therefore perhaps not only worn by settlers but also by those Etruscans who were anxious to identify themselves with the Romans—even before being granted Roman citizenship. There are a few examples of togas being worn at Veii, in the sanctuary of Campetti; at Tarquinia, in the sanctuary of the Ara della Regina; at Punta della Vipera, at Bolsena in the sanctuary of Pozzarello, at Fontanile di Legnissina. We can add to these examples the late second century statue of the *Arringatore* in a toga, preserved at Florence, which is believed to have come from one of the Etruscan shrines.³¹²³

2.3The bulla

Another sign of the Roman influence on Etruscan religious practices is the reuse of the *bulla*, a locket containing an amulet, in many representations of children from the fourth century onward.³¹²⁴ In independent Etruria, adults as well as male and female children wore several *bullae* displayed by way of lockets, bracelets or necklaces, sometimes combined with other jewelry. The *bulla* disappeared from the representations of Etruscan adults and children from the late fourth century only to reappear in the second century solely in representations of children, thus repeating a Roman custom. Indeed, the Romans adorned the chests of young boys who were born free with *bullae*.

When such a boy hit puberty, he would take the *bullā* off, along with the *praetexta toga*, and dedicate it to the tutelary deities of the home on the occasion of the *Liberalia*. The Romans themselves said they had borrowed the *bullā* from the Etruscans.

By providing statues and figurines of children with a *bullā*, worshippers in Hellenistic Etruscan sanctuaries resumed an Etruscan custom, apparently without seeing it as a form of reappropriation of an Etruscan cultural heritage.

Bullae are indeed visible on terra-cotta offerings in sanctuaries where prevailing religious customs were, at least partially, those of the Roman conquerors.³¹²⁵

3Religious significance

The appearance of these clothing markers has long been ascribed to the worship of Asclepius.³¹²⁶ The most striking argument is the similarity between Greek offerings to Asclepius and Etruscan anatomical offerings: the limbs show no trace of diseases and are usually made of terra-cotta.

In Corinth, for example, offerings dating from the last quarter of the fifth century to the last quarter of the fourth are sometimes made of terra-cotta and painted red when they represent limbs of male bodies, and white when female.³¹²⁷

The similarities between Greek and Etruscan ex-votos have been explained by an identical worship of Asclepius. There are indeed Etruscan artifacts mentioning or representing Asclepius. A vase dedicated to Asclepius found near Chiusi dates to the time before the spread of anatomical offerings in Etruria, the late sixth or early fifth, or the fourth century³¹²⁸—in any case before the foundation of a temple dedicated to Asclepius in Rome. The theonym *Aisclapi* is indeed close to the forms *Aisklapios* and *Aisklapieus* found on the inscriptions of Epidauros, which at the latest, date to the early fifth century. In Bologna, near the courthouse in a suburban location, a figurine of a worshipper bringing an offering (third quarter of the fifth century) has a dedication to Asclepius in Greek.³¹²⁹ After the foundation of the temple of Asclepius in Rome, the cult of Asclepius is thought to have continued in Etruria until the imperial era. An Etruscan mirror from Bolsena dating from the third or early second century names the god *Esplace* which also has its origin in the Dorian form *Aisklapios*.³¹³⁰ Two tablets from Tessennano depicting viscera have a collapsed trachea ending in the head of a snake, the symbol of Asclepius.³¹³¹

How was the cult of Asclepius introduced? Two ways have been proposed: either through the mediation of Rome, where the god was imported by Q. Ogulnius in 292, or through the mediation of Southern Italy, where the cult of Asclepius might have been first imported. This last hypothesis is attractive

because in Sicily, Agrigento had a small Doric temple dedicated to Asclepius as early as in the late fifth century, and in Southern Italy, Taranto received Asclepius as early as in the middle of the fourth century and housed votive terra-cotta phalluses.

As for the idea of importation by Rome, it is based on the story of a Roman embassy of ten men in Epidaurus bringing to Italy the god Asclepius in the form of a snake. He would have first been worshipped on the Tiber Island before the building of a shrine dedicated to him at Fregelles in the second quarter of the second century.

Requests for healing might have been addressed mostly to Apollo.³¹³² Indeed many Hellenistic Etrurian sanctuaries contain figurines of a type of Apollo musician similar to Apollo Maleatas at Epidaurus: he is sitting or standing, naked or semi-naked, holding a lyre in his left hand and a coat or a plectrum in his right hand. The representation of Apollo with the lyre might have indicated the healthy character of the god: as the bow sent diseases and epidemics, the lyre provided care and healing. Apollo was in compliance with the oracle that he himself had made for Telephus about Achilles: “who wounds, heals.” In the wake of an epidemic, the official introduction of the cult of *Apollo Medicus* in Rome in 433 may have played a role in the evolution of the medical cult of the god Apollo in Etruria. A temple was then consecrated to the god and first dedicated by the consul Gnaeus Iulius in 431, and again after restoration in 353, and then used as starting point for solemn processions, between 207 and 200, towards the temple of *Juno Regina* on the Aventine, before being restored in 179. The worshippers of Apollo Medicus seem to have adopted the custom of offering anatomical terra-cotta votive limbs in the temple of the god. A whole string of anatomical offerings were found near the Ponte Garibaldi and the Ponte Quattro Capi; downstream, others found near the Ponte Cestio, Ponte Rotto and Ponte Palatino may come from the temple of Apollo Medicus which was nearby; and recently, ex-votos have been discovered in the southwest corner of the temple of Bellona, adjacent to that of Apollo Medicus.³¹³³

Yet it is not certain that the success of the musician *medicus* Apollo in Etruria should be explained by the Roman conquest of Etruria and the sending of Roman settlers into the vanquished territories. Indeed the cult of Apollo Medicus in Etruria seems to be at least as old as that of the god Asclepius in Rome.

At Villa Cassarini in Bologna (a single site), a naked statue of Apollo with a lyre, two bronze legs, and a bronze foot, all dated from the fifth century, were found.

Menerva is another popular deity who was charged with the education of young people in the Hellenistic period. On a whole series of mirrors in the fourth century, the goddess is shown with children, Tages, Epiur or Maris. There, Menerva is either a midwife, taking children by the arm, helping them out of vases placed on the ground as if out of the womb, or a maternal and

educative deity, receiving children from the hands of Heracles, who holds them firmly. The function of midwife may be evidenced in the sanctuary of Punta della Vipera where anatomical offerings are indeed numerous. Among the 131 anatomical offerings, thirty-one are reproductions of a phallus, and twenty-one are reproductions of a uterus. Menerva may have played the role of educator and protector of small children in Punta della Vipera too, since a figurine of a woman with a child and three fragments of swaddled infants have been discovered.

The goddess Vei might have specialized in fertility problems, since two terra-cotta uteruses, found in an area of Gravisca where terra-cotta uteruses abound, bear her name. It is even possible that the cult of Demeter ultimately superimposed itself on that of Vei. The sanctuary of Gravisca, for example, combines evidence of the worship of Demeter and of Vei near room G. There were found statues of female couples featuring Demeter and Kore, female masks of the fifth century resembling those found in the sanctuaries of Demeter and the other chthonic deities in Southern Italy and in Sicily, and a round altar of *Thesmophoria* on the west. Outside of room G, i.e. in the X area very close to it, were found terra-cotta uteruses, a dedication in Greek to the goddess dating from the fifth or sixth century, and two dedications to Vei dating from the first half of the fifth century.

In the fourth century, Uni also became a maternal deity, protector of births and young children. In the sanctuary of Gravisca, a bronze bowl with the name of Uni was discovered in room M. It contained 145 uterus-shaped votive offerings, or almost half the uteruses found in the sanctuary. It also contained twenty-two offerings of swaddled infants—more than 91% of the offerings of this type found in the sanctuary—and ten figurines of draped women. In the sanctuary of Fontanile Legnisina near Vulci, in a crevice of the cave adjacent to the altar, a figurine was discovered of a tunic-clad worshipper making an offering, dating from the first of the third century. There is a dedication to Uni on the leg. The worship of Uni was probably related, here too, to the sphere of reproduction, as numerous sexual offerings were found nearby, namely 234 terra-cotta uteruses and a dozen small phallic *cippi*. The cult also had to do with the health of young children, as eleven figurines of swaddled infants and thirteen votive terra-cotta breasts have been found on the site. At Pyrgi, where one of the two temples was dedicated to Uni, who is sometimes presented in Greek sources sometimes as Eileithyia, and sometimes as Leucothea, many votive objects may relate to the sphere of fertility and the cult of Uni. Thus, in the area in front of temple A, around seventy fragments of statues, including three swaddled infants, around 174 fragments of heads, and hundreds of anatomical gifts were unearthed. In the area facing temple B, a fragment of a statue, a head, three figurines and twenty-three fragments of lower limbs were found. Finally, in the area between the two temples, a fragment of a statue of a worshipper making an offering, three fragments of heads, an upper limb, and six lower limbs were

discovered.

The salutary action of some gods has been explained by the healing effect of waters that were placed under the protection of the same gods.³¹³⁴ The problem with this explanation lies in the lack of literary or epigraphic sources and of figurative representations clearly showing scenes of healing brought about by the waters' actions. On the other hand, it is absolutely certain that some waters were worshipped because they were considered the property of the gods. Not all waters possessed this divine value. Sea water was not worshipped in the big coastal sanctuaries like Gravisca and Pyrgi, but drinking water was worshipped³¹³⁵ given the number of votive objects set down into sources of potable water nearby. These include lakes like the Lago degli Idoli on Monte Falterona, where, among more than 600 votive donations that were set down, a statuette of Heracles was found.³¹³⁶ They also include spring waters around which sanctuaries were sometimes erected, like the sanctuary-spring of Marzabotto, where two anatomical ex-votos of the fifth century were discovered;³¹³⁷ and the spring waters near which votive offerings were set down, as in Vicarello, where a collection of objects from the eighth to the fourth centuries was unearthed.³¹³⁸ Sometimes, the water was kept in basins or cisterns as in Falerii Veteres, in the sanctuary of Vignale, which housed about 100 anatomical ex-votos, including a dedication to Apollo of the late fourth or early third century discovered near the cistern. Drinking water seems to have lost its religious character at the end of the Hellenistic period. In Sasso Pisano near Larderello, where the water had hitherto fulfilled religious purposes, an edifice was built in the second half of the second century to use hot and cold springs as a cure.³¹³⁹ In Musarna near Viterbo, in the late second century, a temple was turned into a small spa.³¹⁴⁰

4The Etruscans and death

The fact that the Etruscans were concerned with entrusting the care of a sound body to the gods had as a consequence a new concept of death and of life in the beyond.³¹⁴¹ Thus, in the Hellenistic period, what is beyond the grave seems to gain in importance as never before. The tombs, stelae, and sarcophagi display an increasing number of representations of what lies beyond the grave. Death is seen as a voyage—frequently by land—to the beyond, where the deceased are shown feasting. In Volsinii-Orvieto, on the frescoes of the Golini I Tomb, the deceased, comfortably dressed as if for a long and perilous journey, arrives on a chariot and is welcomed by feasters who were no doubt recognized as members of his clan who predeceased him, since Hades and Persephone are present. The journey to the beyond is also done by sea or by river. In Tarquinia, on the wall of the Tomba dei Demoni Azzuri (Tomb of the Blue Demons) in the Calvario necropolis, dating from

the late fifth century, a benevolent demon guides the deceased woman to the bank of a river that Charun is to help her cross, while on another wall, four couples lying on four *klinai* take part in a banquet. In Tarquinia, in the Tomba dell'Orco I (Tomb of the Orcus I), a demon attends the banquet; and in the Tomba degli Scudi (Tomb of the Shields), couples of the same family (*gens*) feast very close to a demon holding a hammer in each hand. Demons are present in scenes that are not funerary at first sight. In the famous fresco of the fourth century François Tomb in Vulci, which show the massacre of Trojan prisoners, the infernal demons Charun and Vanth appear. The latter, often represented with wings and an inscribed roll, seems to announce the fate awaiting the deceased; more often than not she is not alone but in the company of several female spirits, winged or not, who lead the deceased.

New forms of worship of the dead also appear. In the Vulci, San Giuliano and Chiusi necropolises, small shrines are built whose upper parts are decorated with terra-cotta. This evolution results in a transformation of the tomb shape: in the Caere, Stigliano, Blera, Grotta Porcina and Bomarzo-area necropolises, in the late second and first centuries BCE, tombs in the shape of temples or altars were built; these tombs replaced the cube tombs of the previous period. The large aristocratic monuments of the sixth and fifth centuries began to be reproduced in the shape of cippi or small cube-shaped monuments with false doors. A good example of this sort of stele is provided by the *ara Guglielmi* of Vulci, dating from the third century, where on the front, between two columns, the deceased appears so as to benefit from the sacrificial rites being performed before this funerary altar.³¹⁴²

Sanctuaries seem to be dedicated to the gods, such as la Cannicella in Orvieto, where small temples (*naiskoi*) reserved for the worship of the dead, are found.³¹⁴³

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Hilary Becker

61Economy, 450–250 BCE

Abstract: The period from 450–250 BCE witnesses a number of changes in Etruria's economy, some of changes related to the international and regional relationships that each city had. This period saw the fall of Veii, as well as changes to the north in Po-area Etruria. In many areas, the demographic concentration of the hinterland increases in tandem with a rise in agricultural production.

Etruscan sanctuaries played an economic role in their larger community at all times; the evidence for this activity in this period is considered here. This activity includes the votive objects themselves, some of which, at least, seem to have been purchased at the sacred site. The resources that a temple could amass because of dedicatory offerings could even attract looting, for which there are attestations during this period. Weights found in sacred contexts also allow us to understand more about the economic dimensions of the temple. Finally, the evidence for coinage and state property is briefly reviewed.

Keywords: coinage, economy, votives

Introduction

The onset of the Classical period saw the steady decline of Etruscan trade at the sites of traditional *emporion*, and at the same time, the development of new and expanded economic opportunities at Populonia and in the Po Plain. The new economic realities of this period in Etruria were, at times, connected to Rome and its progressive expansion northwards. In 396 BCE, Rome annexed the territory of Veii and dispatched colonists there.³¹⁴⁴ The wars between Veii and Rome, according to the ancient historians, had occurred intermittently since at least the time of Romulus. While the causes of this deep rivalry are manifold, the economic tensions between these two sites are easy to spot, for they both aimed at controlling the vital Tiber river traffic. Both Rome and Veii were also active in the salt trade, and when Rome first defeated Veii in the eighth century, ancient historians later recorded that Rome took land away from Veii that included the salt beds.³¹⁴⁵



Fig. 61.1: Tombstone of Vel Kaikna. End of the fifth century (Photo credit: Museo Civico Archeologico. Used with permission, Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna)
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1The Po Plain

Etruscan territory was encroached upon along its northern boundaries as well, when the Gauls took much of the Po Plain in the first half of the fourth

century. The Gauls occupied Marzabotto and became the “chief middlemen” for the long-distance trade passing through that area.³¹⁴⁶ The transportation networks controlled by the Etruscans in this area experienced changes, as did the population. The number of Attic vases reaching Felsina in the fourth century fell drastically from fifth century levels, but Spina itself continued to receive a large number into the end of the fourth century.³¹⁴⁷ Indeed, the port city of Spina continued to thrive from the second half of the fourth to the late third century, with funereal and epigraphic evidence pointing to an increased population, which may be a result of Etruscans moving from elsewhere in the Po Plain during this crisis period. In fact, the dominance of this Etruscan port was so strong that the Athenians became concerned about the safety of their grain due to the Etruscan pirates in this area.³¹⁴⁸ The tombstone of Vel Kaikna (end of the fifth century) testifies to the vitality of Etruscan maritime commerce at this time (Fig. 61.1). It depicts a large Etruscan merchant marine ship at sea.³¹⁴⁹ Interestingly, Vel Kaikna was buried at Felsina (Bologna) but plied his trade in the Adriatic waters based out of Spina, which, as Giuseppe Sassatelli notes, shows the commercial interconnectedness of these two important sites.³¹⁵⁰

2Land use and the changing agricultural economy

Whether by a greedy Gaul or a land-hungry member of the Gracchi family, the territory of the Etruscans was historically targeted by the Romans, Gauls, and others. The fecundity of Etruscan soil was cited as one of the reasons the Gauls entered central Italy in the fourth century:

“The story is handed down that this people, entranced by the delightfulness of the produce of the fields and especially by the new (at that time) pleasure of the wine, crossed the Alps and possessed the fields previously cultivated by Etruscans.”³¹⁵¹

According to the ancient historians, the Clusine merchant Arruns traveled north to trade with the Gauls, bringing with him products of Chiusi: olive oil, figs, and wine.³¹⁵² The story goes on to explain that the Gauls were so impressed by these products—which they considered superior to their own—that they were easily persuaded by Arruns to invade Chiusi. Arruns told the Gauls that the land of Chiusi was large, fruitful, and sparsely inhabited. The story of Arruns, however fictional, does have many points of interest for an economic examination of this area. Such references to the irresistible fecundity of the Etruscan lands provide a strong impression of a robust and varied agricultural production.

During the fourth century, in many territories (e.g. Tarquinia, Chiusi, and Fiesole), the minor settlements that had been prominent in the Archaic period rebounded, and other, new small centers developed. One notable trend during

this period is the emergence of a group of small hilltop settlements that correspond closely to the Latin term *castellum*.³¹⁵³ While many of these sites were occupied in the Archaic period, it is in the fourth and third centuries that they acquire monumental fortifications. *Castella* are found in many areas of Etruria, but notably in liminal areas between the borders of city-states. The increasingly dense occupation of the hinterland by such sites, as well as other small centers and farms, points to a more intense agricultural production that would have served these minor centers as well as the larger ones, and evidently provided sufficient yields for export (see [chapter 67](#) Becker). Rome at this time certainly knew of Etruria's agricultural strength, because Rome asked for grain repeatedly during the fifth century.³¹⁵⁴ While in later Etruscan history, grain could be something demanded from Rome as an indemnity or as an ally's contribution to a war effort,³¹⁵⁵ in this earlier period Etruria was the “go-to” area for acquiring grain (*ad frumentum mercandum*)³¹⁵⁶ to relieve Rome's occasionally blighted supply.

3Economy and the sacred sphere

Votive dedications were made in Etruria as early as Proto-Villanovan times and the dedication of votives continued after the collapse of many of the most popular sanctuaries in late Etruscan/early Imperial times.³¹⁵⁷ The dedication of votive objects was inherently an economic transaction.³¹⁵⁸ Whether a dedicant brought first fruits, coins, a bronze statue, or a molded terracotta shaped like a human body part, these products were intended as a reciprocal exchange with the gods. The Latin formula, *do ut des*, roughly means “I, the dedicant, give something so that you (the god) should give something in return.” Thus offerings given to the gods were usually made to ask the gods for assistance or to give thanks for help already rendered.

During this time mold-made terracotta votives could be manufactured more quickly and at less expense for dedicants. Focusing on one type of these votives in particular, the widespread use of anatomical votives is economically relevant because they are typically not found in different contexts (e.g. homes, tombs, etc.), but occur only in known sacred spots or sites that could have had a sacral import. For this reason it is highly likely that souvenir stands existed at sacred sites, ready to sell worshippers the anatomical votive (or figurine) that best suited their dedicatory need(s). Such souvenir stands—likely made of wood—would leave little or no archaeological trace.

In her study of anatomical votives, Jean Turfa notes that out of the perhaps tens of thousands that were made in terracotta (and occasionally in metal) from the late fourth to the first century, only four extant Etruscan anatomical votives were inscribed.³¹⁵⁹ A prefiring inscription made on a terracotta model

of a knee found at the Ara della Regina at Tarquinia indicates that “Vel Tiples dedicated” it.³¹⁶⁰ The handful of terracotta anatomical votives that were inscribed beforehand indicates that these were specifically commissioned before they were fired. But for the thousands of other such votives, many of them were made in batches in advance in order to be sold at sacred sites to whomever might have had the need to buy such products.

Over time, sanctuaries could amass large amounts of resources such that they served as treasuries of a sort. Some resources with short shelf lives, like agricultural donations, could even have been used by the sanctuary staff. Considering ancient economies in general, Karl Polanyi posits, “the personnel of the temples consumes a large part of the payments made to the temple in kind,” such that we might imagine offerings such as first fruits being consumed by the temple staff and their families.³¹⁶¹ When and where coinage (as well as pre-monetary devices such as *aes signatum*) were used, such offerings could have also been used by the staff of a sanctuary.

And while—according to ancient *mores*—temples were sometimes considered off-limits for military looting, the wealth of stores that temples could contain made them prime targets for rapacious generals. In 384, Dionysius of Syracuse went to war against Etruria ostensibly for the suppression of pirates. He used a wealthy Etruscan sanctuary at Pyrgi, where he collected “no less than a thousand talents,” to help finance his continued expedition.³¹⁶² The fall of Volsinii in 264 was lucrative, perhaps due to its sanctuaries—sanctuaries which may have included the *Fanum Voltumnae*. Pliny the Elder records that the Romans took 2,000 statues (probably votive statues) as their booty. Indeed, Pliny’s report of statues being taken from this site may not be without merit, for the Roman victor Fulvius Flaccus set up a dedicatory monument in front of the twin temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at the sanctuary of Sant’Omobono in Rome.³¹⁶³ On the top surfaces of both *donaria* (one of which was inscribed: Fig. 38.10), divots with traces of bronze can clearly be seen (Fig. 61.2). These divots very probably once held a few of these statues and were perhaps part of Flaccus’ personal spoils.³¹⁶⁴



Fig. 61.2: Rome, Area sacra di Sant’Omobono: the circular *donarium* of M. Fulvius Flaccus. Indentations along the top are attachment points for bronze statues. (Photo credit: H. Becker. Used with permission, Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali di Roma Capitale) 61 Economy, 450–250 BCE

Offerings made at Monte Falterona between the sixth and third centuries include more than 1,000 pieces of bronze and copper, numerous pieces of *aes rude*, as well as some *aes signatum* and *aes grave*, amongst other offerings.³¹⁶⁵ The excavators observe that the *aes rude* deposited at the site varies in size and this points to an ancient tradition where bronze was a weight standard by which other things were valued. Thus in a consideration of consumer preferences and how goods were used, sacred sites and their dedications should be considered.

4Weights in the sacral sphere

The presence of weights at sanctuaries speaks to careful accounting—certainly a form of economic behavior—that occurred in the sacral sphere. Metal weights were found in a number of different contexts, such as the weight discovered at the late archaic farm, datable from the second half of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century at Pian d’Alma (Vetulonia) (see [chapter 28](#) Maggiani).³¹⁶⁶ Adriano Maggiani writes that of ten extant, inscribed weights, five can be associated with a sacred context on the basis of their findspot or the specific content of their inscription.³¹⁶⁷ The great majority of weights date to the fourth and third centuries, although weights were certainly

in use long before (such as the stone weights from Po-area Etruria discussed in [chapter 55](#) Becker). Two weights associated with a sacred building at località I Fucoli at Chianciano Terme are bronze with a lead core and date to the late fourth to third centuries.³¹⁶⁸ These weights seem to be a pair, as they both take the form of janiform heads; one has the face of a woman on each side, in the other, a maenad and a silenus. The maenad-shaped weight weighs 265 g and the other 576 g. Given that the first weight is heavily worn (and so might have originally been 288 g), it seems that these objects conformed to the same scale, so that one was twice the weight of the other. The aforementioned metal weight from the farm at Pian d'Alma is also 288 g, which is believed to correspond to the Etruscan pound in south-central Etruria.³¹⁶⁹ A weight dating to the third century—now in a private collection—has an inscription dedicated to the god *Catha*.³¹⁷⁰ This weight can be related to the two from Chianciano because it weighs 144 g, half of the aforementioned pound.

A weight dating to the fourth–early third century from the sacred area of Sant'Antonio at Caere reveals even more about the weight standard and how these weights might have been used ([Fig. 28.3](#)). It bears a ten-line inscription that has a number read as “IIC” or “2.5.” If one discounts the weight of the hanging ring that once supported this object, it weighs 716.28 g; 716 g is roughly 2.5 times the Etruscan pound, such that this seems to be another standardized weight.³¹⁷¹ In addition, the inscribed weight is dedicated to *Turms* (with the possible epithet of *Rath*), the Etruscan Mercury. The Greeks believed that Mercury was the inventor of weights and measures, and it seems possible from this weight that *Turms* may have had a similar association for the Etruscans.³¹⁷² The inscription further states that the weight was dedicated by L(ar)c(e) Penthe and Vel Lape in the sacred area of *Hercl* (Hercules) when Larth Nulathe was serving as a *zilath* (*zilc*), a chief magistracy.³¹⁷³ But it is the name of a magistrate on a votive gift of this nature that should draw attention. Were the dedicatees concerned with eponymously dating their gift so that the god would know in what year Larce and Vel had been so generous? That does not seem to be the case based on contemporary Roman practice.

In ancient Rome, first the *aedilis* and later the *praefectus urbi* was charged with enforcing the weight standard, and they would compare any unknown quantities against those public weights that were kept at sites such as the Capitoline temple or the temple of the Dioscuri.³¹⁷⁴ Some of these weights bear inscriptions that state where and under whose authority they were deposited. In the case of the Etruscan example, it may be the *zilath* or other magistrate was charged with ensuring the accuracy of the inscribed weight.³¹⁷⁵ Thus it seems that this weight, and the other weights associated with religious contexts, may have been gifts given that could have been used by the temple staff. To bring back to mind the evidence of wear on the lighter weight from Chianciano, it is possible that this weight was used before it came to the sacred site—that is, that this weight was used in daily life and

then came to be dedicated. With that with possibility not being excluded, the collective evidence of these weights suggests that this wear could have also resulted from use at the sacred site itself. At the very least, the presence of such tools at some sacred sites suggests that weights could have been used to weigh donations of gifts made at a sanctuary.

5Coinage

The first recognizably state-issued coins in Etruria were minted by Populonia in silver and the first datable coin (second half of the fifth century) was found in a secure context at Prestino (Como).³¹⁷⁶ Catalli observes that the use of a standard currency at Populonia may have been encouraged by the “internal market” between this city and Elba, which involved the transportation and processing of Elban ore.³¹⁷⁷ Mauro Cristofani, while acknowledging this possibility, also suggests that the impetus for the introduction of coinage at Populonia could have been the expense incurred by the city for defending itself against incursions by Syracuse in 453 and 384 BCE.³¹⁷⁸

Importantly, not all city-states seem to have minted coinage, and it was never pervasive for basic transactions. Some cities see a limited circulation, and the coins of one city do not seem to be used all over Etruria, but the coins instead tend to follow the major trade patterns enjoyed by the issuing city itself. For example, Populonia’s coins do travel beyond its territorial borders during the fourth and third centuries, and are found in Cecina, Aleria (Corsica), Elba, Roselle, Vetulonia, and even towards the interior (Sovana and the Ombrone Valley).³¹⁷⁹ For more on the monetary issues of other cities, see [chapter 27](#) Catalli in this volume.

6State property

The ability to mint standardized coinage certainly shows the economic strength of a city-state. A few examples from the Hellenistic period demonstrate that the state was buying property and labeling it. The word *spura* refers to the city and is found in different forms (e.g. the adjective *spurana*) or even abbreviated as *sp/spu*.³¹⁸⁰ Much like the Greeks labeled state property as *demosion*,³¹⁸¹ this word seems also to have marked objects owned by a particular city-state. Other objects were labeled as state property in this period include: a helmet,³¹⁸² some roof tiles,³¹⁸³ a bronze vase,³¹⁸⁴ and an irregularly shaped piece of bronze (possibly *aes rude*).³¹⁸⁵ A *dolium* from Chiusi, dated to the third century BCE, reads *mi spurat* or “community property.”³¹⁸⁶ It could be that this vase was used for a city function and/or for redistribution. Or it could be that this vase was a standard liquid or dry

measure, and that like the small piece of bronze (if it has been correctly interpreted), it might provide evidence of the city-state being involved in regularizing trade and commerce. The aforementioned inscribed weight from the sanctuary at Sant'Antonio at Caere certainly would fit within this hypothesis.

Conclusion

While the material presented here represents a concise overview of the economy of this key period, certain important trends have emerged. By highlighting two societal spheres—the state and the sacral sphere—that are not often considered in terms of the Etruscan economy, it has been possible to elucidate key information about the economic dynamics of the Etruscan state and Etruscan ritual centers. On another level, changing regional settlement patterns in certain areas had important consequences in terms of demography, productive capacity, and the ethnicities present. In the next centuries, the economic history of Etruria would at times overlap significantly with that of Rome, especially because intermittent truces, treaties, or even outright warfare certainly affected the interchange between Etruria and Rome. By the third century, Roselle, Tarquinia, Caere, Vulci and Volsinii would fall, and Rome would take on territory along the Etruscan littoral.³¹⁸⁷

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Stefano Bruni

62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE

Abstract: From a political perspective, the external relations of Etruria between the fifth and third centuries BCE were deeply related to the struggle for supremacy in the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Seas, and the policies of the major powers of the time—Athens and Syracuse. Etruria was important both for the control of grain markets of the Arno and Po Valleys and the acquisition of iron and other metal deposits of Tuscany, but also as a bridgehead for trade with Central Europe. Such intense exchanges did not only involve the political and commercial dimension: data provided by personal names attests to the stable presence of Greek individuals in Etruria at different levels of society. Some episodes mentioned in the literary sources allow us to reconstruct the dynamics of the expansion and contraction of the Athenian and Syracusan spheres of influence in the western Mediterranean, but it is from the archaeological data—and above all from the importations of ceramics—that it is possible to shed light on the issue. The situations shown by the archaeological record vary widely in different parts of Etruria, both because of the different social structures of the Etruscan cities and the different international political balance in the middle and lower Tyrrhenian Sea and in the Adriatic Sea. In the fifth century, the Syracusan hegemony grew in the Tyrrhenian Sea, while Athens resumed its own policy towards the western Mediterranean, vying for control of the routes leading to the grain markets of Spina, Adria, and beyond. The end of the century saw a deep change, with the arrival on the scene of the Campanians, who took Capua in 423 BCE. The allocation of the Samnites in the Nolan and Picentian countryside mark the end of the Etruscans in Campania, while the arrival of the Gauls in the Po Valley and the subsequent crushing of the system closes the era of Etruscan control of that region. The Etruscan world is thus enclosed within the boundaries that will mark Etruria in the administrative division of the Augustan *regiones*. Rome was going to subtract Veii in 396, while Syracuse was going to plunder the sanctuary of Pyrgi in 384. Within the framework outlined by these events, the political structure of the Etruscan world elaborates a profound transformation of social geography and geometry, which has different methods and timing in various districts of the region. After a period of reactivation in the late Classical and early Hellenistic ages, by the first half of the third century, the rise of Rome will mark the beginning of the slow decline of dynamism of Tyrrhenian Etruria.

Keywords: Tyrrhenian Sea, Adriatic Sea, Attic Pottery, Piracy, Syracuse

1 Tyrrhenian Sea

The years around the mid fifth century BCE are without a doubt one of the most critical moments of the entire history of the Etruscan world, marking a period of profound changes in both the Tyrrhenian area and the Adriatic area including the Po Valley. In these years, the Syracusan hegemony grew in the Tyrrhenian Sea. In conjunction with the loosening of the Athenian presence in this area after the failure of the expedition in Egypt in 452, Syracuse launched

an attack against the Etruscans in 453–452, first under the command of Phaillos, and later under Apelles (Diod. Sic. 2.88.4–5). Continuing the politics of Hiero I, who had occupied and fortified Pithecoussai in the Bay of Naples twenty years earlier (in 474, the year of the battle of Cumae), the Syracusans founded Portus Siracusanus in Corsica and simultaneously occupied Elba, where they established, albeit for a short period, the so-called Port of Argo. The literary sources (*Mir. ausc.* 105; Strabo 5.6; Diod. Sic. 4.56.5) project this settlement in the mythic tale of Jason and the Argonauts. The Syracusan domain on the island, which occupies a central place in the Tyrrhenian Sea not only in the plot of the routes, but also for the importance of its mineral deposits, was short lived, and Elba soon passed under the control of Populonia. However, Apelles' efforts probably lead to the crisis of the southern centers of Tyrrhenian Etruria, which had already suffered the repercussions of the events of 474.³¹⁸⁸

For its part, Athens sealed a thirty-year truce with Sparta in 446/445 and resumed its own policy towards the western Mediterranean. It founded Thurii and the *philia* with the Messapian population, Neapolis (*epoikia* of Athens and Chalkis), and the network of alliances with the western Chalkidian cities, which has been renewed in 433/432 in the case of Reggio and Leontini. In term of Athens' granary needs, Neapolis was closely intertwined with Cumae, Dicearchia and the Etruscan cities of Capua and Nola. Etruria was important too, both for the control of the Arno and Po Valley grain markets, and the acquisition of iron and other metal deposits in Tuscany.³¹⁸⁹

Literary sources concerning the policy of Athens in these years do not explicitly reference Etruria. However, the *symmachia* between Athenians and Etruscans during the second great Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 is mentioned by Thucydides (Thuc. 6. 88. 6), who saw three Etruscan *penteconterai* reaching Demosthenes, Eurymedon and the other Athenians in the siege of Syracuse in the summer of 414/413 (Thuc. 6.103.3–4). It is easy to assume that the *philia* of these years was a continuation and development of premises posed earlier.

The text by Thucydides does not specify which Etruscans participated in the expedition against Syracuse. The reference to a plurality of Etruscan cities suggests that the alliance between Athens and the Etruscans was to be implemented through the channels of the league of *Duodecim Populi Etruriae*. A first century CE Latin inscription commemorating Velthur Spurinna—a noble from Tarquinia who was the first Etruscan to reach Sicily with an army (Fig. 38.13)—gives us, perhaps, the name of the commander of the contingent that participated in the siege of Syracuse in 413, and indirectly confirms the fact that the *symmachia* was between Athens and the Etruscan cities on the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is much more difficult to identify which cities these were. In addition to Tarquinia, some other indication may come from the recovery of Pylia legends connected with the figure of Nestor and the Neleids. These legends characterize Athens' ideological horizon in the years

of the treaty with Segesta, in a moment of special significance for the political relationships of Athens with the West and the Tyrrhenian area. They seem to be the most appropriate ideological mediation in order to develop an adequate historical painting of the political orientation in Tyrrhenian Etruria, both within individual groups of aristocrats—as in the case of Satie family in Vulci, who had Nestor as their mythical ancestor—and in entire communities—as in the case of Pisa, which was founded by Nestor's Pylians according to a tradition recorded by Strabo. The Pylians would have come to the West during the Trojan *Nostoi*, founding the cities of Metaponto, in the Ionian Gulf, and Pisa, in the upper Tyrrhenian Sea. The legend of an Ionian consanguinity was source of law and predestined solidarity with Athens, so it follows that the *symmachia* stipulated in the winter of 415/414 included among its actors both the cities of southern Etruria and those of the northern Tyrrhenian district.³¹⁹⁰

Since the data mentioned by tradition does not offer further evidence, and other clues are very unstable, extreme caution is mandatory in historical reconstruction. However, even if we can legitimately assume that similar relationships and alliances between Athens and the various Etruscan cities proceeded on several occasions—including in the form of individual *philiai* with local rulers, as in the corresponding case of Artas, a Messapian lord (Thuc. 7. 33. 4)—the *symmachia* of 415/414 is adequate for the scenario offered by Etruria in the second half of the fifth century. In the case of Metaponto, another ally of Athens at the time of Demosthenes and the Eurymedon effort, the conflict with Taranto that arose after the founding of Heraclea (the Achean city under pressure both by Taranto and the inland Lucanians) may have offered a means of alliance with Athens, according to the political and diplomatic processes that characterize all the action of Athens during the second half of the fifth century. In the case of Tyrrhenian Etruria, on the other hand, the activation of the alliance with Athens against Syracuse was the result of the shipments of Phailllos and Apelles in the upper Tyrrhenian Sea at the century's halfway point.

The Syracusan affairs seem to have left no traces on the archaeological record, except for the presence of rare coins from the mint of Syracuse in the port of Pisa, at the mouth of the Arno River, at the Basilica of San Piero a Grado.³¹⁹¹ The relations of Athens with the Etruscan world are instead very much in evidence, and go beyond simple—yet statistically significant—economics and commercial life.

2Adriatic sea

Athens paid much attention to the Etruscan district of the northern Adriatic Sea. Athens had been interested in this area since 470/460, as the mythic Attic

tradition with the Sophoclean version of the legend of Antenor (which is set among the Venetians) indirectly attests. Athenian policy and support to the Greek colony of Korkyra in 436/435 should be seen as a function of protection of the routes that led to this area through the Strait of Otranto.³¹⁹²

It is possible to see the presence of Attic *emporoi* and *naukleroi* active in the first half of the fifth century in the network of trade that took place in the markets of Adria and Spina. Here the Po Valley cereal production was sold, along with other food products and goods that were meant to meet Attic and more generally Aegean demands. The dedicatory inscription written in the Attic alphabet on a *kylix* of the first quarter of the century found in Adria is a clue of this presence. Not by chance, the Greek names on the inscriptions from Spina, starting from 475, show a predominant origin from Athens of the Greeks in the city. The Aeginetic component decreased after 457/456, after the victory of Athens over the city of Aegina and the seizure of the island's military fleet. Thus, during the entire second half of the century, the role of Athens became predominant—though not exclusive—in this very complex *emporion* characterized by a wide polyphony of accents. These accents can be seen from the Attic, Aeginetic, Corinthian, Korkyrian and Siceliote trademarks on pottery and from the commercial amphorae diffused in the Po Valley. In addition to Attic, Corinthian and Korkyrian specimens, there are amphorae from Chios, Samos, Mende and the so-called Ionian-Marseille type, now firmly associated with the wine production of the western Chalkidian area, which is to say Siceliote.

Within this framework, in Spina and the other Po Valley centers we find the extraordinary diffusion of Attic painted vases and black-glazed ware. The arrival of the Celts there and the steady expansion of their possessions in the sub-alpine region were changing the political balance to the detriment of the Etruscans. This situation culminated in the second quarter of the fourth century with the appropriation by the Boii of the area between the Po and the Apennines, occupying the territory of Etruscan Felsina.

Unlike the Tyrrhenian area, where after 480 the influx of Attic pottery begins to decline, from the second quarter of the century to the second half of the fourth century, Spina is one of the most important steps in the process of distributing Athenian products in the western Mediterranean. Attic pottery was linked to the needs of an emerging class, and had a specific relief in Spina, providing reference points needed to satisfy the needs of individuals and social groups. The phenomenon appears to be intense compared to the situation in other western areas concerned with the presence of Athens. Both the quantitative aspect of the phenomenon and the widespread distribution in modest contexts give us a glimpse of this situation. Attic ceramics continued to arrive in Spina even after the end of the Peloponnesian War and during the Dionigian phase.

Such intense exchanges hardly involved only the commercial dimension. Data provided by personal names testifies the stable presence of Athenian

individuals in Spina. The woman and other people buried in tombs 147A, 136A, 1049B and 405 were from Athens, as it is possible to see from the presence of white ground *lekythoi*, a particular kind of vase exclusively linked to Athenian funeral practices. Other evidence, such as the presence of small red-figure *choes* in a small number of infantile graves (tombs 35, 104, 564, 1007 from the Valle Trebba area)—connected to the Dionysian festivals of Anthesteria and typically Attic—looks more uncertain, but no less significant.

It is still difficult to see how Athens was a paradigm of reference in the complex and still little-known political and cultural history of Spina. From the data in our possession, however, through the commercial channels, it is possible to recognize a phenomenon of conscious selection of the vascular repertoire, ordination of particular shapes, and reporting to Attic artisans, of Spinetic market preferences.

All the classical Athenian workshops are represented in Spina—not only the pottery painters marked by deeply individualism, but also those artisans of more modest stature who are more distant from the creations of great masters. From the point of view of shapes, it is possible to see how the reception of Attic pottery is guided by specific guidelines both in taste and ideology. Thus the preference for the *krater*, in all its morphological variants, is accompanied by a little attention to the shape of the homologous *stamnos*, a form produced by the workshops of Athens by the end of the sixth century probably for the Etruscan market and for the Etruscan areas of Campania. Among the drinking vessels, there is a clear preference for the *kylikes* B-type, both black-glazed and painted. *Skyphoi* are much rarer than *kylikes*, as documented by high-quality examples and the more modest versions of the Saint-Valentin class. However, the particular preference for *kylikes* is confirmed by the high number of this type of vase in the late fifth century and at the beginning of the fourth century. They were sometimes decorated by the finest Attic pottery painters of the moment, such as the Kodros Painter, the Eretria Painter, the Fauvel Painter, the Calliope Painter, the Meleager Painter, the Jena Painter, the Diomedes Painter, and Aison. Until the third quarter of the fourth century, there is a significant number of red-figure *skyphoi* of the Fat Boy Group and similar productions, even if the phenomenon seems more linked to the characteristic of production in this time—when from the beginning of the century, one of most popular forms is the *skyphos*, which gradually replaces the *kylix*—than to shifts in taste.

Starting at the end of the fifth century and in the first three quarters of the fourth century, the presence of Attic pottery in Spina is clearly different from the rest of Etruria. For the presence of high-quality cases, this is both morphologically true—such as the large volute krater found in the tomb 136 painted by the Painter of Athens 12255 and hump A of Valle Pega, and ideologically true, such as the *lebes gamikos* of the Meidias Painter entourage in the tomb 1166, Valle Trebba. This is very close to Attic ideological heritage and may not be separated from involvement with the cults of Eleusis. Attic

pottery in Spina is also clearly different from the rest of Etruria based on the extraordinary occurrence of particular forms decorated in red-figure technique. In addition to fish dishes—a substantially non-Attic shape of which twenty-one specimens were found in Spina and one specimen was found on Monte Bibele, in the Idice Valley on the Bolognese Apennines (where it came through Spina and perhaps Felsina)—the stemmed dishes have particular significance. They are shaped in a very peculiar way, which was related to the specific needs of the symposium and convivial ritual of the communities of the Etruscan Po Valley and upper Adriatic Sea. In fact, despite sporadic appearances in Rutigliano and Ruvo in the Peucetic area in Apulia, this kind of vessel is documented only in Numana and Spina, and significantly in Felsina and the surrounding area (Marzabotto and Sasso Marconi). The occurrence of local versions carried out on Attic models in the oldest manufacturing of the Picenian area in the middle and high Adriatic Sea indicates how the type substantially constitutes an Adriatic phenomenon. The concentration of Attic specimens in Spina is also significant. This shape had to be of particular value, since a prestigious large *kylix* from tomb 733 in Valle Trebba, and two small cups—one by the Aberdeen Painter and the other by the Painter of London E777—in tomb 991 in the same area, were cut out as stemmed dishes.

In addition to Attic pottery, Corinthian pottery also reaches Spina—not only commercial amphorae, but a whole (albeit small) series of achromatic or black-painted vases with geometric and phytomorphic patterns, offering a fairly broad morphological spectrum including trefoil *oinochoai*, jugs, *lebetes*, *kotyliskoi*, *lekanides*, *pyxides*, single-handled bowls and *aryballoi*. These vessels, which are not documented in any other Po Valley or, more generally, Etrurian center, are evidence of a circuit of exchange due to Corinthian navigation in the Adriatic Sea. This is probably by way of the Epidamni, vital even after the mid-fifth century, whose final outcome will be the attempt of a re-founding of Epidamnos after the crisis of 435. They also witness deeper relationships between Spina and Corinth, which are to be seen in the use of vessels for ointments and miniature *kotylai* in child burials, a practice widely attested in the Peloponnesian city. At the end of the fifth century, other exceptional components are added, like the Boeotians and the Metapontinians. Boeotian vessels, such as a *skyphos* by the Argos Painter from tomb 743 in Valle Trebba and a calyx krater from the same necropolis, appear completely isolated. On the other hand, the bell krater by the Mesagne Painter in tomb 464 in Valle Trebba or the *skyphos* from tomb 564 in the same necropolis, both from Metaponto, are the final outcome of the commercial circuit that in the same years carries figured pottery from the Lucanian factories in Numana and other centers of the Picenian area.³¹⁹³

The limited documentation from fourth-century Adria does not allow us to define a precise framework of this city. However, limited available data seem to indicate a situation substantially similar, with a constant flow of Attic

products to Adria until the third quarter of the fourth century,³¹⁹⁴ coinciding with significant circulation of Athenian coins in the Adriatic, which are documented in Aquileia and Split in the late fourth century.³¹⁹⁵

The control of the routes leading to the grain markets of Spina, Adria, the Adriatic coast and beyond was a major concern for Athens throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. In the changed situation of the whole Adriatic sector one has to note the action of the two Syracusan Dionysius to control the *paralia* by Syracuse and the engagement of Athens in suppressing piracy.³¹⁹⁶ Piracy was popular. In 392, the people of Lipari kidnapped one tenth of the spoils of Veii from the Roman ambassadors who were going to Delphi (Liv. 5.28; Val. Max. 1. 4; Diod. Sic. 14. 93); in 347, Aeginetians made raids against the Athenian ships on behalf of Sparta; in 345, Greeks—and may be Syracusans—were the pirates who infested the sea from Antium to the Tiber (Liv. 7.25.26). The phenomenon was attributed to Etruscans in late classical Athenian literature and propaganda. The speeches by Hyperides in the *ekklesia* of Athens (*Peri phulakés Tyrrhenon*) and Dinarco (*Tyrrenikòs lógos*) are little more than titles to us. It seems no coincidence, however, that the monument of Lysikrates (erected in 334 at the theater of Dionysos in Athens) projects in the myth of Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates the episode of the navarch Diotimo, which in 335 performed with great success an expedition against the *leista* (IG II 2, 1263). The Etruscan piracy had considerable size during the second half of the century, and was not limited to the Adriatic district: Postumius, who ran the sea with twelve ships and appeared in the harbor of Syracuse to offer his services to Timoleon in 339 (Diod. Sic. 16. 82) was probably Tyrrhenian. However, Athens was primarily concerned by the Adriatic sector, so much so that in 325, it established—by decree—the foundation of a colony, then unrealized, *eis Adriav* to ensure *phulake Tyrrhenon*.

3Greeks in Etruria

The Tyrrhenian area appears very different, both because of the social structure of the Etruscan cities and the international political balance in the middle and lower Tyrrhenian Sea.³¹⁹⁷

Stably integrated Greeks are also known in the Tyrrhenian Etrurian cities. They were mostly metics. One was the potter Metron, which changed his name to Metru in Populonia, painted vases in the style of classical Athens and most likely was buried in the city near the Gulf of Baratti (*ET* Po. 6.1 and *ET* Po. 0.2). Another was Deiakos, documented by the graffito on an Marseille amphora at the end of the fifth or early in the fourth century, that became Teace in Etruria (*REE* 2001, no. 22). There were also women, like Thanchvil at Vulci, who wrote her name at the bottom of an attic red-figure *oinochoe*

dating to the third quarter of the fifth century (*ET* Vc 2.33–2.34; *CIE* 11178). This phenomenon also affects other levels of society. In fact, the woman buried in Populonia with the rich set including the two extraordinary *hydriai*—one with the myth of Adonis and the other with that of Phaone³¹⁹⁸—is likely Greek, or better Athenian. Someone who was certainly a Greek was Polles, who moved to Cerveteri around 400, changed his name to Pule, assumed the first name Laris, and was the ancestor of the *gens* of the Laris Pulena (*CIE* 5430), one of the most important families of Tarquinia in the Hellenistic age.³¹⁹⁹ As in the cases of Spina mentioned above, the graves with three attic white ground *lekythoi* known from the necropolis of Monterozzi can be connected to Greeks moved to Tarquinia.³²⁰⁰

4Attic Pottery in Etruria

The fracture of equilibria caused by the Syracusan attack on Elba and Corsica is reflected in the Athenian presence in the northern Tyrrhenian, documented by the influx of Attic pottery in this area. The general decline in the number of imports also has its origins in the changed domestic situation in Athens after the Persian War and the transformations that marked both its productive activities, society and ruling classes in Athens after 480/479. It does not seem a coincidence that the entire Tyrrhenian Etruria, from Caere to Pisa, from Aléria to Chiusi and Orvieto, during the second half of the fifth century, is totally excluded from the circulation of Athenian coins. The only exception is the small hoard of *tetradracmai* of 450/440 found in the sanctuary of Pyrgi and the isolated *tetradracmai* of Telamon and Chiusi. However it is true that after 450, the decline in the importation of Attic pottery affects not only the centers of the southern coastal sector, but also those of the Tiber district. Compared to these areas, there is less recession in the northern area, in the mining district marked by two poles of Aléria and Populonia and in the grain market of Pisa and in Arno Valley.³²⁰¹

A detailed census of Attic pottery in single cities is still lacking. Reconstructions proposed to date are mainly based on John D. Beazley's lists, which are partial and in need of updates due to the discoveries and recoveries of the last fifty years, and the appropriate integration with data on the number of black glazed pottery. Upon an initial examination, it seems that the black glazed vases did not have particular success, limited to a rather small number of specimens. The red-figure vases were still quite widespread. The examination of various workshops shows that the vessels of the atelier of the Eretria Painter were diffused in Veii, Caere, the Tolfa district, Tarquinia, Vulci, Aléria, the area around Volterra (Ortaglia near Peccioli), Pisa, and in the inner district of Orvieto and Chiusi, in addition to Falerii and Todi (Fig.62.1). *Kylikes* of the Kodros Painter arrive in Tarquinia, Vulci, Orvieto

and its territory, Populonia, the district of Fiesole in the Arno Valley, the area around Lucca inland from Pisa, Falerii and Todi. Vases by the Painter of Berlin 2536 also reached the territory of Arezzo, as documented by the fragmentary specimen from Castiglione Fiorentino. Vessels by the Marlay Painter are known in Tarquinia, Gravisca, Vulci, Orvieto, Chiusi and its territory, Roselle, Populonia, the territory of Volterra (Ortaglia near Peccioli in Val d'Era, San Martino ai Colli in Val d'Elsa), and in Fiesole. *Skyphoi* from the *ergasterion*, in which the Penelope Painter was active, are known in Tarquinia, Gravisca, especially in Orvieto and Chiusi, where this shape appears to have had a remarkable luck. An examination of the vessels referred to the Schuwalow Painter provides a similar framework: they are represented in Caere, Tarquinia, the area around Viterbo, Vulci, Populonia and in the ager Faliscus in Narce and Falerii. Beyond the quantitative data, the distribution of the vessels of the mature classicism style marked by a high quality is important. This includes the circle of Meidias and, more generally, the pottery painters influenced by the decoration of the Parthenon. There are only a few vases by the Meidias Painter present in Vulci, Orvieto and Populonia—all marked by great individuality both in shape and in the painted images—while works by his entourage are also known in Veii, Caere, Roselle and Pisa; *kylikes* forged by Erginos and decorated by Aristophanes are attested in Tarquinia, Gravisca and Vulci.

The circuits of this *emporion* show Attic characteristics, even if in all likelihood there was a simultaneous presence of *emporoi* and *holkades* from Sicily, as we can see from the circulation of Sicilian coins in southern Etruria in the last decades of the fifth century. Two such coins are small *emilitrai* found in Tarquinia, one minted by Himera in 413 and the other issued by Agrigento in the years immediately preceding the conquest by Carthage in 406.³²⁰² Another component, for the end of the fifth and the first decades of the fourth century, was the Campanian region, as we can see from some significant materials, such as, for example, the silver fibula of Samnite type from the Satie tomb of Vulci.³²⁰³

The situation changes dramatically from the late fifth century, when on the entire southern coastline, the importation of Attic pottery seems to stop, as confirmed by the case of Tarquinia and Gravisca sanctuary. There the presence of Attic vases runs out in the years around 400, since during the fourth century there are merely isolated black glazed pieces from the city and the sanctuary at the *epineion*. Only a rare few pieces are known from Vulci in the fourth century, such as the *kylix* by the Jena Painter, or a *skyphos* by the Fat Boy Group.

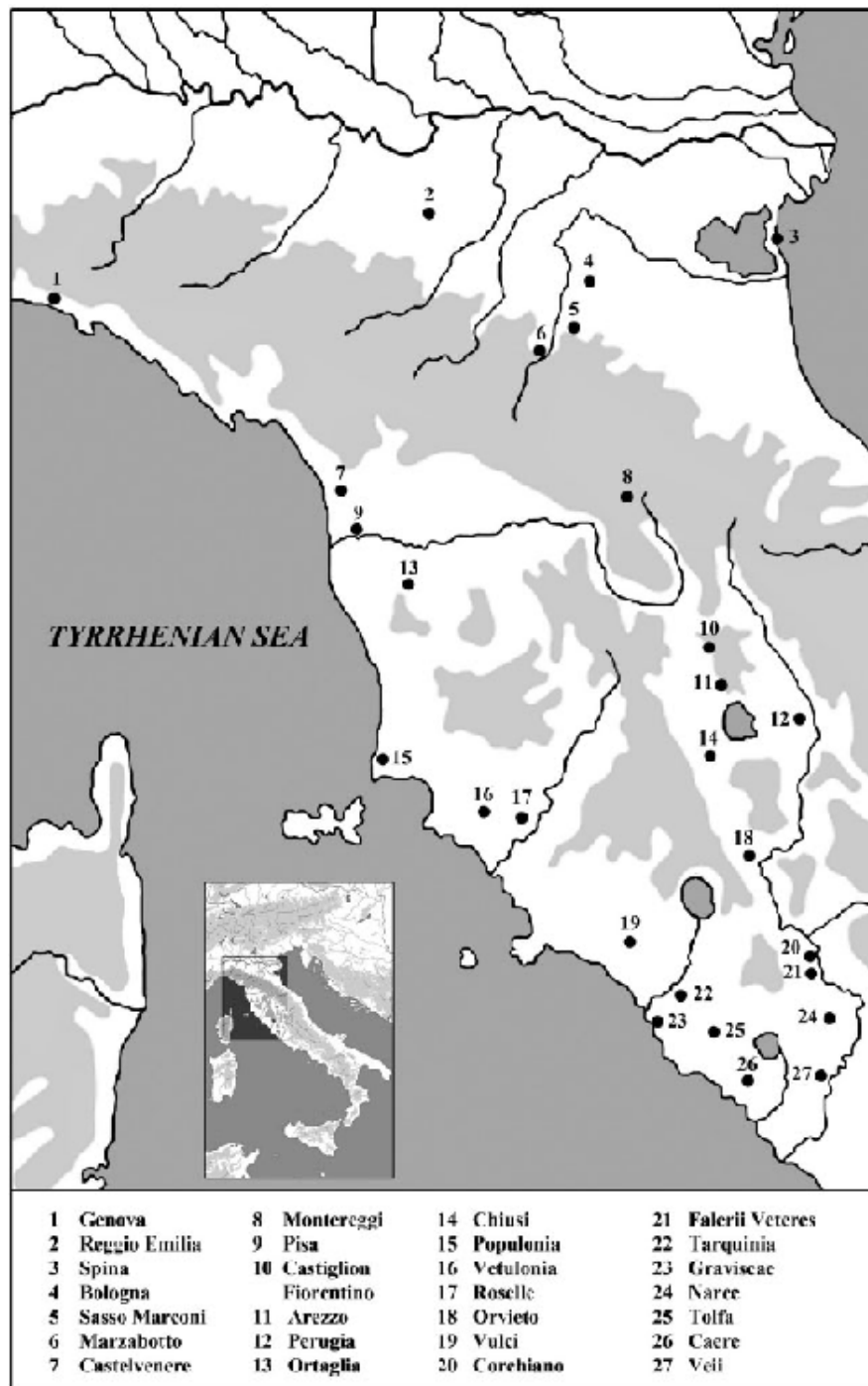


Fig. 62.1: Distribution of the Attic red-figured pottery in Etruria, late 5th cent. BCE 62
External Relationships, 450–250 BCE

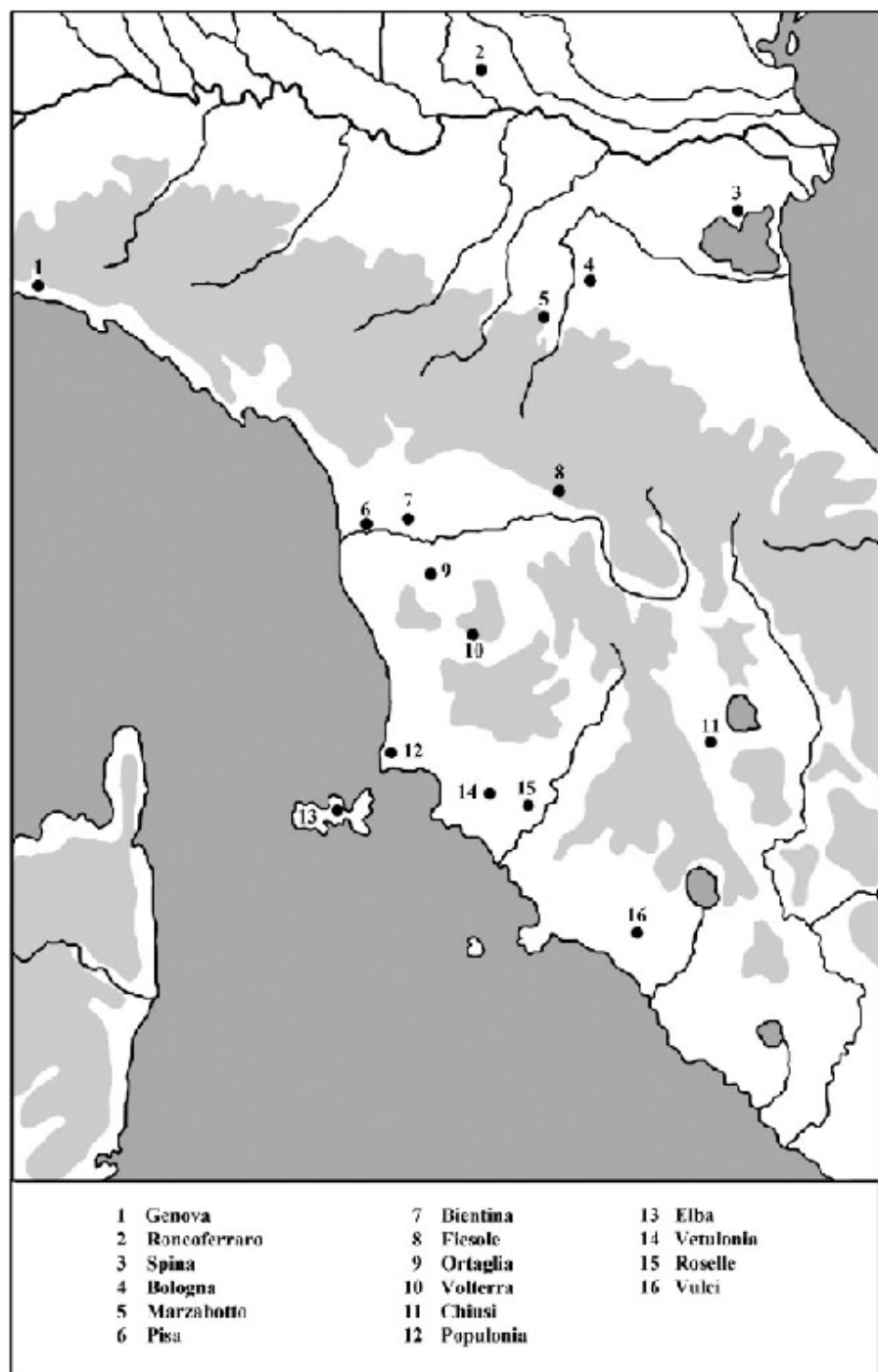


Fig. 62.2: Distribution of Attic red-figured pottery in Etruria, 4th cent. BCE

The situation in the northern district is truly different, in the coastal sector of the mining center of Populonia, in the area of Pisa, in inland areas from

Volterra to the middle valley of the Arno River, to the Chiusi area. In northern Etruria, red-figure Attic pottery is documented until the third quarter of the century, sometimes by pieces of outstanding quality in Roselle, Vetulonia, Populonia, Elba, Aléria, Pisa and its territory (Bientina), Volterra and its territory (Ortaglia near Peccioli, Palaja in Val d'Era), Fiesole and Chiusi.³²⁰⁴ (Fig. 62.2) The highest concentration is in the mining district and around the center at the mouth of the Arno River, but the wealth of findings of Ortaglia near Peccioli in Val d'Era suggest that the relative shortage of specimens should be attributed more to a randomness of findings than to a real historical contingency.³²⁰⁵ The fact that the area of Populonia has a high number of findings parallels the development of the economic structures of the city. The strength of the city is indicated by the movement of its coins, which reach Elba and Aléria, Vetulonia, Roselle and Tarquinia on the coast to the south, Chiusi and the interior region of Umbria (Valle Fuino of Cascia), the area of Fiesole (Prato) and Pistoia (San Marcello) to the north, and finally Prestino in the Lepontic territory near modern day Como and the far west of the area around Tarragona, north of the mouth of the Ebro River in the Iberian peninsula.

5Epilogue

The capture of Capua by Campanians in 423 and the allocation of the Samnites in the Nolan and Picentinian countrysides mark the end of the Etruscans in Campania. The disruptive effects of the arrival of the Gauls in the Po Valley and the subsequent crushing of the system closes the era of the Etruscan control of that region. From that time, the Etruscans were relegated to the districts of Mantua and Spina. The Etruscan world is thus enclosed within the boundaries that will mark Etruria in the administrative division of the Augustan *regiones*. Rome was going to destroy Veii in 396, and Syracuse was a threatening presence in the early decades of the fourth century—both in the Tyrrhenian Sea (where Dionysius the Elder would plunder the sanctuary of Pyrgi in 384) and in the Adriatic Sea (where he founded a series of coastal colonies and *phrouria* from Adria to Ancona). Within the framework outlined by these events, the political structure of the Etruscan world elaborates a profound transformation of social geography and geometry, which has different methods and timing in various districts of the region. In Caere, there was a revival of tyrannical forms, as confirmed by the figure of Orgonius. He was ousted by an expedition led by Aulus Spurius from Tarquinia, which is attested by a Latin inscription found near the Ara della Regina at Tarquinia,³²⁰⁶ while in other cities the oligarchic group maintained its position, even if reshaping the political forms in a new and different relationship between city and territory.

During the fourth century, other circuits appear between Tyrrhenian Etruria and Magna Graecia, as documented by some rare Apulian red-figure and overpainted pottery found in Pisa, Volterra, Populonia, Aléria, Chiusi, the district of Perugia (Mandoletto), Sovana, and perhaps Vulci, Tarquinia, Tuscania, Caere and Falerii (Fig.62.3).³²⁰⁷ There are also attestations of Apulian pottery from Spina, but they have to be seen in connection with the problems of Syracusan expansionism in the Adriatic Sea and the political attitude towards Taranto by the two Dionysii.³²⁰⁸ The traffic of pottery, however, is only one aspect of the trade, which also involves other categories of objects, such as jewelry and gold for the various members of the oligarchy, and the movement of metics and artisans, such as *Apol(---)*³²⁰⁹ who, like *Sokra(tes)* in Falerii, writes his name on the bottom of a small red-figure *oinochoe* from Caere of the late fourth century.³²¹⁰ There was likely a Tarantinian influx in the figurative culture of Early Hellenistic Etruria,³²¹¹ which regards both the pictorial art, in megalography (see the Tomb of the Garlands of Tarquinia³²¹²) and vase painting (see the vessels of the Hesse Group³²¹³), architecture and sculpture, and jewelry production. The circulation of coins from Magna Graecia has some exceptional specimens,

like a bronze coin from Metaponto in Tarquinia, or two *didracmai* from Taranto in Montefiascone, with a special relationship with Neapolis and Campania in general.³²¹⁴

However, the late classical and early Hellenistic ages saw the reactivation of Etruscan *emporia*, with the spread of products from the workshops of Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci and Populonia in the northwestern Mediterranean Sea. The Faliscan products were sold in the same area, due to the alliance between Falerii and Tarquinia during the years of the war between Tarquinia and Rome in 358–351.³²¹⁵

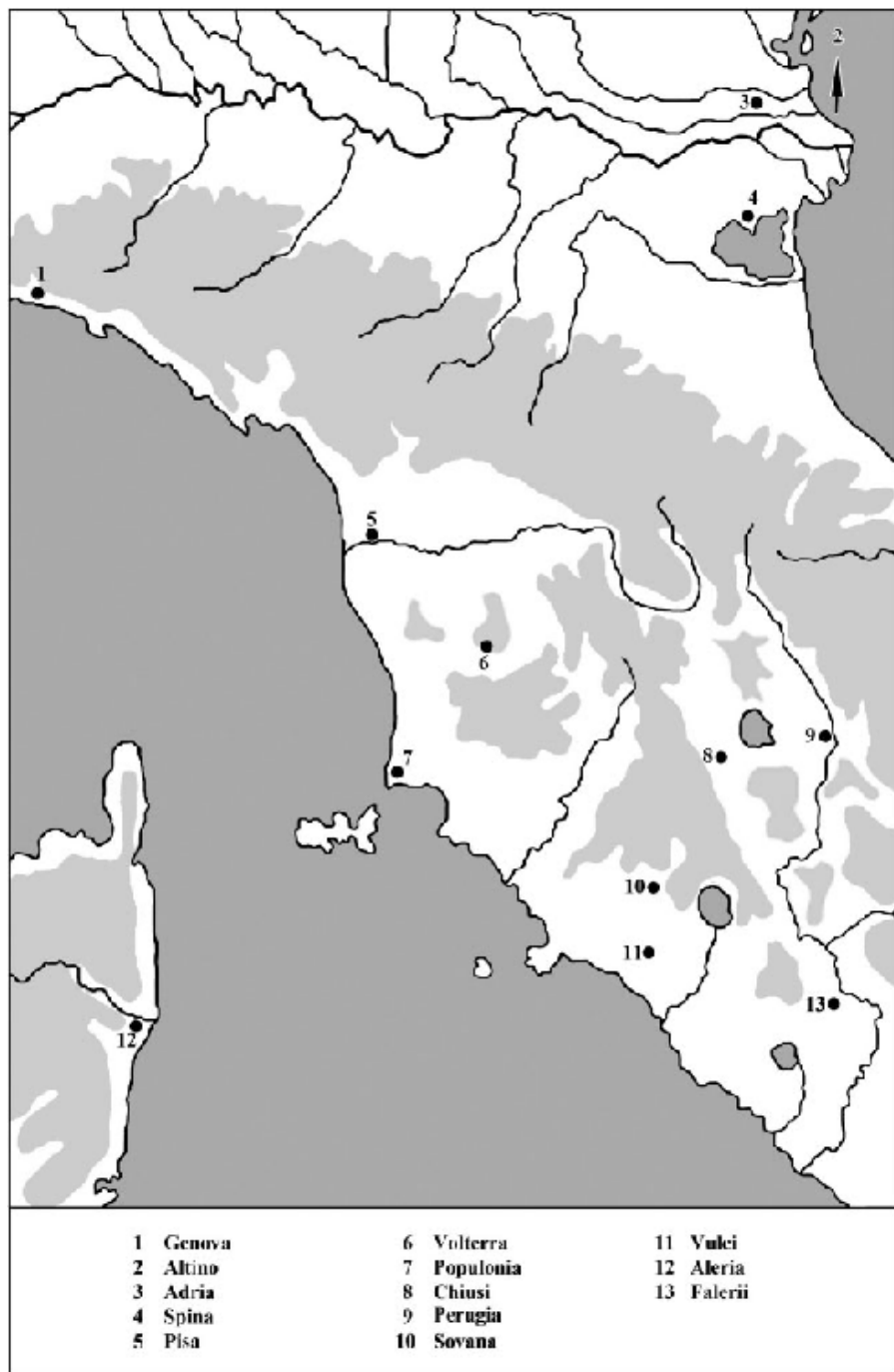


Fig. 62.3: Distribution of red-figured pottery from southern Italic fabrics in central and northern Italy 62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE

In 299, the inhabitants of Delos were still forced to borrow five thousand drachmas of the temple treasury in order to protect themselves from

Tyrrhenian pirates (*IG* XI, 148, 73–74), whose actual provenance is uncertain. In the following years, the progressive appear of Rome in Etruria will mark the beginning of the slow decline of Tyrrhenian Etruria's dynamism. Etruria, taking advantage of the consolidation of the political axis between Rome and Marseille and its economic results for trade in the second half of the century, will prosper during the early Hellenistic period, with wide relationships and commercial circuits, in which there were components from Etruria itself, the Faliscan area, Latium and Campania. In the Adriatic side, with the renewed interest shown by Agathocles of Syracuse, after the African expeditions of 310–307, there is a significant presence of some vessels from the Syracusan factories, mostly affecting the network of local traffic. In the late fourth and early third centuries, it is more difficult to understand the reason for the presence of some Messapic *trozzelle* in Spina and Populonia.³²¹⁶ The intimate relationship of this shape with the Messapic funeral ideology and with the female world are mute clues of relationships between some Etruscan communities and the dynamic society of Messapia in the last three decades of the fourth century and the first decades of the third, probably through marriages. As the contours of the problem escape a more precise definition, it is not a chance that the phenomenon can be seen in Spina and Populonia, the two main poles of attraction for the international trafficking of two Etruscan seas, the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian.

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IV. Civilization

Etruria and Rome

Fernando Gilotta

63Art, 250–89 BCE

Abstract: This chapter deals with developments in Etruscan culture from the Middle Hellenistic period to the final conquest of Etruria by the Romans. The long phase of artistic prosperity that lasted until the first half of the third century appears fatally destined to break up with the progress of Roman expansion, which gradually leads on the one hand to the total absorption of the major Etruscan towns, and on the other to the conquest of Western Greek towns of the size of Taranto, essential partners of the Etruscans in the artistic as well as in the religious and philosophical fields. On the specifically architectural side, traditional plans of Tuscanic or *oikos* type alternate in major temple buildings with more advanced types, clearly inspired (second century) by scenographic models of Hellenistic origin well known in Latium and central-Italic area. Sculptural monuments seem to proceed from a classicizing language still inspired by Early Hellenistic features of Western Greek imprint (second half of the third century) to an “Asianic” (mainly Pergamene) style, full of pathos, plasticity and intense dynamism, spread throughout central Italy—with Rome as intermediary—in the first half of the second century as a result of Roman expansion in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. In funerary (once more, mainly Tarquinian) wall painting, the most frequent subjects are the journey in the Netherworld and magistrates’ processions, where a great space is given to civic-social features, such as commemorative inscriptions, or the visibility of the insignia of power: these magistrates’ processions provide us with a “physical” picture of the last Etruscan urban aristocracy prior to Romanization. After the middle of the third century, the secular tradition of funerary painting dies out in Etruria, paralleled by gradual social and cultural destructuring of the country.

Keywords: Architecture, painting, sculpture, Hellenism, elites

1Architecture

The long phase of prosperity that lasted until the first half of the third century appears fatally destined to break up with the progress of Roman expansion, which gradually leads on the one hand to the total absorption of the major Etruscan towns, and on the other to the conquest of Western Greek towns of the size of Taranto, which were essential partners of the Etruscans in the artistic as well as in the religious and philosophical fields. A direct consequence of these major events is the drastic reduction of building and artistic activity.

To the Middle Hellenistic period belong the two temples on the acropolis of Volterra, housing cults similar to those of Dis Pater and Demetra. The rectangular Tuscanic ground plan of the older one (B), dating to the third century, is divided into *pars antica* and *pars postica*, with a triple row of four columns in front, and curiously echoes Late Archaic models of the Caeretan

area, suggested perhaps by the close ideological-religious copying of the previous building (also Tuscanic) which rose close by, or from a desire to follow “national” architectural tradition at a time when the Roman threat was increasingly imminent. The more recent temple (A) on the other hand, with its fairly elongated ground plan, two columns in front, compared to the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine in Rome, was built around the mid second century, on the eve of total integration within the Roman sphere, and appears to belong to a remodeling of the sanctuary inspired by Middle Hellenistic scenographic *Vorbilder*, well-known in Latium.

The old *oikos* type is the model for the Hellenistic edifice (third century) of the sanctuary at Poggio Casetta, outside the town of Bolsena. It has a simple rectangular ground plan, with two pillars that appear to divide the back wall, and is arranged inside a *temenos* in a manner that also has archaic forerunners in Etruria. Very recent is the discovery, again at the Bolsena Lake, but on the southern shore, at Piana del Lago, of a rustic sanctuary, with *temenos* provided with porticos, inside which were probably two small sacred edifices with different orientations. One of these may possibly have had a *cella* with two *alae*, utilized at least from the fifth century to the Hellenistic period. Still uncertain are the layout of the complex and the identity of the cult or cults, but the typological-structural similarities with Poggio Casetta are certain, as is the strategic value of the site, at the confluence of several communication routes between the territories of Orvieto, Vulci and Tarquinia.

In concluding this brief review, we must mention a structure that is exceptional in Etruria for its typology and monumental status: the major extra-urban sanctuary at Castelsecco (Fig. 63.1), located on a hill that dominates the town of Arezzo from the southeast. Dating to the Middle Hellenistic period and probably abandoned at the time of Silla, it possesses a large terrace supported on the south side by a mighty and scenographic retaining wall provided with buttresses. On the terrace stand a small theatre building and the temple itself. In some ways they recall, even with the overall autonomy of the layout, the major sanctuaries in Latium and central-Italic area; clay ex-votos and an inscription discovered in the area seem to point to cults (of a popular nature) of a deity of fecundity and childbirth and of Tin/Juppiter. The dimensions and architectural details are well-suited to the flourishing economy of a town like Arezzo, whose production and trading role experienced no decline with Roman expansion and with the opening of new routes to northern Italy (Bologna) and toward Rome itself.



Fig. 63.1: Castelsecco (Arezzo), sanctuary, aerial view. Hellenistic period (after Maetzke 1982–84, fig. 1)

As far as dwellings are concerned, we find most noteworthy *domus* with *atria* (but perhaps without *tablina*) at Vetulonia, some of which feature rich architectural terracottas (e.g. the so-called Casa di Medea). They were built during a period of imminent Romanization in the Hellenistic area of Poggiarello Renzetti (late third–second century), as well as at Costa Murata, and their ground plan, albeit conceived to adapt to the impervious nature of the site, is not without comparison in the Roman-Pompeian milieu.

2Sculpture

From the beginning to the middle of the third century, we can date a series of major sculptural monuments – both votive and architectural – from the Etrusco-Latinal area. Compared to what we observed in the Scasato I cycle, these monuments appear to mix experiments of Early Hellenism with classicizing traits to an increasing extent. The main references of this artistic language can be once more found in contemporary Greek sculpture. Among the better-known examples are the *sima* (?) with Dionysiac reliefs from Caere, some of the terracotta statues of female deities from Ariccia (Latium, Alban Hills), and minor objects like relief-vases or appliqués for cinerary urns. These are linked to Dionysiac and Demetriad cults of unequivocal Greek and Western Greek origin, which appear to have been responsible for introducing

this type of stylistic language into the Middle Tyrrhenian world.

Further north, between the first half of the third and the start of the second century, a return to the practice of inhumation supports the spread of stone sarcophagi at Chiusi. Both the position of the deceased on the lid, and the subjects and compositional arrangements of the figured reliefs decorating the box reveal inspiration from southern models, especially from Tarquinia. It is probable that this can be attributed to craftsmen from Tarquinia, who settled in northern Etruria in the early decades of the third century, following the outright conquest of southern Etruria by Rome. The quality of the faces of the deceased – which incorporate nuances of the best Early Hellenistic sculpture and portraiture – is fairly high in the specimens datable up to the mid third century. Specimens from the following decades appear to incorporate elements of a more sober and measured plasticity, to a certain extent similar to what happened in southern Etruscan and Latial contexts. The Clusine sarcophagus of Thania Sentinati Cumerunia at the Louvre, which dates to the second half of the third century, is undoubtedly of an exceptional quality. The dreaming melancholy in the face of the deceased and the vibrant surfaces, that in some ways can be compared to the terracotta statue of the so-called Ariadne of Falerii, confirm the syntony between southern and northern areas (particularly in the Tiber Valley axis) of the Etrusco-Italic region and the still considerable creativity in the decades leading to or immediately after the start of the Roman conquest.

These monuments end the age of Late Classical and Hellenistic *koiné*. Not until the onset of the second century, after the end of the war with Hannibal, would a new cultural crossroad arrive. This was triggered by the spread of works of art and craftsmen throughout central Italy as a result of Roman expansion in Greece and Eastern Mediterranean. Thanks to Rome's presence in the lands it had conquered (in the south), or in some way under its control (in the north), the Hellenistic language that blossomed in the courts of Asia Minor – first and foremost at Pergamon – pervaded Etruscan full-relief and relief sculptures, destined for temples, private buildings, tombs, and cinerary urns. Full of pathos, and made with remarkable plasticity, these sculptures feature intense dynamism and facial features that suggest violent or sorrowful events (whether mythical or not), in narrative contexts of both public and private kinds. Excellent examples are found in the now thoroughly studied cinerary urns from Volterra, Chiusi, Perugia (see [chapter 64](#) de Angelis), and in reliefs belonging to temple pediments and friezes, as well as to houses, at Vulci, Sovana, Chianciano, Vetulonia, Populonia, and again Volterra, to name only the main cities. These finds often feature Dionysiac and other mythical themes, sometimes celebrating the origins of the town itself, and are mostly datable to between the end of the third and the first two thirds of the second century. Worthy of a special mention are the architectural terracottas from the Catona cycle at Arezzo and those belonging to the pediment of the renewed temple at Talamone, both dating to no later than the first half of the second

century. The former (Figs. 63.2.–63.3) – their subject uncertain (maybe including a Judgment of Paris?), but of exceptional quality – appear to contain traces of the best coroplastic traditions of the third century, together with new hints from Middle Hellenism of Asianic origin. The latter, with their pictorial and theatrical (Seven Against Thebes) features now fully in line with contemporary Middle Hellenistic canons, celebrate a “righteous destiny” and condemn *hybris*, perhaps in the new atmosphere of coastal Vulci territory under Roman control.



Fig. 63.2a–b: Terracottas from the Catona Sanctuary (Arezzo). Hellenistic period. Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. (Photo SAT) 63 Art, 250–89 BCE

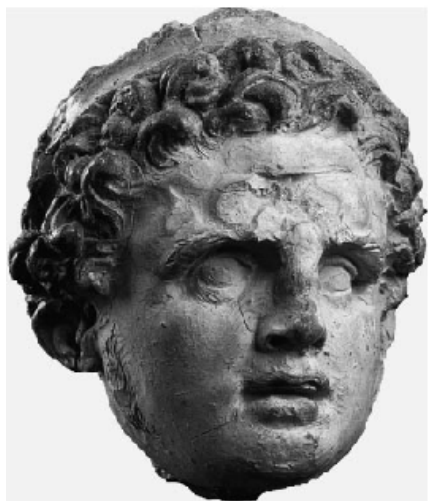


Fig. 63.3a–b: Terracottas from the Catona Sanctuary (Arezzo). Hellenistic period. Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. (Photo SAT)

Metaphorically closing this section, we must mention the Arringatore, a prestigious votive and honorary bronze statue discovered in the area of Cortona, portraying the nobleman Aule Meteli – with a dedicatory inscription on the toga to the god Tece Sanś – whose problematic portrait appears to be in syntony with Etruscan and Late Republican Roman sculptural developments that cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the second century.

After this time, a largely Romanized Etruscan society no longer provided outstanding clients and was no longer capable of producing major monuments in the wake of its own varying regional plastic traditions.

3Painting

In view of the controversies about absolute chronology relating to tombs of the end of the fourth-third centuries, we shall here take all Hellenistic monuments together, thus avoiding the “rule” of chronological divisions which could appear over-precise. Debate on this subject has been quite heated over the past few decades, but has now led to a more solid definition of the evidence for the period, thanks to a wider range of cultural references, both inside (sarcophagi and their epigraphic apparatus, contemporary painted pottery) and outside (Macedonian painting) the Etruscan world.

Let us, however, take a closer look, starting from the “containers” of the

paintings. During this period, chamber tombs tend to lose the double pitched roof so characteristic of previous phases, in favor of a flat roof. The funerary chambers are bordered with benches and sarcophagi for depositing the deceased. Paintings decorate not only the walls, but also the benches, sarcophagi, ceilings and pillars. Frequent too are friezes – both long and short – with small-dimension figures or ornamentation, while the differentiation of the location and size of the paintings often points to a differentiation in compositional vocabulary and drawing tools. The most frequent subjects are some of the themes widely established during the fourth century: first and foremost the journey to the Netherworld and the magistrates' processions, although the scenes now evidence numerous novel elements and greater space is given to "civic-social" features, such as commemorative inscriptions, or the visibility of the insignia of power.

At the top of the series of Hellenistic tombs we may consider the Giglioli Tomb at Tarquinia, dated to about 300, its walls dominated by a great frieze of weapons. Its solid perspective is achieved by the skilful use of thickening or overlapping and the graded veiling of color, which provides plasticity, brilliance, light and shade to the objects: highly effective, in particular, is the rendering of the bronze cuirass and 63 Art, 250–89 BCE Thracian helmets. The weapons, as well as the emblems of power, depicted in this extraordinary display, in some way constitute an ideological manifesto of the family owning the tomb and of the whole late-Etruscan aristocracy. Judging from the *episemata* of the shields depicted, which match those on contemporary coins of Tarquinia, we might be led to infer that the owners of the tomb were indeed directly involved in "public" initiatives of this major Etruscan town, perhaps even in the frequent clashes of the period with Roman military might. Hints of a similar use of weapon friezes in funerary contexts with strong aristocratic connotations are already in the Tomba dei Rilievi (Tomb of the Reliefs: [Fig. 63.4](#)) at Caere (second half of the fourth century: see [chapter 57](#) Gilotta), the other major southern Etruscan town, in which the weapons accompany the portrayal of furnishings, objects of ceremonial and daily use suited to the eminent members of a wealthy gens. Significant possibilities of comparison for the subject in different contexts – albeit of the same level of acculturation and social organization, such as southern Italy, Macedonia and northern Greece – lead us to suspect that also in this specific field of funerary ideology Etruscan clients largely participated in the formal and ideological *koiné* penetrating the Hellenized aristocracies of the central and eastern Mediterranean.

Between the end of the fourth and the mid third centuries, in the period immediately preceding and accompanying the Roman conquest of southern Etruria, many painted Tarquinian tombs stand out for representing – sometimes in an absolutely dominating position within the funerary chamber – friezes with magistrates' processions aimed at celebrating the rank and high public office of the deceased. Often portrayed in tunic and toga, and

accompanied by bearers of *insignia* and musicians, the magistrates are seen in the context of a still independent civic life. The processions, frequently accompanied by inscriptions bearing names and/or explanations, while evidently based on the customs of everyday life, never manage to become historical in any real sense (i.e. with references to specific events in the life of the deceased). Instead, the scenes maintain what we may describe as a figurative *apotheosis* – of a magisterial, familial and funerary nature all at once – as also shown by the occasional insertion of funerary daemons among the participants (e.g., Bruschi Tomb, Tomb of the Typhon). The most ancient of these tombs – the Bruschi Tomb and the Tomba del Convegno (probably beginning of the third century) – follow the line of experiments already substantially found in wall- and vase-painting of the last decades of the fourth century, owing both to the presence of single antiquarian details and to the use of color, as well as for the sound pictorial technique used for the features of the various characters. The Tomba del Convegno (Fig. 63.5; Colour plates 42–47) is especially rich in detail in its procession scenes, which are displayed on the left and back walls. These appear to exalt the magisterial role of the personage commemorated – who achieved the important office, perhaps exceeding the circle of a single town, of *zilaχ cexaneri* (see chapter 9 Tagliamonte) – by representing *apparitores* bearing *insignia* of power such as *fascēs*, double-axes, spears, perhaps even suggesting that the protagonist took an important part in the military enterprises that would lead to the Etruscan town's falling under Roman control. The Tomb of the Typhon (Colour plate 48) is decorated with similar subjects, and may be only slightly more recent, as shown by a cross-comparison with specimens of Greek Early Hellenistic art and a comparison with other painted Tarquinian tombs (e.g. the Tomb of Festoons), which have already (and with greater certainty) been dated to the beginning of the third century (cf., e.g., the Typhon on the pillar with the Charun beside the entrance in the Tomb of the Festoons, both Etruscan interpretations of a still substantially Early Hellenistic pictorial technique). The pictorial texture of the figures employed in these thronged processions, thin and wholly wrapped in wide garments with sparse and linear folds, does not seem to derive from any Roman historical-triumphal pictorial language, as has been suggested, but appears, yet again, to follow the developments of painting and vase-painting in Greece, Magna Graecia and Etruria itself. At the same time, it satisfies the formal and rhythmic requirements of a celebratory repertory, involving all the Hellenized elites of the Mediterranean, and focusing on the ritual cadences of crowded processions, triumphs, and apotheoses, for either family or funerary purposes.



Fig. 63.4: Cerveteri, Tomba dei Rilievi. Late fourth century. (Photo DAI Rome)



Fig. 63.5: Tarquinia, Tomba del Convegno: procession of togati. First half of the third century (photo † G. Bellucci) 63 Art, 250–89 BCE

Beside the magistrates' processions – which provide us with a “physical” picture of the last Etruscan urban aristocracy prior to Romanization, the painted tombs display widespread familiarity with developments in Hellenistic painting. Miniature decorations, like those of the lacunars on the ceiling of the Tomb of the Festoons, with marine creatures and putti on a dark background, are sophisticated expressions of genre painting and of a *pittura a macchia*, whose best antecedents are found in Macedonian and Tarantine specimens, and seem comparable to the frieze with battle scenes on the capital of the pillar in the Tomb of the Cardinal. No less valuable are the contemporary, but technically different, pictorial documents in several tombs with funerary chambers on two levels. To the sides of the entrance door of the Anina Tomb and the Tomb of Charuns, for example, we find male and female daemons (Charun or Vanth) who accompany the deceased and act as authoritative custodians of the passageways in the journey to the Netherworld. They are characterized by great dynamism, thanks to a skillful and rapid use of brush-strokes in rendering hair and disarrayed garments and the addition of white to indicate areas more exposed to light. Here too, sound terms of comparison are found in the wall paintings, cyst-tombs, and painted *klinai* of the Macedonian area, confirming the high degree of technical innovation achieved by Etruscan craftsmen.

Among the later tomb paintings – perhaps the very last prior to definitive cultural assimilation by the Roman world – we should point out those of the Tomb Querciola II and Tomb 5636, both of which were found at Tarquinia and date to the mid/third quarter of the third century. In an extremely simplified style, we find scenes of farewell and meeting before the gates of Hades, portrayed almost like city gates –closed, with a fully-rounded arch and details of both wings – presided over yet again by an infernal daemon (Charun). After this, the secular tradition of funerary painting dies out in Etruria, paralleled by gradual social and cultural destructuring of the country.

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Francesco de Angelis

64Handicraft, 250–89 BCE

Abstract: Etruscan handicraft in the middle and late Hellenistic age is commonly—if mostly implicitly—perceived in terms of decline. Indeed, several classes of artifacts typical of the production of the late Classical and the early Hellenistic periods either ceased to be made or experienced dramatic decreases in quality during this age. Whether one considers wall paintings in tombs, the stone sarcophagi of southern Etruria, engraved bronze mirrors, bronze candelabra and incense-burners, red-figure vases, the “silvered” vases from Volsinii or the black-gloss Malacena ware from Volterra, the discrepancy—and sometimes the radical contrast—between the vitality and variety of the fourth and early third century and the monotony from the mid third century on is blatant. While the data on which such a picture is based are largely correct, the picture itself is incomplete and therefore potentially misleading in more than one respect. The most obvious dimension to consider alongside interruption and break is that of continuity and duration. All productions were not discontinued and qualitative decline was not a universal phenomenon: witness bronze sculpture or architectural coroplastics. Nor should one downplay the role of innovation. New classes of objects as well as new shapes and themes came up precisely during the middle to late Hellenistic age. The development of late Etruscan handicraft is not a unilateral phenomenon. It comprises different factors that vary according to local conditions. An adequate picture needs to take this multiplicity into account.

Keywords: Votive objects; coroplastics; statuettes; cinerary urns; sarcophagi

Introduction

Etruscan handicraft in the middle and late Hellenistic age is commonly—if mostly implicitly—perceived in terms of decline. Indeed, several classes of artifacts typical of the production of the late Classical and the early Hellenistic periods either ceased to be made or experienced dramatic decreases in quality during this age. Whether one considers wall paintings in tombs, the stone sarcophagi of southern Etruria, engraved bronze mirrors, bronze candelabra and incense-burners, red-figure vases, the “silvered” vases from Volsinii or the black-gloss Malacena ware from Volterra, the discrepancy—and sometimes the radical contrast—between the vitality and variety of the fourth and early third century BCE and the monotony from the mid third century on is blatant. While the data on which such a picture is based are largely correct, the picture itself is incomplete and therefore potentially misleading in more than one respect. The most obvious dimension to consider alongside interruption and break is that of continuity and duration. All productions were not discontinued and qualitative decline was not a universal phenomenon:

witness bronze sculpture or architectural coroplastics. Nor should one downplay the role of innovation. New classes of objects as well as new shapes and themes came up precisely during the middle to late Hellenistic age. The development of late Etruscan handicraft is not a unilateral phenomenon. It comprises different factors that vary according to local conditions. An adequate picture needs to take this multiplicity into account.³²¹⁷

As with all other spheres of Etruscan society and culture of this time, the features of craftsman production can only be properly understood and assessed by giving due weight to Etruria's relationship with Rome.³²¹⁸ The role of Rome manifested itself in a variety of ways. Some were spectacularly disruptive, and others were less so, but were more pervasive and durable. For example, an event like the capture and destruction of Volsinii in 264 BCE certainly affected handicraft in more than one way. On a very basic level, it entailed a massive relocation of artifacts, as suggested by Pliny the Elder's reference to the 2,000 bronze statues that were brought to Rome as part of the booty (Plin. *HN* 34.34). Moreover, it caused a diaspora of artisans and a reconfiguration of their workshops. Quite significantly, C. Lapius—a second-century artisan probably of Volsinian descent and the maker of mold-made relief vases belonging to the category of the so-called Italo-Megarian ware (which was produced and sold in Etruria and elsewhere in central Italy)—signed several of his products in Latin and only occasionally added the Etruscan version of his name, Lapie.³²¹⁹ Finally, and correspondingly, the catastrophe that befell the city altered the social fabric that underlay patronage and customership patterns. It is not coincidental that production of objects such as mirrors, which had traditionally played an important role in shaping social relationships in Volsinii, experienced a radical rupture with the resettlement to the new center of Volsinii Novi.³²²⁰

As dramatic as events like the destruction of entire cities might have been, however, one should not overestimate their relevance. Even in the case just mentioned it is possible to find clear instances of continuity. For example, the Bacchic terracotta throne as well as the vessels and tiles bearing the stamp of Avle (?) Fuflluns found at Volsinii Novi suggest that the relocation of coroplastic and ceramic workshops did not affect production in only a negative way.³²²¹ Consequently, the general conditions created by Rome's expansion—not only in Etruria itself but also, more generally, in Italy and the Mediterranean basin, particularly after the Hannibalic wars in the late third century—are just as important as these ultimately episodic events in order to understand the development of handicraft in late Etruscan history.³²²² Rome's conquests led to the establishment of new and broader commercial and cultural networks, with wide-ranging implications for handicraft. The absence of developments carries as much weight as their actual occurrence. For example, the fact that on the whole, the Etruscan ceramic industry—as opposed to the Neapolitan producers of the widely exported Campanian A ware, or the ceramic workshops of Cales—did not take advantage of this new

situation and modify the organization of workshop production to expand its outreach is no less meaningful than its reception of formal and typological innovations at the turn of the third century.³²²³ On the other hand, the varying nature and intensity of Rome's role in Etruria—through the destruction of cities, the foundation of colonies, and the occupation of the *ager* and establishment of alliances—created different local conditions that were roughly dependent on the degree of proximity to the *Urbs*. In particular, distinctions between southern and northern Etruria were further emphasized and acquired a new character thanks to the new political situation and the different typologies of power relationship it entailed.

1 Southern Etruria

The developments in the south, where Rome's presence was particularly palpable, did not always entail the disappearance of workshops or a lower output of artifacts. On the contrary, in many cases the volume of production increased or stayed the same. Occasionally, the Roman presence might have even boosted local handicraft, as suggested by the case of the temple of Talamone, whose remarkable architectural decoration was due to the same workshops operating in the nearby Latin colony of Cosa.³²²⁴ Even in those instances where discontinuity is indeed attested, production did not always come to an immediate halt. Thus, bronze incense-burners continued to be made in Tarquinia, albeit in simplified form (the so-called “Curunas type”), at least until the beginning of the second century.³²²⁵ Finally, one should not underestimate the role of euergetism. Even under modified circumstances, public construction continued to be an important catalyst for specialized workshops, such as the one that produced the mosaic floor bearing the names of the patrons Avle Alethnas and Luvce Hulchnies in the late second-century baths of Musarna—significantly, a recent architectural typology that was becoming increasingly popular in Rome-dominated Italy.³²²⁶

In many cases, the main change concerns the increasing divide between the higher and lower ends of the qualitative spectrum. High-quality products seem to occur more sporadically than in the past. They thus do not create a critical mass or represent any more a term of reference for the broader output. As a consequence, not only is the overall rate of innovation and change quite low, but local production can yield to imports from outside. For instance, black-gloss ware is often imported from northern Etruria and Campania in the second century, and many of the Italo-Megarian vessels found in Etruria can be attributed to workshops based elsewhere, such as those of C. Popilius in Umbria.³²²⁷ Moreover, wherever specifically Etruscan production is attested, it is strongly localized. Workshops cater almost exclusively to local needs and markets. Circulation of locally produced objects, forms and shapes is attested

among minor centers, as well as between them and the main center, but it rarely trespasses the territory of the main center itself.

A good example of this situation is provided by the production of votive objects. Not all of them are standardized or of low quality. Several of the terracotta objects from the votive deposit of the Northern Gate in Vulci, bronze statuettes like the Fufluns/Dionysos from Vulci, now in the Vatican, and a bronze club, probably from Caere, dedicated to Hercle/Herakles by Tite Utaves (significantly, a freedman, perhaps of northern Etruscan descent), are all instances testifying to the contrary.³²²⁸ But these cases are not widespread and have little echo in more popular local productions, which instead follow their own dynamics and display characteristically southern Etruscan features. Typical offerings for the gods in southern sanctuaries consist of mold-made terracotta artifacts, whose typologies are often connected with the sphere of healing and reproduction. Human statuettes and heads, babies in swaddling clothes, animal figurines, and especially polyvisceral and anatomical votives representing parts of the human body (hands, feet, legs, breasts, male genitals, uteri, eyes, ears, fingers, hearts). None of these features is an innovation of the late Hellenistic period. In fact, they belong to a tradition that ultimately dates back to the late Archaic age and acquires its permanent features in the fourth century, so that it is well entrenched by the time the Etruscan cities lose their independence. Nor are these votives exclusively Etruscan. From early on they partake of a wider cultic *koine*—and a craftsman tradition—that comprises Latium and Campania as well. In other words, these votives do not simply testify to the resilience that is typical of the religious sphere, but also remind us that the geographical location of cities like Caere, Tarquinii, and Vulci (not to mention Veii) had been a relevant factor for handicraft already before the Roman conquest.³²²⁹

This observation is less obvious than it may at first sound. What these phenomena of continuity suggest is that traditional basic patterns persist well into the late Hellenistic period despite the new circumstances, to the extent that some of the main political changes would pass almost unnoticed based on the evidence of votive handicraft alone. The intensification of the Roman presence through colonization and appropriation of portions of the *ager* in southern Etruscan cities did not translate into a drastic modification of local votive practices on the popular level, in contrast with what happened in other regions of Italy, where the diffusion of serially made terracotta dedications, and of the corresponding workshops, is by itself a marker of Romanization for modern scholars.³²³⁰ The adjustments that the new situation required from the artisans were minimal. Among the few examples there is the representation of male figures with veiled head, *Romano ritu*, rather than bareheaded. As crucial as this detail is in regard to ritual, it only requires a technically and visually slight change. In many instances, the veil is not really represented but only alluded to in a rather abstract way through an extended rim around the head. Moreover, veiled and unveiled heads coexist in the same sanctuaries,

albeit with varying ratios, and are made in the same workshops.³²³¹ In this domain at least, the Roman conquest apparently did not affect the production or the organization of craftsman labor in any significant way.

At the same time, this continuity is also characterized by a lack of innovation and repetitiveness. This has less to do with the serial character of late Etruscan handicraft *per se*, since the use of molds had been a typical feature of the production of votive objects in southern Etruria already in the Classical period. The point is rather that after the early third century very few new archetypes were created, and most objects were the outcome of second- and third-generation molds, i.e. molds that were produced using the previous mold-made artifacts as prototypes. This procedure inevitably led to a degradation of the formal traits of the objects, as well as to a steady reduction of their size, as can be seen in a paradigmatic way with the votive heads from the rural sanctuary of Tessennano, near Tuscania.³²³²

Comparable trends can be observed in other realms as well, such as the funerary sphere. The sepulchral markers of a city like Caere in the period under consideration are quite inconspicuous, as they mostly consist of plain columnar or roughly house-shaped *cippi*.³²³³ Similarly, the production of decorated stone sarcophagi and of painted tombs that had characterized the burials of the members of the elite in Tarquinia dies out soon after the second half of the third century. Interestingly, it is the workshops of terracotta sarcophagi in a center of the Tarquinian territory such as Tuscania that continue to thrive into the second century (Fig. 64.1), attesting to the increased visibility of the countryside and the role of the upper members of local societies as supporters of handicraft.³²³⁴ Tellingly, however, these monuments are serially made—in fact, there are clear links with the production of votive artifacts—and conform to few standard types. Except for some early examples of individually rendered portraits, there is no significant interest in variation or innovation. The production processes and techniques of the workshops evidently echo the patrons' wish to demonstrate status through adherence to shared ideals rather than competitive distinction. A monument like the one featuring Adonis reclining on his death-bed found in a tomb of Tuscania and now in the Vatican is exceptional, both in its technique (modeled *alla stecca* rather than mold-made) and its typology, for which there are no parallels in the area—or elsewhere, for that matter.³²³⁵



Fig. 64.1: Terracotta sarcophagus from Tuscania, detail. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE

2Northern Etruria

In the northern centers, which maintain a higher degree of internal autonomy and more lively social dynamics, the situation looks quite different. Traditional strengths continue to be cultivated at the same time as new typologies arise. The production of bronze votives, for example, testifies to the ongoing importance of metalworking, for which centers like Arretium had been famous long before the mid-Hellenistic period. Besides several smaller figurines, sanctuaries witness the dedication of medium-sized pieces, such as the child statue from Montecchio, near Cortona, now in Leiden (the “Putto Corazzi”), or the one from a sanctuary on the northern shore of the Lake Trasimene, and now in the Vatican (the “Putto Graziani”: [Fig. 18.9](#)).³²³⁶ Moreover, the life-size statue of Avle Meteli, the “Arringatore” ([Fig. 64.2](#)),

suggests that the workshop traditions that had produced the Chimaera and the Minerva of Arezzo in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods did not experience major breaks during the following century. The mention of the local community as dedicator in its inscription underscores the role of civic patronage for the flourishing of these traditions.³²³⁷ (Nor should one overlook categories of metal objects belonging to different contexts, such as the bronze-sheet flasks that are typical of Clusium).³²³⁸ The contrast with southern Etruria is all the more apparent, as it cannot be simply explained in terms of technical specificities. The production of bronze artifacts notoriously shares several basic steps with the terracotta one. Furthermore, terracotta votives such as heads were produced in northern Etruria as well; as the examples of the votive deposit from the Via della Società Operaia in Arretium show, they do not copy old prototypes but are in line with contemporary stylistic trends—the same ones that can be detected in local architectural coroplastics.³²³⁹

The funerary sphere in northern Etruria, which contrasts most strikingly with the situation in the south, provides the best instance of the rise of new typologies of artifacts. It is particularly the cinerary urns of Clusium, Volaterrae, and Perugia that attest to the vitality of Etruscan handicraft in the third and second centuries in the eyes of modern scholars (Fig. 64.3).³²⁴⁰ The monuments produced in each of these centers are characterized by their own peculiar features as regards material, typology and style, as well as iconography and thematic choices. These features make them immediately identifiable and attributable to one of the three centers, even when the archaeological provenance is unknown. Alongside these specifically local traits, however, there also are overarching features connecting the monuments from all three cities, both with each other and with centers elsewhere in Italy and the Mediterranean. The affinities among urns are such that not only is it evident that artisans were well aware of what their colleagues in the neighboring cities were doing, but in some cases it is possible to argue for the existence of traveling sculptors and even surmise the establishment of local workshops in the wake of their travels. These relationships between workshops operating in the main centers differ from the ones attested in the south, where, as said above, the connections seldom go beyond the boundaries of one city's territory.³²⁴¹ Stylistically, the urns conform to the generally attested trends of Hellenistic art. Scholars have especially pointed to the pathos and dynamism that is usually associated with Pergamon and have even postulated a role for artists coming from the Greek East in the renovation of the formal language of the Volterranean urns in the first decades of the second century. Further relationships can be traced between Tarentine limestone sculpture and the urns of the second half of the third century from Clusium.³²⁴²

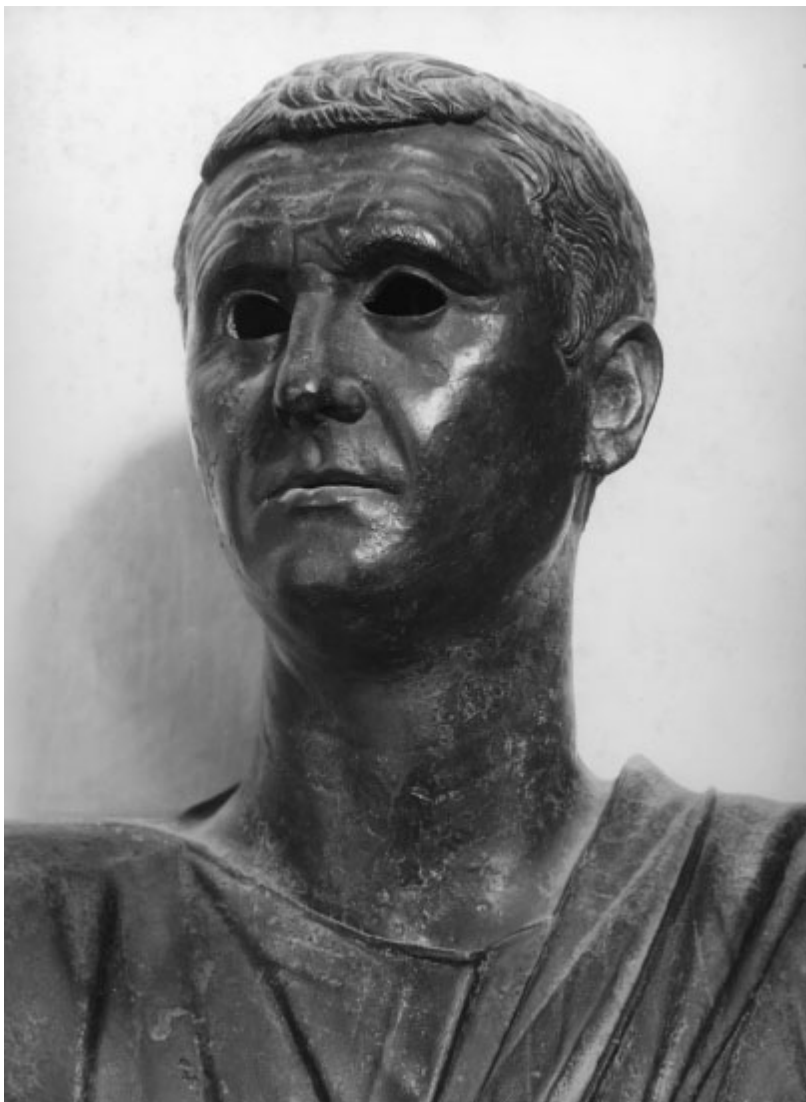


Fig. 64.2: Bronze statue of Avle Meteli ("Arringatore"), detail. Florence, National Archaeological Museum 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE

Quite significantly, the production of the urns implies a constant and active dialogue with other craftsman traditions, especially with coroplastics. The best example is provided by the relationship between the scenes of the Seven against Thebes as represented on the pediment of the temple of Talamone (Fig. 64.4) and on a series of urns from Volaterrae, Perugia, and Clusium (Fig. 64.5). Without copying each other directly, they clearly belong to the same iconographic tradition and come up with original adaptations of the same basic scene using similar principles.³²⁴³ Further examples of parallels between the imagery of the urns and architectural decoration lead us even farther south, for example to Campania. The goddess accompanied by a dog on a

terracotta frieze from Pompeii is remarkably similar to figures attested on the urns.³²⁴⁴ In other words, even though tightly connected to the northern Etruscan centers where they are located, the workshops producing urns are not at all isolated but participate in the life of broader artistic milieus.

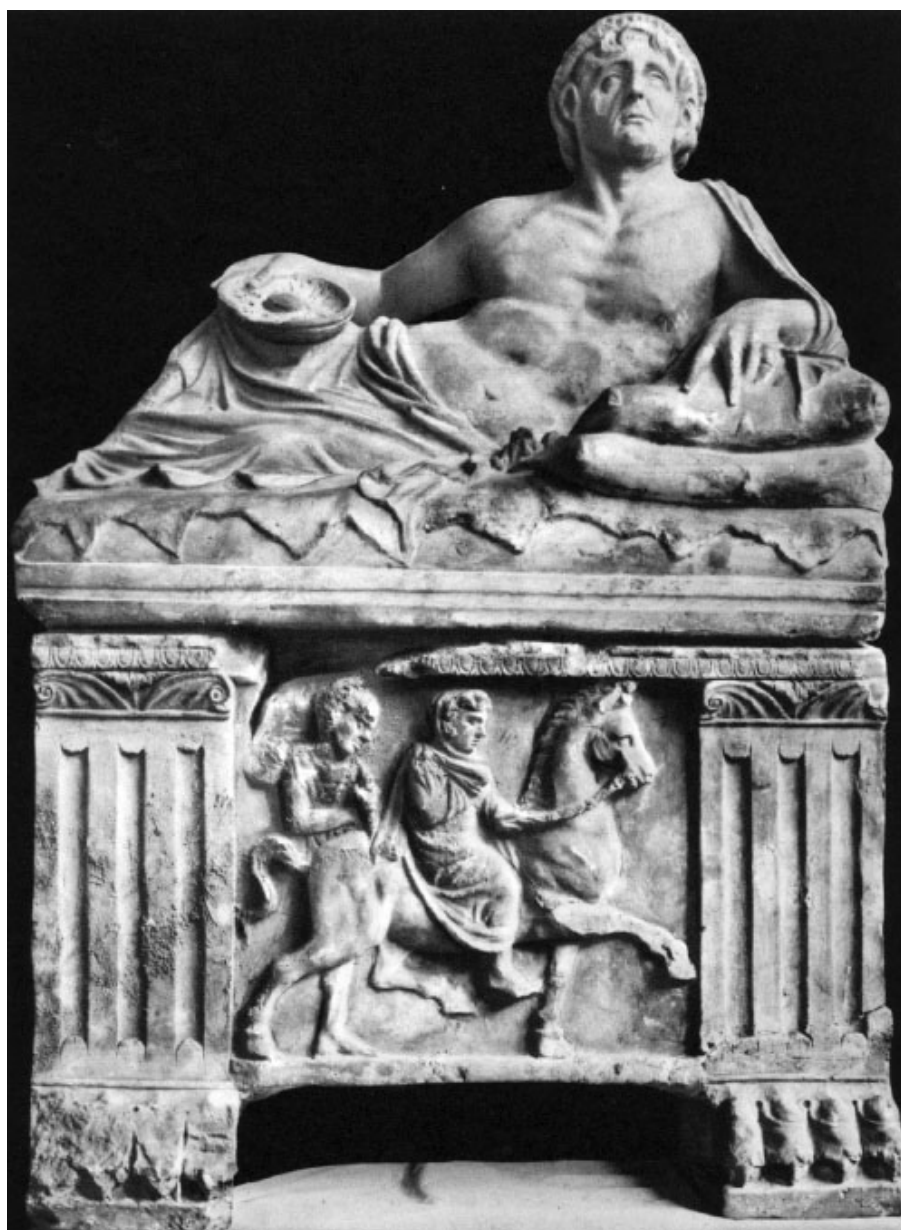
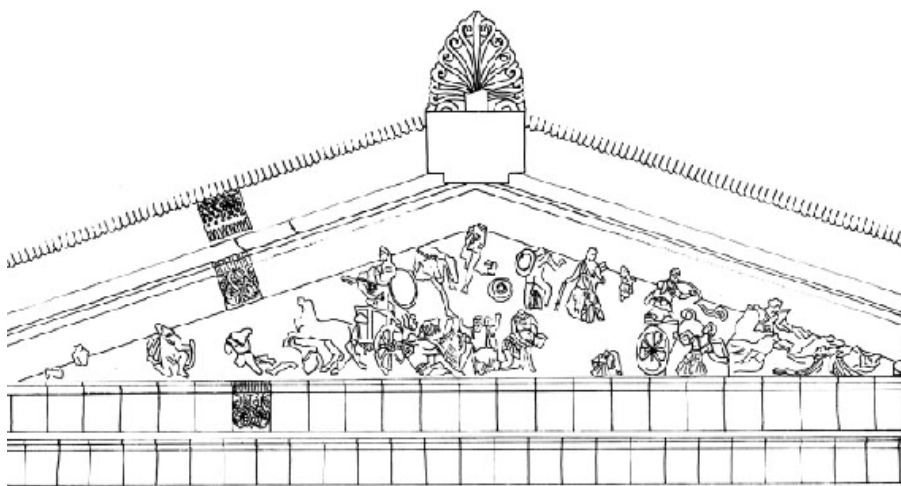


Fig. 64.3: Alabaster cinerary urn from Volterra. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci



Figs. 64.4a–b: Pediment of the temple of Talamone, picture and diagram. Orbetello, Museo Civico 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE

A further characteristic of the urn production is its relatively high artistic and cultural level. In several instances, the stylistic features are so distinctive that they have led scholars to identify workshops and even individual masters.³²⁴⁵ Not coincidentally, some of the urns include self-representations of the artisans.³²⁴⁶ Usually, however, the chests of the urns are decorated with figural scenes that are either mythological or have strong eschatological undertones; decorative and symbolic motifs are also widespread. The choice of mythological themes, which is related to the need to express societal values and emotions that are relevant in the funerary context, is remarkably rich. Even though the iconography of each mythological episode is relatively constant, no single version of a given scene is perfectly identical to any other one. The artisans evidently did not feel bound to copying a template exactly,

but experimented and innovated with a certain degree of freedom. In some cases, an innovation might become permanent and give rise to a new branch of the tradition. The variants thus created are primarily visual, but they can have narrative implications—which suggests a high degree of familiarity with Greek mythology by the artisans.³²⁴⁷ As in previous centuries in Etruria, this familiarity does not come with reverential respect towards allegedly canonical versions of the myth and can produce peculiar results.



Fig. 64.5: Alabaster cinerary urn from Chiusi with scene of the Seven against Thebes. Chiusi, National Archaeological Museum

This does not mean that the urns should be understood only in terms of innovation and variety. The degree of standardization and uniformity can be quite high, especially when it comes to images that are devoid of mythological content, such as the travel or farewell scenes on Volterranean urns, which repeat the same imagery with very little variation and are not by chance more often attested on the less expensive tufa exemplars.³²⁴⁸ The most striking case in this respect is that of Clusium. After the third-century boom of the—mostly mythological—alabaster urns, the bulk of the production in the second century is represented by quite plain travertine urns, decorated with a restricted number of simple motifs, and by mold-made painted terracotta urns (Fig. 64.6). Unsurprisingly, the latter are typically used by members of the

lower strata of society, including freed slaves, whereas the travertine urns are made for—among others—the descendants of the great families of the previous century, for whom the funerary sphere has likely ceased to be a locus of self-representation and display of status.³²⁴⁹



Fig. 64.6: Terracotta cinerary urn from Chiusi. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE

Notwithstanding developments like this last one, the urns clearly testify to the social vitality of northern Etruscan centers and to the consequences this situation had for handicraft—not only directly but also indirectly through the representations of the deceased on the lids. The figures are shown reclining at a banquet, usually holding richly decorated vessels such as *paterae* and drinking-horns, as well as mirror cases or fans in the case of women (Fig. 64.7). Moreover, the female recumbents in particular are themselves lavishly adorned with jewelry, including earrings, necklaces, armbands, rings, and crossing chains. Even though these mostly standardized images should not necessarily be taken at face value, they betray a desire for the ostentatious display of wealth in the private sphere that was undoubtedly real and that must have acted as a powerful driving factor for the patronage of luxury arts. Given that not much jewelry and precious metalware dating to this period has

survived, we can use the urn lids as indicators—if not of the actual appearance of the objects—of the degree of investment and attention devoted to the private sphere, the same kind of investment and attention that is attested in coeval Vetulonia by the terracotta friezes of mythological content used to decorate domestic spaces.³²⁵⁰

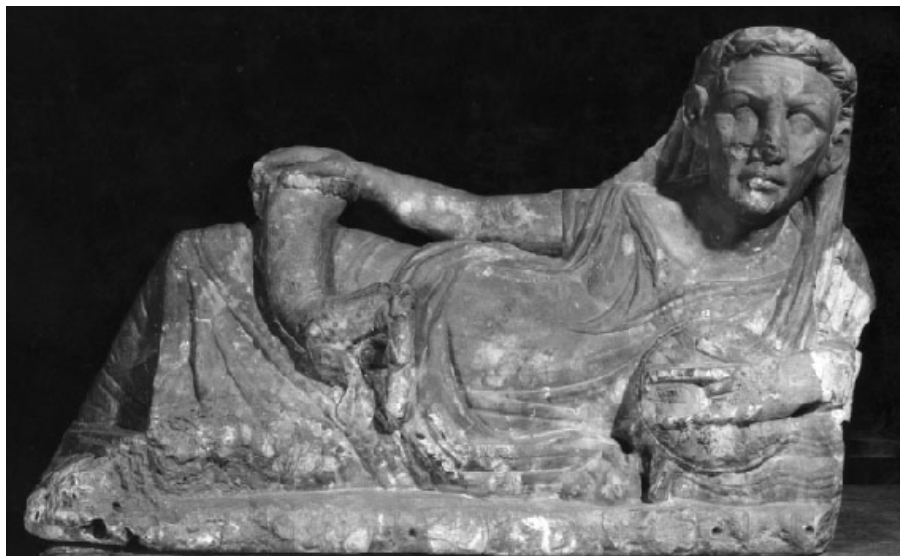


Fig. 64.7: Alabaster urn from Volterra. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci

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Arnaldo Marcone

65Society, 250–89 BCE

Abstract: It may be safely assumed that within the various Etruscan cities there was strife between the well-to-do aristocratic classes and the lower classes who constituted the majority of the population. The so-called “Prophecy of Vegoia” documents, for the beginning of the first century BCE, a conflict between owners and servants, a category probably encompassing all those who found themselves in a subordinate position.

In general, the agrarian structures of Etruria, especially in the north, were noticeably stable over an extended period of time, a stability that Rome was anxious to preserve, up to the outbreak of the Social War (91–89 BCE). If great properties belonging to the nobility were the fundamental component of the agrarian economy, the legal conditions of the laborers who worked them remain uncertain. The presence of slaves—or at any rate indentured workers—is certain; less clear is the situation of the classes of small dependent workers that are beginning to be identified through archaeological investigation.

And while it appears excessive to speak of Etruscan society of the beginning of the first century BCE as an “open society,” there does seem to have been a trend towards the mitigation of social conflict through a process of economic development and in consequence a reasonably acceptable political equilibrium within the community of citizens.

Keywords: Society, Romanization, Great properties, Social conflict

Introduction

It is widely assumed that Etruscan society enjoyed an internal social stability that was maintained, at least in part, with the support of Rome, even in the first century BCE—quite aside from the development of Romanization (see [chapter 37](#) Marcone).

There is no doubt, however, that the difficult conditions imposed by Rome on the cities of southern Etruria at the beginning of the third century—Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, and subsequently Volsinii—must have had a considerable impact on the entire area. Rome’s territorial confiscations in these areas must have had a considerable effect on the economic development of the region, and therefore on social relationships, while the process took longer in northern Etruria.

1Aristocratic versus lower classes

The assumption remains valid, at least as a starting-point, that the internal life

of the various cities was characterized by stark contrasts between the prosperous aristocratic classes and the lower classes that constituted the majority of the population. Both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus refer explicitly to limited groups of people (*principes*) who held power. The identification has found favor in the literature, among the Etruscan lower classes, of a specific intermediate class between freedom and legally sanctioned servitude, with access to forms of property, the *penestai*. Thanks to Helmut Rix's fundamental discoveries in the field of onomastics, nearly all the assumed vocabulary of servitude has been completely revised.³²⁵¹ In particular it has been shown that there is no proof of the existence of the *penestai* in Etruria. According to one view—much favored in the aftermath of the Second World War—that involved a thoroughly negative assessment of the effects of the Roman conquest on Etruscan society, and that is no longer accepted, these *penestai* formed the overwhelming majority of Etruscan society, a sort of equivalent of the Roman plebeians before the struggle for political emancipation.³²⁵² It has also been shown that the word, which actually appears just once in Dionysius in relation to Etruria, does not in fact refer to a specific legal condition.³²⁵³ It designates a type of bond between lower and ruling classes that characterizes various societies and is not typical of Etruscan society alone. In the specific case, Dionysius might simply have been making a comparison between the armies put in the field by Etruscan nobles with the Roman regiments formed by free citizens.³²⁵⁴

The fact remains that strong social tensions capable of shaking the very foundations of cities' social life are recurrent phenomena in Etruscan history. At the end of the fourth century, in 302, uprisings in Arretium (Arezzo) proved to be the underlying cause provoking a sort of general rebellion involving all of Etruria. From what can be deduced from Livy's succinct version, it seems that at the origin of the insurrection lay a conflict between the powerful local family, the Cilnii, which gravitated towards Rome and the plebs.³²⁵⁵

The revolt that involved Volsinii in 265–264 is known to us from several historiographic versions. To them should be added what is transmitted to us in a pseudo-Aristotelian work, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*. In this text, which reflects the taste for ethnography and for utopia that was widespread at the Ptolemaic court in Egypt,³²⁵⁶ reference is made to a city in Etruria called Oinarea ("city of wine"), which was isolated on a hilltop surrounded by forests. Here, within a primarily oligarchic government, in order to prevent one of theirs from lording it over all, the masters entrust the government of the city to their own freed slaves who received, like Roman magistrates, one-year appointments. Rome put an end to this by intervening in support of the oligarchs, harshly suppressing the revolt that was destroying the city, and deporting the survivors.

It seems possible that this version, obviously the product of literary embellishment, was based on information acquired at the court of Alexandria

on the occasion of a Roman embassy that took place in 273, in which one Ogulnius participated, who was of Clusian-Volsinian origin. The historiographic tradition fundamentally agrees. The most complete version is transmitted by the Byzantine historian Zonara. According to him, Volsinii originally enjoyed a stable political system. What induced its inhabitants to dissoluteness would have been the Roman conquest.

2Social development

It remains in doubt whether—or how far—such social strife can also be interpreted as struggles between *gentes* of greater and lesser power within the gentile system, similar in some ways to the struggle between patricians and plebeians in republican Rome, or whether the struggles should be understood as the activity of a revolutionary type of servile elements unrelated to the *gentes*.

A passage in Diodorus Siculus (5.40.3) that derives from Posidonius seems to refer to the peculiarity of the social situation of the Etruscan cities.³²⁵⁷ Diodorus also takes up the matter of the exceptionally luxurious lifestyle of the Etruscans. One of the more evident manifestations of such *tryphé* was the banquets organized with the assistance of many slaves—some of them dressed in a fashion not appropriate to their status. The banquet would thus become a reflection of disturbed social relations apparently due to a level of wealth so elevated as to afford servants a standard of living close to that of their employers.

This multiplicity of references to the peculiarity of Etruscan social development requires consideration. It is out of the question that these servants resided outside the law and thus easily assimilated to slaves. On the contrary, it is safe to assume a phenomenon of moral degeneration that, to adopt the perspective of the ancient sources, could be attributed to excessive “luxure”—in other words, forms of rapid, undisciplined acquisitiveness that underlay unforeseeable social destabilization. It is plausible that a strongly hierarchical society, which grew more and more rigid within, could have experienced a sort of proxy, a virtual transfer of the management of power from the heads of the few most powerful families to their own slaves. And it is also entirely comprehensible that such an outcome of social development would have provoked a sensation. This explains the reflections of contemporaries on the case with such peculiar developments within the utopian and ethnographic literature as well.

The ultimate outcome of such a process of social and political confusion, which probably began painlessly, would either have been the effective undermining of internal order, or that the slaves—profiting from their position—would definitively overthrow their masters from positions of power. Given

the situation, Roman intervention to reestablish order was inevitable. The exemplary nature of the punishments inflicted by Rome may be seen as a response to the specific risks, in terms of interstate relations, from a situation of internal instability that could have the effect of dragging in other Etruscan cities as well.

The so-called “prophecy” of Vegoia also seems to refer to a somewhat similar situation. The prophecy is a sort of “cry of pain” from the slaves, who on their own initiative removed the *termini* and, to make matters worse, did so with the connivance of degenerate owners.³²⁵⁸ In short, it follows that the farms were accessible not only to the lawful landowners but also their slaves, who would have profited from the situation by moving property boundaries, and thus provoked a situation that seriously disturbed the social fabric.

The question remains open of the actual existence in Etruscan society of the *lautni*, a possible equivalent to the Roman freedman. In reality such caution is indispensable, because while it is true that the *lautni* appear in some 200 epigraphic texts in a subordinate position, and two bilingual inscriptions render *lautni* with *libertus* (freedman),³²⁵⁹ these are no clear proofs that such a position derives from a procedure, a legal action (emancipation), like that known for Rome.³²⁶⁰ As for onomastic formulas, a variety of which were used in Rome, they do not in themselves clarify the relationship between the *lautni* and their masters. Even less clear is the position of the *lautni* with respect to the right of citizenship.³²⁶¹ It is true that the internal dynamics of Etruscan society, in particular those coupled with the progress of Romanization, make it possible to assume the existence of a figure similar—albeit not entirely identical—to the Roman freedman, whatever he may have been called. Also, the distribution of the inscriptions that mention *lautni*, which are relatively numerous in the territories of Clusium (Chiusi), Perugia (Perugia) and northern Etruria, but absent in Tarquinia, Vulci, Volsinii, and other places, remains to be explained.

In any case the epigraphic monuments present us with numerous families—for the later period we know almost their complete genealogies—in every one of the Etruscan cities in apparent social equality. But it is also possible to catch a glimpse of the formation of broader familial associations, distinct from an individual *gens*, of which numerous branches can be traced outside the sphere of the city of origin. In the strict, Roman, sense of the word *gens*, it has frequently been shown that *cognomina* are added to the gentile names in order to distinguish the various branches of the family. The small, strictly family tombs of the Archaic period are replaced by grandiose gentile hypogea with many burials. Marriage seems to occur more frequently between members of certain *gentes*, who then prove to be the same ones who most frequently take up political and priestly positions. This can be explained quite reasonably with reference to the gentile social system and *implies* a later date and a greater importance of some *gentes*. With respect to this situation, the cities of northern Etruria, which were less involved in Roman territorial

reorganization, seem characterized by a more evident stability and a more gradual development.

3The consequences of the Second Punic War

In the course of the Second Punic War (218–202 BCE), the support of the Etruscan cities in Rome's confrontations was loyal and considerable. Despite this, the war left the Etruscan cities in great internal difficulty. The risks of general upheaval were high. In 196, the praetor Acilius Glabrio suppressed a slave revolt that had seriously threatened Etruria. Rome's assistance was indispensable in preserving the ruling position of the oligarchic governments that ran the Etruscan cities. A good example is the suppression of the cult of the Bacchanales that diffused rapidly from Etruria—where it was born—throughout Italy, beginning in 186. The claim that this conspiracy had the character of a social rebellion is very doubtful; it involved nocturnal rituals to which were attributed forms of sexual depravity and even ritual murder. The success it enjoyed, with very broad popular participation beyond the control of civil authority, implies nonetheless some form of social frustration.

In the decades following the Second Punic War, the agrarian question does not seem to have constituted a central political topic in Italy. The serious decline in population that was brought about by Hannibal's war must have favored the expansion of the property held by the richest classes without bringing about, at least immediately, deterioration of the condition of the farm population. Furthermore, the increased availability of public land gave every citizen in a powerful position unprecedented access to ample portions of land. But above all, social tension would have to be averted by the great influx of wealth flowing in from overseas conquests.

It is thus plausible to suppose that the Etruscan area too could have benefitted, in whole or in part, from this favorable situation that preserved it for several decades from the increasing harshness of Roman demands. The oligarchies of the cities of northern Etruria probably agreed to some form of integration of the lower classes, with the purpose of satisfying their demands and thus preventing the exacerbation of social tensions. It is true that slavery as such did not disappear, although it was, above all, a phenomenon characteristic of southern Tyrrhenian Etruria.

The agrarian structures of Etruria, especially in the north, long maintained features of substantial stability that Rome was anxious to preserve even at the outbreak of the Social War (91–89 BCE). While the fundamental component of the agrarian economy consisted of the great properties belonging to nobles, the legal condition of the workers who cultivated them remains uncertain. The presence of slaves or in any case bondsmen is certain. Less clear is the situation of the classes of small dependent workers that have come to be

identified through archaeological investigation. The population of central-northern Etruria was highly differentiated, as can be verified in the territories of Volterra, Clusium, and Perugia. In the period after the Second Punic War, the territory of Clusium is distinguished by the presence of small rock-cut chamber and corridor tombs with burial niches in the walls. Furthermore, it turns out to be densely populated with secondary settlements with big farms. We may suggest that here we find a production unit of family or servile management that can be attributed to sparse settlement. With respect to a relatively limited group of aristocrats, the existence of classes of small or medium-sized owners thus appears admissible.

4The society of Clusium

From the point of view of research into the social composition of the population, the Etruscan case is distinguished by the possibility of reconstructing it on the basis of the organization of funerary space. It turns out that the number of people who could have a burial was particularly high especially for the later period (third–first centuries BCE). About 2,700 epitaphs have come down to us that mention at least 600 different gentilicia, which allows us some degree of knowledge of a large and distinct percentage of the population.³²⁶² Even though we cannot assume full comprehension, we can at any rate believe that we have archaeological documentation relating to about 40percent of the entire civic body, which is quite significant.³²⁶³ We may add that, alongside standardized humble burials, lavish funerary monuments have also been preserved, so adequate representation of different social classes is available.

Especially between the mid-third and mid- second centuries, a noteworthy presence of metal objects is recognizable in the funerary equipment, an indication of overall wealth. The prevailing ritual of cremation must also be seen in relation with an elite of considerable economic means.

The variety of the tombs declines with the passage of time; the funerary monuments tend toward homogeneity. This tendency leads to various conclusions. It is possible that Clusium felt the effect of diffusion of Roman values or perhaps of sumptuary legislation that imposed more sober customs.

It may be going too far to hypothesize, on this basis, political transformations involving the abandonment of preceding oligarchic regimes. Nonetheless, one can hardly avoid recognizing the reality of economic decline which brought in its train inequality of some, if not of major, significance.

The aforementioned Prophecy of Vegoia documents, for the beginning of the first century BCE, the contrast between owners and servants, among whom are probably to be counted all who were in a subordinate position. In view of some inner northern Etrurian cities' typical practice of delimiting

private gentile property with boundary markers just as for public property, in this period, a sort of agrarian regime can be assumed that economically equalizes the largely literate rural population. This resulted from the strong social tensions that were likely present at the beginning of the second century.³²⁶⁴

On the other hand, smallholdings remained important in Italian agriculture, even if they lost some ground following the Second Punic War and the prolongation of military service in the overseas campaigns that depleted the manpower available for work in the fields. Traditional agrarian management remained preponderant in vast areas of central Italy and the Po Valley, and did not completely disappear even in the districts where the land concentration was greater, as in southern Etruria.

As for urban craft production, it seems that the workshops were divided between the freeborn and slaves. In this sector too, small productive enterprises directly controlled, or under slave management, are shown to have been fundamentally stable. Some high-quality products of the first half of the fourth century gradually gave way to forms of standardized and simplified production. The new features of such manufacture probably imply a different organization of work. The new relationship between craftsman and customer, the standardization of products, and the increasing technical and formal decline were the harbinger of more general economic, social, and political transformations of Etruria, more evident in the southern region of older artistic traditions.

5Political integration

The German linguist Helmut Rix assumes, on the basis of epigraphic evidence, that between 280 and 140, “social revolutions” in northern Etruria led to the political integration of the dependent classes.³²⁶⁵ Rather, the change in the onomastic formula that took place may have been the effect of pressure from Rome in relation to the census and military service.³²⁶⁶ Regarding military service, its important role in the development of society in the various Etruscan cities can be recognized. It has been estimated³²⁶⁷ that if 15 percent of the Etruscans were employed as soldiers in the Roman army, which would have involved about 10,500 men.

The reasons for Etruscan opposition to M. Livius Drusus the Younger’s proposal to grant full Roman citizenship to the Italici have been explained in various ways. It has been attributed both to the conservative orientation of the Etruscan nobility with respect to changing relations within the cities that had already distorted the overall balance, and to the fact that Etruscans and Umbrians would have been less interested than other allied communities in exchanging land for citizenship. Exactly this sort of exchange has to be

considered the herald of unacceptable changes in social relations. In any case it is reasonable to suppose that Etruscan society would have maintained some fundamental elements of continuity. Nor, on the other hand, is it out of the question to speak of a general philo-Marianism for Etruria. For Clusium, there is no obvious proof of its prominent involvement in the struggle between Marius and Sulla.

What is certain is that in 91 BCE, Etruscans and Umbrians came to Rome to protest the provisions of Livius Drusus. It is believed that the agrarian reforms of Drusus damaged the system of small and medium landholdings. It is also supposed³²⁶⁸ that the opposition of Etruscans and Umbrians concerned the grant of Roman citizenship rather than the agrarian laws, because the grant of citizenship would have the effect of aiding the lower classes, which were traditionally excluded from political power. The explanation of this hostility of the Etruscan ruling classes to the granting of citizenship, however, does not require invoking a supposed “feudal” structure for Etruria at the beginning of the first century BCE that was dominated by latifundia worked by a peasantry enslaved as serfs. Instead, we must recognize the signs of a changing society that had responded, albeit on their own time and with their own methods, to the contact with and influence of Rome, and to the development of economic relations. Nevertheless, to speak of early first century Etruscan society as an “open society” in which the nobility made “a show of enlightened openness toward the lower classes” is to go too far.³²⁶⁹ This represents a tendency toward mitigating social conflict by way of an economic development that privileged a political equilibrium that was more acceptable within the community of citizens.

Local peculiarities are obviously important, particularly in northern Etruria. The villas here are scattered and are found only along the coast. At Volterra, the Cecina family negotiated their own allegiance to the Roman state both to protect their interests and to guarantee continuity of agrarian management, social order, and the prevailing ideological system. In contrast to Volterra, at Luni Romanization does not seem to have produced significant consequences. As for Pisa, the growing significance of the port favored social change as the result of the involvement of new families in manufacture and commerce. At the same time new groups such as the freedmen emerged that were less bound to social norms.³²⁷⁰

6Caught between Marius and Sulla

The philo-Marian choice of many Etruscan cities might have various explanations, and it seems plausible that precisely the internal dynamic of at least part of the Etruscan world could have played an important role. The case of Clusium is particularly significant because of the profusion of epigraphic

evidence and the abundance of funerary finds. The social groups known to us reveal a close relation between the groups themselves and the aristocratic citizen classes, rather than an opening up of the aristocracy. We may imagine a general improvement of the middle and lower classes with an associated erosion of the preeminent position of the aristocracy.

We know from Plutarch that in 87, Marius, who was coming from Africa with limited forces, landed at Talamone and succeeded in recruiting sizable forces from among the Etruscans. It is likely that Talamone had been deliberately chosen as a place to land, especially in light of the fact that he succeeded in winning over to his cause 5,000 or 6,000 “Etruscans.” If we are to see in these “Etruscans” representatives of the traditionally enslaved classes (slaves and similar categories), who had been attracted by the opportunity for gain afforded by military service, a very different picture of Etruscan society emerges. In it, still-traditional elements of the “ancien régime,” at least in the regions of the most intensive agricultural exploitation, coexist with more developed forms of social relations. As for the thousands of men who accompanied Marius from Africa, we can imagine that, alongside Moorish knights, some were Etruscans. Plutarch (*Mar.* 41.2) speaks generically of persons “who came from Italy.” An African colony of Etruscans has been revealed at Wadi Milian in the hinterland of Tunis by some inscriptions with definitions of the boundaries laid down by one M. Unata (a name that suggests a Clusian origin). The Etruscans in question called themselves *dardani* (Fig. 38.6). If they really belonged to the group of colonists who settled in Africa in 103–100,³²⁷¹ Marius’s decision to land at Talamone presupposes complex relations from the point of view of social history as well. Yet this may have been merely antiquarian nostalgia on the part of a group of veterans settled around Thuburbo Maius, an area of Augustan allocations, who proudly called themselves *dardani*.³²⁷²

In 82, northern Etruria finally became involved in the military operations of Cn. Papirius Carbo, in the Cisalpine region. In this case the Etruscan cities that definitely lined up against Sulla were Arretium (Arezzo), Fiesole, and Volterra, which endured a severe siege that lasted three years, a stiff penalty for its opposition to the dictator. Again in the following years, it was Fiesole that was at the heart of unresolved episodes of conflict. In 78 the Fiesolans were distinguished by the support they provided to the attempted revolution of Lepidus, who barricaded himself into the northern part of the region. Fiesole, on the other hand, was the only city in Etruria in which Sulla’s allocations had been brought to completion with all the consequences that that sort of procedure entails.

The decisive turn in Etruscan society would take place toward the end of the century under the agency of Augustus, who promoted a grandiose program of urban development, in particular in the southern part of the region, which attracted a large number of immigrants and nouveaux riches, a development that remained visible until the end of the Empire.³²⁷³ There are several

senators for whom an Etruscan origin can be ascertained.³²⁷⁴ It was the moment of permanent integration.

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Marie-Laurence Haack

66Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE

Abstract: The period from 250 to 89 BCE was marked by the completion of the Roman conquest of Etruria. The Etruscan territory was eroded by the establishment of colonies on Etruscan territory and by the construction of consular roads. Faced with these changes, the aristocracy sought refuge in the search for salvation in doctrines and mysteries of Greek origin, indeed in an apocalyptic prophetism, but rituals and cults changed essentially by being widely and progressively assimilated to those of the Roman conquerors. These religious doctrines had long been successful in Etruria. For example, a whole tradition made Etruria one of the centers of Dionysianism. For Clement of Alexandria, the *cista mystica* containing the phallus of Dionysus, who had been killed by the Titans, was believed to have been brought to Etruria. The cult of Dionysus-Bacchus, with its occult and initiation aspects, is thought to have been introduced to Etruria by a “Greek of obscure origin” (*Graecus ignobilis*). Fourth-century funerary iconography (in particular, the Tomb of the Orcus II in the necropolis of Monterozzi) already showed signs of influence by Greek, Italic, and especially Siceliot doctrines, of an Orphic-Pythagorean type, but the number of occurrences significantly increased in the third century. Until 186, there was a vogue for Dionysian associations. Several sarcophagi show that the deceased were members of groups worshipping *Pacha*, Bacchus in Etruscan. In Chiusi, some deceased are represented on urns or sarcophagus lids with a *kantharos*, an *oinochoe*, or a *patera* in their hand and sometimes with a garland around their neck.

Keywords: Romanization, Dionysianism, Orphism, oracles

Introduction

The period from 250 to 89 BCE was marked by the completion of the Roman conquest of Etruria. The Etruscan territory was eroded by the establishment of colonies on Etruscan territory and by the construction of consular roads. Faced with these changes, the aristocracy sought refuge in the search for salvation in doctrines and mysteries of Greek origin, indeed in an apocalyptic prophetism, but rituals and cults changed in a big way, by being widely and progressively assimilated to those of the Roman conquerors.

1Success of salvation doctrines

The period saw the multiplication of religious associations linked with Greek cults related to salvation doctrines. These religious doctrines had long been successful in Etruria. For example, a whole tradition made Etruria one of the

centers of Dionysianism. For Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.19.1), the *cista mystica* containing the phallus of Dionysus, who had been killed by the Titans, is believed to have been brought to Etruria. The cult of Dionysus-Bacchus with, its occult and initiation aspects, is thought to have been introduced to Etruria by a “Greek of obscure origin” (*Graecus ignobilis*: Livy 39.8.3–4; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.23–21). Fourth-century funerary iconography (in particular, the Tomb of the Orcus II in the necropolis of Monterozzi) already showed signs of influence by Greek, Italic, and especially Siceliot doctrines, of an Orphic-Pythagorean type, but the number of occurrences significantly increased in the third century. Until 186, we observe a vogue for Dionysian associations.³²⁷⁵ Several sarcophagi show that the deceased were members of groups worshipping *Pacha*, Bacchus in Etruscan.³²⁷⁶ In Chiusi, some deceased are represented on urns or on sarcophagus lids with a *kantharos*, an *oinochoe* or a *patera* in the hand, and sometimes with a garland round their neck.³²⁷⁷

The Dionysian cult supposedly spread from Etruria to Rome and, because it was said to have degenerated into nighttime orgies and criminal acts, was apparently banned by a decree issued by the Roman Senate in 186, which launched a violent crackdown all across Italy, as shown by a copy of the *senatusconsultum* sent to *Ager Teuranus*.³²⁷⁸ It is thought that is the reason that in Bolsena, an underground chamber dating to 200 BCE, which could have housed a small sanctuary of Dionysius/Pacha, was destroyed.³²⁷⁹ In the destruction pits of this building, terra-cotta fragments of a Dionysian throne were unearthed. This piece of furniture is richly adorned and surrounded with *putti* riding panthers and playing with garlands. Dating from around 250, an Etruscan inscription was found at Tarquinia (*ET Ta* 1.17). It is engraved on a relief that shows a stone *volumen* held by a deceased author of Haruspicine books reclining on a sarcophagus. His name is Laris Pulenas, priest of Bacchus and Catha; his eponymous ancestor was called Pule—that is, Polles, the name of a Greek seer.³²⁸⁰ In Etruria, as throughout the Italian peninsula, the name Dionysus is associated with a long string of social revolts, and it takes on a mystical dimension and a “national” connotation.

The Orphic-Pythagorean conceptions of Greece and Southern Italy were also adopted by many Etruscan aristocrats. The head of Orpheus prophesying appears on third-century mirrors and gems, and local adaptations of the Orpheus myth are frequent in iconography. It appears either as an anonymous head prophesying, or as a character named Umaele represented in an Apollonian context, or a character transcribing the words of a prophet.³²⁸¹ The Orphic tradition seems to explain the spread of the *caput Oli Volcentani* legend that was linked with the foundation of the Capitoline cult.³²⁸² Male and female demons are shown accompanying the deceased in representations of voyages to the underworld or in eschatological scenes. In the “Four-Charon” Tomb in the necropolis of Monterozzi, each of the demons is distinguished by an epithet and by attributes (skin color, garment, facial

appearance, etc.). They correspond to a classification of the gates for safely entering the underworld. The Tomba del Cardinale (Tomb of the Cardinal) in the necropolis of Monterozzi places scenes of voyages to the beyond side by side on the tomb walls like the pages of a book. The motif of the deceased's journey in a carriage drawn by demons showed that the soul of the deceased was capable of making its way on the sacred way (*hiera odos*) of Orpheus initiates. On the sarcophagus case of Laris Puleas, the cult of Orpheus is recognizable from the fact that a magistrate (perhaps the deceased), avoiding punishment, goes through a gate leading to the Just and the heroes.³²⁸³ The link between Pythagoreanism and Etruria is so strong that literary accounts mention the presence of Etruscan disciples by the side of Pythagoras,³²⁸⁴ and several authors describe the philosopher as "Tyrrhenian."³²⁸⁵

The Phoenician and Syrian god Adonis, worshipped in Greece, was also worshipped in Etruria. A second-century Tuscania urn, adorned all around with holes perhaps intended for flowers, depicts a dying Adonis.³²⁸⁶ Edifice δ of the sanctuary of Gravisca has a Latin inscription of the Augustan period with the name of the young Adonis.³²⁸⁷ It was deduced from this, despite the apophthegm *ouden hieron* (Phot. *Lexicon* o 615; *Suda* o 798 Adler), that a sanctuary devoted to Adonis existed, with facilities meant for the festivals of the Adonia. Mario Torelli recognized in the edifice courtyard accommodations for the different stages of the festival. In the North portico, there was a ritual of climbing onto the roof to wait for the god's to arrive; the chamber beside the northeast corner of the portico was the location of the wedding between Adonis and the protagonist of the festival playing the role of Aphrodite; the stone plate facing east-west was the tomb of Adonis; and in the unpaved part of the square was a garden where the god's short-lived lettuce was planted.³²⁸⁸

The Eleusinian doctrine was also successful in Etruria: the sanctuary of Campetti in Veii presents analogies with a *thesmophorion*. As in Bitalemi near Gela in Sicily, buried *hydriai* were found as well as a bronze statuette carrying a piglet. In Fontanile di Legnisina on the outskirts of Vulci, two of the 234 terra-cotta uterus discovered are dedicated to *Vei*,³²⁸⁹ an Etruscan goddess who might have fulfilled the same educative and agrarian functions as Demeter.³²⁹⁰

The influence of foreign doctrines can be observed on the bronze liver model from Piacenza, dating to the late second or early first century BCE. Some deities whose names appear in the regions of the liver (Thusc, Mae, Tnvth, Letham) are not attested elsewhere; they are esoteric elements probably known to a social or religious elite and did not necessarily find an echo in the population.³²⁹¹ In the first century BCE, representatives of old Etruscan families like Nigidius Figulus or Fonteius Capito spread elements of these Orphic-Pythagorean doctrines among the Roman elite.

2Prophecies and oracles

The success of ideas and ritual practices of the Greek world may explain the revival of oracular cults during this period. Scenes of oracle consultation and oracles' replies are represented on monuments of the late Hellenistic period.³²⁹² Late third-century mirrors and urns show a character named Cacū prophesying to the sound of a lyre with his words being transcribed on a diptych by a really young man called Artile.³²⁹³ The scene refers to events supposed to have occurred at the time of Servius Tullius, since Cacū is flanked by two warriors whose names are given by a slightly older mirror, Caile and Avle Vipinas. A link is established between this surname of Vipinas and that of Servius Tullius in the fragments of a speech by emperor Claudius in the senate in 48CE transcribed on the Lyon tablet.³²⁹⁴ All these objects may allude to the oracular character of the major Etruscan sanctuaries, where strange phenomena like the presence of blood in the river water of Caere (*Caeritis amnis*) and in the spring of Hercules in 217 (Livy 22.1.10) were discussed.

Scraps of this type of prophecy that spread throughout Etruria are known through the treaty of *agrimensores* in which the nymph Vegoia informed Arruns Velthumnus³²⁹⁵ of great upheavals in Etruscan society and described apocalyptically the misfortunes that were to befall Etruria, the land and inhabitants because it gave way to greed and an unquenchable thirst for land. "Then also the earth will be moved by storms and whirlwinds with frequent destruction, crops often will be injured and will be knocked down by rain and hail, they will perish in the summer heat, they will be felled by mildew. There will be much dissension among people."³²⁹⁶

This prophecy insists on the permanent character of boundaries and considers changing these boundaries an act of sacrilege. Meticulous analyses of the text make it possible to recognize more ancient cosmogonies and instructions that had undoubtedly been known for a long time, but the text was written in the first century BCE, as is known because it refers to the eighth *saeculum*, or era, of Etruscan history. It may even have been written at the time of the Social War. The bill of M. Livius Drusus of 91 BCE, which proposed to extend the right of Roman citizenship and to link its granting with agrarian reform, met with strong opposition from *principes*. The issue was indeed worrisome for the Etruscan elite. Volterra urns depict a scene of the murder of two magistrates performing their duties, perhaps Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, who died at precisely the time when they were trying to pass agrarian laws. Already in the first half of the third century, slaves of Volsinii are said to have seized power and landlords' possessions.³²⁹⁷ The sensation caused by the prophecy can be explained by the preservation of an ancient cult of boundaries. Deities like *Selvans* kept watch on the borders. *Selvans Tularia* (CIE 10870) is believed to have protected all the borders, and *Selvans Sanchuneta* (ET Vs 4.8) the boundaries of the sanctuary of Pozzarello near

Bolsena.

The feeling of a precise length of time granted the Etruscans that can be read in the prophecy of Vegoia is supported by the practice of a series of rituals meant to record the passage of time. The Romans used *clavus annalis*, a term that they claimed dated back to a very ancient period, for the custom of driving a nail into the side wall of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the Ides of September every year (Livy 8.3), in order to count time before the widespread use of writing (Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* s.v.); it was kept later for the sake of religious respect for old customs. The preservation of these practices is attested by magical nails of the third and second centuries, discovered in the Pozzarello sanctuary near Bolsena³²⁹⁸ and in the sanctuary of Sant'Antonio in Caere³²⁹⁹ that Giovanni Colonna associates with the cult of Rath/Apollo.³³⁰⁰ The antique dealer Cincius, who may have had Etruscan family ties, was an eyewitness in the late first century BCE to an essential ritual of this cult. According to him, as reported by Livy (7.3), "At Volsinii, too, nails may be seen in the temple of Nortia, an Etruscan goddess, driven in to indicate the number of years."³³⁰¹ The cult of a goddess called Nortia in the Roman Volsinii is confirmed in a late period (Juv. 10.74; *CIL* VI 537.4, *CIL* XI 7287). These ancient cults persisted and were influenced by foreign doctrines. We know from late sources that, conceivably as early as in the late Hellenistic period, an alliance between cosmological and millenarian theories, Etruscan conceptions of divine unknowability, and aspects of Hebraism and Mazdaism took place. Fragments of these combinations are visible in the Tyrrhenia entry of the *Suda* and in Lactantius Placidus (*Schol. ad Stat. Theb.* 5.515).

The success of contemporary philosophical currents, in particular stoicism, also explains the revival of cleromancy in the third and second centuries.³³⁰² Numerous lots bearing the names of deities in the genitive have been found in contexts of that time. Some are pebbles with embossed inscriptions, or lead discs with a hole; or small, long and rectangular bars that may be ex-votos rather than actual lots—that is, imitations of actual lots. A second-century stone from Arretium with a dedication to *Aplu Puteś* on one side and perhaps a ritual prescription on another side, as well as lots engraved with Latin texts—a late third-century lot from Veii (*Minerva dei(ve)*), and perhaps another from Chiusi (*lanis tune*)—obviously belong to the same category. Livy (21.65.5) writes that at Caere, the tablets for divination had been reduced in size, an event that Colonna places in the sanctuary of Sant'Antonio dedicated to Rath (=Apollo).³³⁰³ The second category, lead discs, is represented by a disc from Arretium with the name of the deity *śuri* in the genitive. The category of small rectangular bars includes two items: a lot from Viterbo from a sanctuary at La Cipollara engraved with the inscription *śuris savcnes*, dating from the third or second century; and a long lot, engraved with the name Artumes, discovered in the vicinity of the temple of Ara della Regina near Tarquinia, dating to the same time. Finally, the sort which the haruspex C. Fulvius Salvis offers a god on a relief discovered in Ostia may be considered a

depiction of lots.³³⁰⁴ A child would draw a lot from those collected in an urn, a box, or a vase, and hand it to a *sortilegus* priest, who was in charge of reading and interpreting it. Two late second-century urns show an urn, a krater or an amphora placed in a *naiskos* temple, beside which a middle-aged man in the vestments of a priest or a *haruspex* can be seen.³³⁰⁵

3Traditional cults and Romanization

Traditional cults suffered from the destruction of big Etruscan sanctuaries during wars of conquest by the Romans.

In the mid third century, after the capture of the town of Veii in 396, the famous statue of Apollo and other acroterial and votive statues from the sanctuary of Portonaccio in Veii, were buried behind the retaining wall of the embankment above the sanctuary terrace; and many ex-votos, dating from the fifth to the third centuries, were buried in a cistern facing the temple of Portonaccio. A triumph of Q. Marcius Philippus *de Etrusceis*, in fact probably over the Tarquinians, was celebrated in 281. Most edifices of the sanctuary of Gravisca were destroyed during that period. In 280, a triumph of Ti. Coruncanius *cos. de Vulsiensibus et Vulcentibus* was celebrated. In 264, the town of Volsinii was destroyed, its inhabitants were displaced to a new city, Volsinii Novi, and the sanctuary of Voltumna was plundered by the Romans (Plin. *HN* 34.34). The consul M. Fulvius Flaccus is said to have evoked (*evocare*, “called forth to Rome”) the great god of Volsinii Voltumna-Vortumnus, by building a temple for him in Rome. It is even known that M. Fulvius Flaccus who was awarded a triumph *de Vulsiensibus* in 264, was represented in triumphal clothes in the temple of Vortumna on the Aventine (Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* p. 288 s.v. *picta*). He is believed to have dedicated part of his plunder on a round base in the center of the sanctuary of Sant’Omobono at the foot of Capitoline Hill.³³⁰⁶ In 241, the city of Falerii was also destroyed and its inhabitants were displaced to a new city founded for this purpose, Falerii Novi. Minerva, the main goddess of Falerii, is said to have been “imprisoned” in the temple of *Minerva capta* on the Celio. In 273 (Cass. Dio fr. 33), half of the territory of Caere was seized and then colonies, such as Castrum Novum and Pyrgi, were formed all along the Tyrrhenian coast.

These destructions and confiscations brought about a decline in the number of people attending the great sanctuaries of the Archaic period. If the presence of black-glazed ceramic vases and of ex-voto is anything to go by, the sanctuary of Gravisca was reoccupied in the mid third century. Offerings were deposited near the altars and the (statue?) bases as well as in room M, and worshippers went to the Adonion until the Augustan period. Caeretan sanctuaries remained active until the third century, but the last Etruscan ex-votos of the temple of Manganello date from the late second century; the

Veian sanctuaries of Campetti and Macchiagrande experienced a certain loss of interest from the second century onward; and from the mid third century to the first century BCE, mostly black-glazed ceramics and Italic sigillated potteries were deposited in the sanctuary.³³⁰⁷ Etruscan worshippers in some places seem to have resisted the forms of religious Romanization represented by the wearing of veils and *bullae*. In Tarquinia, a city the Romans had difficulties conquering, only ten heads out of 223 were veiled.³³⁰⁸ In Caere, in Manganello,³³⁰⁹ and among the heads of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco,³³¹⁰ the majority of covered heads are not veiled. In Gravisca, the votive head of woman is without veil³³¹¹ and the statuettes of babies in swaddling clothes do not have *bullae*.³³¹² In Fontanile di Legnissina, only one baby of five is adorned with a *bullae*.³³¹³ In Faliscan territory, veiled heads were few and far between, and babies in swaddling clothes had no *bullae*. Narce only delivered one veiled head out of three votive heads,³³¹⁴ and Falerii yielded two veiled heads out of seventeen between the end of the fourth century and the first century BCE—one in Celle, the other in Vignale, and no baby wore a *bullae*.³³¹⁵

In most cases, sanctuaries were simply rearranged or redecorated. In northern Etruria, on the Volterra Acropolis, two temples from the end of the third to the end of the first century BCE were built where there had been a *sacellum* of the early fifth century;³³¹⁶ in Vallebuona, on the Piazza della Pescheria, a temple of the end of the Archaic period was restored in the third and again in the second century;³³¹⁷ in Talamone, where the pediment of temple built on the top of the hill in 225, was redecorated in the first half of the second century with a scene representing the Seven against Thebes.³³¹⁸

It is safe to say that at the end of the second and the beginning of the first centuries BCE, the cults of great deities of the Etruscan pantheon lived on, especially outside of Etruria proper. Blocks with inscriptions of Feltre in Rhaetia (*ET Pa* 4.1) show that there was a cult of Tinia in a sacred edifice. In Tunisia, in Smindja, in an Etruscan-Latin settlement of a colonial type, some *cippi* (*ET Af* 8.1–8) delimit a territory under the protection of Tina and dedicated to the Dardanians (Fig. 38.6).

The continuing activity of sanctuaries is to be related to the influx of exchanges and populations thanks to the building of consular roads and the installation of settlers. Perhaps the continuing activity of Veian sanctuaries after the destruction of the city of Veii in 396 is to be explained by the proximity of the Rome-Nepi-Sutri road and by the building of the Via Cassia. In Macchiagrande, to the northeast of Veii, five third or second century altars have dedications in Latin to Roman gods (*Minerva, Victoria, Jupiter Libertas, Apollo, Dii* and *Deae*).³³¹⁹ In the sanctuary of Portonaccio, again from the third century, Latin colonists visited the altar of Minerva and its annexes, as evidenced by the famous dedication of L. Tolonius to Minerva,³³²⁰ at least until the early second century, when the porticos were destroyed, the cistern blocked, and the altar dismantled. Roman colonization caused a reorientation

of religious practices. The sanctuary of La Catona in Arretium, situated near one of the city's main streets, was newly decorated during the first half of the second century; the new decor took on themes praising Rome (friezes of Celtomachy and Trojan scenes) and celebrating the alliance between Rome and Arretium.

In the late Hellenistic period, official Etruscan cults were replaced by corresponding Roman cults, even in the cities of northern Etruria, but Etruscan particularities survived, like the oracular tradition that was preserved thanks to the aura that still surrounded the Etruscan language. In the countryside, where Romanization may have been slower, traditional cults apparently continued, particularly in gentile groups. A bronze statue, discovered near Perugia in 1566, commonly called *Arringatore* ("the haranguer") because the man represented is standing, his right arm outstretched, his hand raised and open as if making a speech, was perhaps wrongly interpreted too restrictively as the only evidence of a will to display Roman *gravitas* ostentatiously. The presence of a long Etruscan votive dedication engraved on the edge of the toga, dating from the late second century at the earliest,³³²¹ shows that the statue is also an offering of Aule Meteli, son of *Vel* and of *Vesi*, to the god *Tece*, probably dedicated in a sanctuary on the shore of Lake Trasimeno.

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67Economy, 250–89 BCE

Abstract: This chapter explores the economic realities of Etruria from the third through the early first century BCE. These realities include increased contact with Rome as well as changes in demography and social structure. This period also furnishes the strongest evidence for the nature of land ownership, which is provided by boundary markers as well as two important inscriptions (the *Tabula Cortonensis* and the *cippus* of Perugia) that served to adjudicate land.

Keywords: economy, property, Romanization, *latifundia*

Introduction

The experience of Romanization in Etruria was not a monolithic process, and both archaeological and literary evidence document the changes that were occurring in different areas at different times. Significant social transformations were occurring in this general period, beginning with the rebellions at Arezzo in 302 BCE, and at Volsinii in 265–264, both of which targeted the ruling elite. This social discord involving the lower classes—well explored in [chapter 65](#) Marcone—has important economic implications as to labor and ownership during this period.

One aspect of the economic relationship between Rome and the various Etruscan cities can be inferred from the “allies’ shopping list” of goods requisitioned by the Roman state for its expedition to Africa during the Second Punic War in 205 (Livy 28.45.13–18). According to Livy, Populonia offered iron, Caere sent grain, Volterra sent grain and interior fittings for ships, and Arezzo contributed armor, weapons and grain. Perugia, Chiusi, and Roselle sent grain and fir for shipbuilding, and Tarquinia sent linen for sails (see [chapter 68](#) de Angelis). A few observations can be made on the significance of this inventory. First, a large quantity of products was available in Etruria and these goods could be transported across long distances. Second, each city-state and its territory contributed specific products—presumably those that were characteristic of each region or in particular abundance there. The timber of Etruria certainly was abundant, whether it was called on for furniture, ships, containers, pitch, or charcoal for industry (such as the metal industry; e.g. Strabo 5.2.5). We are told that six different city-states contributed grain, a fact that is of great interest given that the combination of intense wartime need within Etruria together with the amount exported for use

by the Romans most probably indicates the existence of a substantial surplus; however, we cannot be certain just what the needs of Scipio Africanus might have been for this fleet.³³²²

1Populonia's continued strength

The metal ores that made Populonia so prosperous and successful in previous periods continued to be mined in the Hellenistic period, producing a large amount of leftover slag (see [chapter 26](#) Corretti). Indeed, it was probably during the Hellenistic period when that vast amount of industrial refuse was dumped over the necropolis of San Cerbone, which lies adjacent to the Gulf of Baratti.³³²³ This action represents an interesting search for space since the San Cerbone necropolis contained tombs ranging in date from the Orientalizing to the Classical periods.

Populonia continued to be a vital port well into the Roman period and remained important as a source of Elban ore. A shipwreck found at Pozzino in the Gulf of Baratti testifies to the international orbit that Populonia continued to enjoy. The cargo of this wreck included a small amount of boxwood for spices or essence (presumably from the east), a Pergamene West Slope Ware cup, and other vessels from the eastern portions of the Mediterranean.³³²⁴ It also contained more than thirty Rhodian amphorae from around 150 BCE, which had once held wine and came to be refilled with dates. The ship also carried iron ingots, which means that the ship was presumably wrecked soon after loading its cargo at Populonia. Not only did Populonia's resources attract the interest of foreign merchants, they also promoted international trade – including exchange with southern Italy – as demonstrated by the ceramics found on site.

From the third to the first centuries, a significant quantity of the wine imported to Populonia came from Campania, as shown both by amphora shapes and epigraphic evidence.³³²⁵ In spite of a booming industry in neighboring Volterra, one third of the black gloss pottery thus far found at Populonia (dating from the second and first centuries) originated in Campania. A passage from Diodorus Siculus may shed light on the ancient relationship between Campania and Populonia (see [chapter 55](#) Becker). Diodorus explains that merchants exported the smelted Elban ore to Dicaearchia or other *emporía* to be worked.³³²⁶ Dicaearchia was founded around 530 BCE and might have been a destination in the Late Archaic period. But by the Roman period, this site was called Puteoli and was the most important Roman port on the Tyrrhenian coast. Puteoli may have been a very important “Mediterranean middle man” in the export of Elban ore at this time, so that its local products, as well as foreign goods collected from other ports, would have been even more likely to be brought from this Roman port to

2Property and property divisions

Beginning in the eighth century, almost as soon as the Etruscans adopted an alphabet, they found it useful to label portable property with their names.³³²⁷ It was only much later in Etruscan history that Etruscans used inscriptions to mark their land. Two boundary stones found near Perugia (Bettona) denote the property boundary (*tular*) of the Larna family: *tular larns* and *tular larna*.³³²⁸ These stones, dating to the fourth and third centuries, are part of a larger group of boundary stones found in northern Etruria and beyond, which served the purpose of separating one area from another. Stones marked the *tular spural* of Fiesole, the boundaries of the city, and the *tular rasnal* of Cortona, the boundaries of the city's early *ager*.³³²⁹ These latter stones do not mark property ownership *per se*, but rather religious and juridical boundaries. These property divisions were so popular that an even more generic boundary marker was found in Spina, stating *mi tular*, "I am a boundary."³³³⁰ Presumably when it was first set in context, it was well known whether the boundary being delineated was public or private.

The religious background for such boundaries is firmly rooted in Etruscan doctrinal practice. Rituals existed, such as the use of a plow to found and demarcate a city's boundaries, which the Romans termed the *sulcus primigenius*. There is also the example of the prophecy of the nymph Vegoia—which specifically advised against moving the boundary stones set by Iuppiter; this prophecy also demonstrates that demarcation had ritual import.³³³¹ Private boundaries were important to the Etruscans, too, which is clear from the *Etrusca disciplina*, the collected body of religious knowledge, which once included a *liber iuris terrae Etruriae* ("book of the law of the land of Etruria").³³³² And while nothing is known about this book regarding its date or specific content, two Etruscan contracts dealing with land possession do exist.

These two contracts, both of the Hellenistic period, reveal a good deal about property ownership. The first contract is the *cippus* of Perugia (third to second cent. BCE), which deals with a boundary dispute recorded on a boundary marker that delineated the adjudicated property.³³³³ This inscription addresses the adjudication of the rights of the families of Larth Afuna and Aule Velthina. Among other things, the inscription details the sharing (or use) of Aule Velthina's property with (or by) Larth Afuna. The *Tabula Cortonensis* (late third to early second cent. BCE), inscribed on a bronze tablet discovered in 1992, also preserves a contract between private people (Fig. 38.2). The Cusu family and Petru Scevas worked out an arrangement concerning the purchase or sale of property.³³³⁴ These contracts allow a privileged look into

real estate owned by individuals and families. Both contracts have an official character, even bearing the names of witnesses. Both contracts deal with precise measurements (adding to their legal character), and the cippus even mentions the term *tularu*, “boundary.” The *Tabula*, on the other hand, has an eponymous date and even has instructions for storing copies of the inscription in private homes for safe-keeping.³³³⁵ A third inscription of potential economic import comes from Tarquinia. This inscription, preserved on a bronze tablet, is only partially legible but does have an eponymous date and seems to be a legal document dealing with a member of the Clevsina family.³³³⁶

These documents, preserved on permanent materials, may reflect many others (such as the copies of the *Tabula Cortonensis* stored in private homes) that may have been recorded on less durable materials. These documents raise many questions about property ownership in the Hellenistic period, and indeed also for earlier periods, from which such contracts have not survived. In legal terms, these inscribed texts also offer important insight into the overlap between public and private law, a topic that is of course better attested in the Roman world, but one that clearly was important in Etruria. This intersection is key in terms of demonstrating the state’s interest in the legalities of land ownership, transfer, and demarcation.

3Population and the changing rural economy

In certain areas of Italy, lands recently annexed by Rome remained the center of ongoing debate—especially with respect to the issue of the allocation of lands classified as *ager publicus*. Rome’s interest in settling both the urban poor and discharged military veterans on these lands resulted in conflict and demographic change. This debate transpired at the same time as other important population-related developments. The Italian population boom—both within the city of Rome and in central Italy—demanded an increase in food production to provide sustenance to the burgeoning populace and avoid famine. In the Roman system, large slave-run estates referred to as *latifundia* began to appear. Aristocrats, often of the senatorial order, owned these large-scale estates that required large numbers of slaves to work the fields; it is no coincidence that increasingly large numbers of slaves were arriving in Italy as a result of Rome’s eastern conquests. The study of this Hellenistic productive model has fueled a vast twentieth-century scholarship focused on the so-called “Slave Mode of Production,” a Marxist-inspired agenda with an interest, above all, in the enslaved and working classes.³³³⁷ This land-use trend did not, however, impact all areas of Etruria in the same way, which has important implications in considering the economy, labor force, and population of Etruria during this time. The areas most affected by Roman colonization were

the coastal areas, as well as regions close to the frontiers of Roman territory.

In 274 or 273, the Romans claimed one half of Caere's territory.³³³⁸ Three maritime colonies were founded shortly afterward by Rome: Castrum Novum (264), Pyrgi (ca.264), and Alsium (247).³³³⁹ Field survey data suggest that population levels in the territories of Caere and Tarquinia increased dramatically during the third and second centuries as rural areas became more densely occupied.³³⁴⁰ Some of these increases might be attributable to Gracchan land settlements (see below), such as a *Colonia Tarquinia* attested in the *Libri coloniarum*, which is suspected to be in Tarquinia's hinterland (and not a re-foundation of the city itself).³³⁴¹ These sites would have helped the economy of Rome's expanding hinterland in two ways, both because they were situated along the coast (allowing increased access to maritime traffic) and because they flanked the *Via Aurelia*, Rome's important northern coastal trunk road. Annalisa Marzano notes that local amphora production can be documented near Gravisca and Pyrgi, which would have accommodated the surplus production of local wine, whether it was produced by Roman or Etruscan farmers.³³⁴²

In 137, Tiberius Gracchus famously traveled through Etruria on his way to Spain, finding the land depopulated and farmed by barbarian slaves (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8.7). This state of affairs encouraged Gracchus to circulate the news in order to support his plans to find land for Rome's urban poor. The increased Roman presence, combined with the testimony supplied by Plutarch, does not necessarily mean that Etruria was full of *latifundia*, the large slave-run villas popular in Late Republican times.

In traveling to Spain, Tiberius Gracchus would have proceeded along the *Via Aurelia*, which passed through Roman territory and many Roman colonies. In the *Ager Cosanus*, for example, through which Gracchus would have had to travel, he would have seen not only large estates, but also small and medium-sized farms.³³⁴³ And while settlement patterns and the process of Romanization vary widely both across Etruria and over time, a similar scenario is found in some other parts of Etruria (see [chapter 65](#) Marcone). For example, the number of small and medium-sized farms continued nearly unabated in areas such as the Mignone Valley, the Tiber Valley, and the Cecina Valley, even after those areas fell under Roman rule.³³⁴⁴ In areas where small and medium-sized farms were located next to large estates (and, of course, large estates were not omnipresent in the increasingly Romanized Etruria), it is possible that these sites could have shared resources.

Two small rural sites in the Cecina Valley do not reflect any disruption in settlement patterns brought on by the Roman conquest, a disruption that some earlier scholars have presumed existed in this period. Instead these sites speak to the survival of traditional small and medium-sized farms even after Romanization. The Cecina Valley farm sites of San Mario (fourth century BCE–fourth century CE) and Podere Cosciano (third century BCE–fifth century CE) both continued to be occupied until late antiquity, with a

reasonably consistent material culture throughout.³³⁴⁵ While these farm sites were not significantly altered, it remains impossible to say whether the owners (or even the ethnicity of the owners) changed over time. In terms of lifeways, the patterns appear to be quite consistent. In addition, it is difficult to document the ethnic ownership of properties such as these farms without epigraphic evidence. An example is the Roman villa at Ossaia (Cortona) that was owned by an elite Etruscan family (*Vibii Pansae*) that had significant connections to Rome, and then came to be owned by Gaius and Lucius Caesar.³³⁴⁶ Another is the farm near Tarquinia owned by the wife of the elite Volterranean Aulus Caecina, the ownership of which was contested by the Roman Sextus Aebutius (Cic. *Caecin.*). Certainly all four of these sites represent the layered Roman and Etruscan occupation of Etruria that occurred increasingly from this period into the Roman era.

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68External Relationships, 250–89 BCE

Abstract: From 250 to 90 BCE, the external relationships of Etruria underwent both a process of radical simplification and a major change in nature. Before the military defeat at the hands of Rome and their incorporation into the latter's system of unequal alliances, Etruscan cities had conducted external affairs independently from one another, often with diverging perspectives and aims. The establishment of Rome's hegemony over Etruria in the first half of the third century BCE caused Rome to become the main—if not the only—term of reference for all Etruscan cities in matters both military and political. Etruria's subordination to Rome, however, did not imply a passive acceptance of the latter's political and military perspective. The analysis of representations of enemies (Celts, Carthaginians) in Etruscan art suggests that the relationship was one of convergence rather than of coincidence. In the second century, there is no evidence for any specifically Etruscan peculiarity in the handling of external affairs, and the main evidence about the relationships with non-Etruscans comes from the cultural sphere.

Keywords: Celts; Carthaginians; Hannibalic wars; Romanization

Introduction

From 250 to 90 BCE, the external relationships of Etruria underwent both a process of radical simplification and a major change in nature.³³⁴⁷ Before the military defeat at the hands of Rome and their incorporation into the latter's system of unequal alliances, Etruscan cities had conducted external affairs independently from one another, often with diverging perspectives and aims. From the point of view of the individual communities, external relationships in the strictest sense concerned not only ethnically different groups, such as Romans or Gauls, but also other Etruscan cities. Unfortunately, the Romanocentric perspective of Livy's account of fourth- and early third-century history does not provide direct evidence for relationships between the Etruscan cities, and only allows us to make inferences based on his information about the diverse and shifting attitudes of each of them towards Rome. However, the well-known scene from the François Tomb, which features a group of armed companions led by the Vulcentan hero Avle Vipinas as they conduct a surprise attack on a coalition of enemies from other cities—both Etruscan and non-Etruscan—likely echoes the fourth-century political constellations in mythological guise.³³⁴⁸

The establishment of Rome's hegemony over Etruria in the first quarter of the third century, followed by its consolidation after the destruction of Volsinii

in 264, as well as its re-foundation as Volsinii Novi, caused Rome to become the main—if not the only—term of reference for all Etruscan cities in matters both military and political. Divisions and differences between Etruscan cities did not disappear, but they became largely irrelevant. The best piece of evidence for this is the information about the support given by the communities of central Italy to Scipio Africanus’ campaign against Carthage in 205:

“First the Etruscan communities promised that they would aid the consul, each according to its own resources. The men of Caere promised grain for the crews and supplies of every kind, the men of Populonium iron, Tarquinii linen for sails, Volaterrae the interior fittings of ships, also grain. Arretium promised three thousand shields, an equal number of helmets; and that they would furnish a total of fifty thousand javelins, short spears and lances, with an equal proportion of each type; also axes, shovels, sickles, baskets and hand-mills, as many as were needed for forty war-ships; a hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat also; and that they would contribute allowances 3 for petty officers and oarsmen. Perusia, Clusium and Rusellae promised fir for shipbuilding and a great quantity of grain.”³³⁴⁹ (see [chapter 67](#) Becker)

As Livy’s text makes clear, each city contributed according to its own craft specialization and economic capacity. This differentiation, however, which was now put into the service of Rome’s projects, no longer carried strong implications on the political level. Almost paradoxically, from the mid third century onward, treating Etruria as a unitary historical actor from Rome’s point of view, no longer presents a problematic distortion as it had previously. It is perhaps not coincidental that precisely in this period several new representations of Etruscan myths and legends occur in the archaeological evidence, testifying to a new sense of communal identity. What is striking is not the occurrence of these myths per se, but the fact that they are not bound to one particular center. For example, the Vibenna brothers, who appear to be connected with Vulci in the first place, are also attested in Volsinii, Clusium, Volaterrae; and so is the seer Cacui, who plays a role in the Vibenna legend and for whom there is evidence from Perusia, in addition to the cities just mentioned. Similarly, the anonymous Etruscan “plough hero” is known from both Clusium and Volaterrae. The diffusion of these myths suggests that it is not their local dimension that matters, but rather their potential to appeal to a wider Etruscan (if not pan-Etruscan) public.³³⁵⁰

1Reactions to invaders: the Celts and the Carthaginians

The Etruscan subordination to Rome, however, did not imply the former’s passive acceptance of the latter’s political and military perspective. We should

understand the relationship to be one of convergence rather than of coincidence. This situation is especially apparent in the initial phase of the period under consideration, when the system of relationships was still comparatively new. The most indicative of such phenomena are the Etruscan reactions to the Celts and the Carthaginians, as they are attested in both visual and literary sources.

The last third of the third century saw an unprecedented proliferation of images with Celts, especially in funerary art. Scenes of battles against the Celts, images showing them plundering a sanctuary and being repelled by divinities, and allegories where Celts or Celtic elements are attributed a symbolic value—such representations are often attested on the cinerary urns and sarcophagi of northern Etruria, and especially in Clusium (Figs. 68.1., 68.2).³³⁵¹ Iconographic parallels, especially those of the Celts as pillagers, are often attested on artifacts from other centers in Italy—most notably, the ceramic relief vessels from the Latin colony of Cales in Campania and the frieze of Civitalba in the Marche.³³⁵² This coincidence apparently indicates the adhesion to a Roman point of view by the Etruscans in their definition of the “Other” as threatening, dangerous, and sacrilegious. Particularly so, since the other examples come from areas that have strong links with Rome. The most eloquent confirmation of such a hypothesis is to be found in Polybius, where he describes the reactions to the Gallic invasion in Italy that eventually led to the battle of Talamone in 225:

“There was universal terror in Rome, for the danger threatening them was believed to be great and formidable. And naturally so: for the old fear of the Gauls had never been eradicated from their minds. No one thought of anything else: they were incessantly occupied in mustering the legions, or enrolling new ones, and in ordering up such of the allies as were ready for service. [...] From every side assistance was eagerly rendered; for the inhabitants of Italy, in their terror at the Gallic invasion, no longer thought of the matter as a question of alliance with Rome, or of the war as undertaken to support Roman supremacy, but each people regarded it as a danger menacing themselves and their own city and territory. The response to the Roman appeal therefore was prompt.”³³⁵³



Fig. 68.1.: Sarcophagus with Celtomachy, from Chiusi, last quarter of the third century. Florence, National Archaeological Museum (Photo SAT 28075)

This passage famously introduces the list of Italian allies of the Romans, including a calculation of the amount of troops contributed by each of them—a piece of information that ultimately goes back to the *formula togatorum*, the Roman mustering list, which might have been set up for the first time precisely on this occasion.³³⁵⁴ The Etruscans are mentioned alongside other Italic peoples by Polybius, and appear to be fully integrated within Rome's perspective. Particularly significant is the historian's reference to the *metus Gallicus*, the archetypal Roman fear of the Gauls as the dangerous enemy *par excellence*; here it is said to be shared by the Italian allies as well.³³⁵⁵ Indeed, the scenes featuring Celts on the Etruscan funerary monuments have a comparable emotional charge. They are frightful representations of turmoil and chaotic events that threaten to disrupt the normal order. The adoption of such an image of the Celts is all the more significant since Etruscans and Celts had just recently fought on the same side against the Romans, even though unsuccessfully, at the battles of Sentinum (295) and lake Vadimo (283).

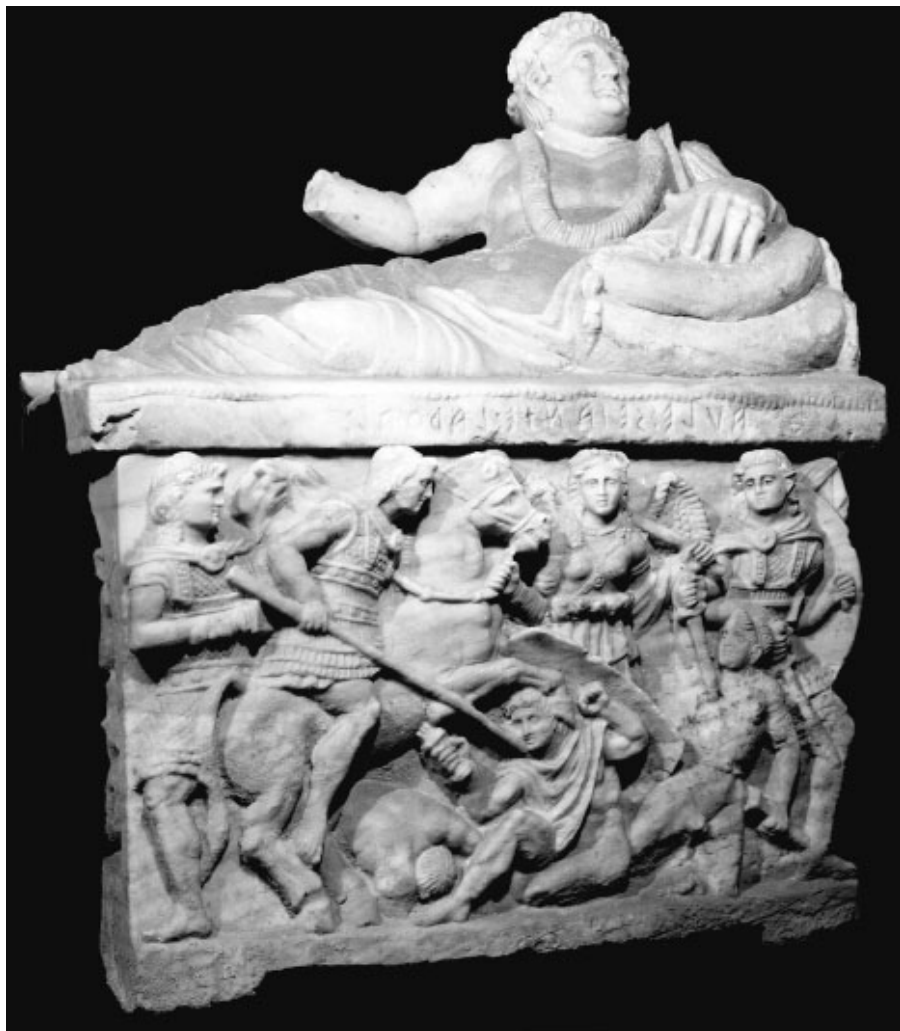


Fig. 68.2: Cinerary urn with horseman and Celts, last quarter of the third century. Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina (Photo SAT 63632–2.)

As suggested both by Polybius and the monuments, however, the alignment of the Etruscans with Rome's perspective was not the only factor at play in their perception of the enemy. Polybius explicitly states that the Italian *socii* of the Romans were first and foremost anxious about their own cities and territories. The acceptance of Rome's hegemony was the almost unintended consequence—rather than the cause of—the emotions triggered by the Celts. Similarly, despite all affinities, many of the Etruscan funerary monuments display scenes that could hardly be reconciled with what we know about Roman triumphal imagery. In many cases the represented battles do not have a clear winner (Fig. 68.1); the uncertainties of fighting rather than the celebration of victory are their main theme. Moreover, even those scenes that show warriors prevailing over the Celts do not show a univocal laudatory

character. The best example is provided by a series of urns from Chiusi that feature a horseman who is about to pierce with his spear a kneeling or fallen Celt in front of him. Despite his state of inferiority, the latter is consistently shown thrusting his sword into the chest of the horse (Fig. 68.2). The victory of the horseman, therefore, is far from unconditional. Given that these images were used for female burials just as often as for male ones, they are unlikely simply to have commemorated the heroic deeds of the deceased. Rather, they probably served to connote the fears concerning the potential diminishment of one's status caused by death, in analogy with the loss of the horse, as well as to implicitly evoke the dangers associated with traveling to the underworld.³³⁵⁶ Such usage of the memory of military events in the sepulchral context in late third-century Etruria stands in contrast with what we know from coeval Rome. Monuments such as the frescoed tomb of Fabius (or Fannius) from the Esquiline show much more explicit affinities with the imagery of the public sphere.³³⁵⁷

The differences between Etruria and Rome in visualizing military interactions with foreigners are at least partially due to the different ways in which autonomy in external affairs, or the lack thereof, affected the internal political and social situation. In Rome, success in war entailed immediate and very visible benefits for the city and the community, and thus represented a major prerequisite for a successful political career and the legitimation of status. The same could not have been the case in allied Etruria, where the victorious outcome of a military endeavor did not contribute directly to the aggrandizement of one's own city. This does not mean we can rule out the possibility that the Etruscan elites used the military sphere to reinforce their social superiority. Nevertheless, the aforementioned peculiarities in the funerary imagery of battles clearly suggests that the new order in Etruria made the historical experience of war available for purposes other than political celebration.

Such a distinction between Roman and Etruscan perspectives with regard to external relationships can be confirmed by considering the other major military enterprise on Italian ground in the late third century—that is, the Hannibalic wars.³³⁵⁸ In this case, the evidence is literary rather than visual. Direct impact of Hannibal's army in Etruria was limited to the very initial phase of the war. The territory of Cortona was subject to plundering by the Carthaginians and their allies on the occasion of the battle on the lake Trasimene in 217. Soon thereafter, Hannibal left Etruria and the region did not witness any further attacks by him. The reasons for his absence from Etruria are debated. It could either be due to the awareness of Etruria's basic loyalty to Rome, or an attempt to ingratiate himself with the Etruscans by keeping the theater of war away from the region. In any case, Livy reports several episodes in the following years that suggest Etruscan dissatisfaction with Roman rule.³³⁵⁹ Such dissatisfaction need not have been a widespread one. These episodes should be seen in the context of the wider challenges that the

Carthaginian presence raised against Rome's hegemony in Italy, and cannot be generalized. Nevertheless, they indicate that Etruscan and Roman perspectives with respect to Hannibal did not coincide. It is quite significant that no battle scenes involving Carthaginians occur in Etruscan art of the period. The Punic wars did not trigger fears in Etruria, comparable to the *metus Punicus* of the Romans, and consequently, the Etruscans did not perceive the Carthaginians to be their archetypal enemies as it was the case with the Celts.³³⁶⁰ The only Etruscan image that may be linked to the Hannibalic wars—a numismatic series, mainly found in the Valdichiana area, with the head of an African on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse (Colour plate 12)—has been interpreted in diverging ways, as an expression of either philo-Punic or anti-Punic sentiments.³³⁶¹

On the practical level, however, the distinction of the Etruscan perspective from Rome's one did not have major military consequences. As already mentioned, all major Etruscan cities did contribute to Scipio's successful expedition to Africa in 205. And the only other military event for which Etruscan participation is explicitly recorded, attests to them heroically fighting on the Roman side. This is the siege of Casilinum, the town near Capua, in 216–215. Troops from Perugia and Praeneste resisted against Hannibal for several months before negotiating a honorable surrender—an episode possibly alluded to in the famous funerary inscription of Laris Felsnas, an Etruscan of northern origins, buried in Tarquinii at the age of 106 years.³³⁶² In a sense, therefore, the Hannibalic wars represented the litmus test for Etruria's loyalty to Rome's line. It is not by chance that the highest concentration of battle scenes in the funerary art of the Etruscan elites dates to those years, that is, in the last period when an autonomous stance of the Etruscan cities was conceivable, at least in principle. By the second century, the military domain does not provide evidence for any Etruscan peculiarity in their handling of external affairs. Instead, the main evidence for their relationships with non-Etruscans comes from the cultural sphere.

2Etruscan culture and foreign cultures

The relevance of the cultural dimension in the Etruscan relationships with foreigners is already evident in the images of enemies discussed above. The proliferation of Etruscan representations of Celts, as opposed to the complete absence of those of the Carthaginians, is not simply due to the different perception that the Etruscans harbored against them. On the other hand, it is also linked to the role of the Celts in contemporary Greek culture and art. As it is well known, since the early third century, the Galatian invasions in Greece and Asia Minor had had a profound impact on the Greek imagination, triggering a flowering of discourses, images, and rituals, which echoed in

many corners of the Mediterranean.³³⁶³ In fact, the majority of the iconographic features that occur on Etruscan funerary monuments resonate with what we know of the Greek imagery of that period. It is therefore quite likely that the representations of Celtomachies were not simply a way for the Etruscans to express the emotions related to their own historical experiences; it also allowed them to make sense of these experiences within the broader ideological and conceptual frame of the Hellenistic world. In other words, they were a means to establish cultural connectivity to, and thereby reassert Etruscan participation in, the contemporary Greece-driven discourse on civilization.

Etruria's relationship with Greek culture was a long-established fact, and it was by no means an innovation of the mid Hellenistic age. The new factor here, however, was the growing role of Rome, which was not only attracting Greek architects and artists in increasing numbers, but through military expansion and looting it was becoming the main actor in providing a direct contact with Greek historical art and culture.³³⁶⁴

Nonetheless, the degree to which Etruria's relationship with the Greek world was conditioned by Rome's mediation is indeed questionable. It is true, for example, that several features on the funerary urns from northern Etruria find more or less close echoes in Rome. Scholars have compared the classicizing tendencies seen in the portraiture on Volterranean urn lids of the second half of the second century to the so-called neo-Attic artistic trends in Rome. Similar instances of attenuated pathos, including the visual formulae connected with *revixit-ars*-artists, also occur in the figural scenes on the caskets of the urns.³³⁶⁵ More generally, the chosen mythological themes for decorating the urns are broadly comparable to those popular in Roman theater; some scholars have even postulated an influence of Roman funerary spectacles on corresponding Etruscan practices.³³⁶⁶ Even the use of "baroque" and Pergamene stylistic features has been attributed to the presence of artisans brought to Italy by Roman generals.³³⁶⁷

Yet, all these phenomena should be understood in terms of a generic convergence rather than a direct imitation from Rome. The attenuation of pathos, for example, is not particularly a feature with Roman origins, but involves more generally Greek Hellenistic art. Moreover, given that there is no systematic and consistent use of classicizing principles detectable on the urns, some of the aforementioned features may be explained in terms of formal developments internal to the urn workshops.³³⁶⁸ Similarly, many of the myths attested on the urns occur in Etruscan art (as well as in southern Italian funerary art, for that matter) well before the third century; and the evidence for Etruscan comparanda to Roman funerary games is scanty at best.

Quite significantly, several elements that count among the most distinctive features of the Roman reception of Greek art in this period are absent in Etruria. To name only the most eloquent examples, second-century Etruscan temple architecture displays none of the innovations brought about in Rome

by the presence of Greek architects such as Hermodoros of Salamis, the author of the peripteral marble temple of Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli and of Mars in *Circo*.³³⁶⁹ And conversely, a striking new feature in Etrusco-Italic architectural decoration, the multi-register composition of the pediment of Talamone, is not attested in Rome or in any other areas directly influenced by Rome. Likewise, the increased usage of marble in Roman art and architecture does not cause intensified exploitation of the Luna quarries by the Etruscans. While Carrara marble is indeed used for Etruscan Hellenistic monuments, it remains a local phenomenon and, as its usage is already attested in the Archaic period, it is clearly not a reaction to Rome's example.³³⁷⁰ Hellenizing features in Etruscan art should, therefore, not be understood as covert signs of Roman cultural influence, let alone of Romanization. Rome's traces in the cultural sphere in Etruria were restricted to very specific domains, especially in those areas that were in closest contact with Rome. So, for example, the use of abbreviations in the filiation of onomastic formulae (i.e., the use of "c." and "s." for *clan*, "son", and *sech*, "daughter") in the funerary epigraphy of Caere was a direct imitation of Roman conventions, and it is certainly to be seen in conjunction with the special status of this southern Etruscan city as *municipium sine suffragio*, since the fourth century.³³⁷¹

This relative autonomy from Rome with respect to Etruria's cultural relationships with Greece, however, does not imply any serious form of resistance on the part of the Etruscans. The colonies and prefectures founded on former Etruscan territory, the consular roads that ran through Etruria, and the individual enfranchisements of Etruscans—and their occasional acceptance into the Roman senate—were all factors that contributed to a growing integration.³³⁷² The Etruscan opposition to the laws of M.Livius Drusus in 91, on the eve of the Social War, was mainly directed against the possibility of a redistribution of land, and does not seem to have been driven by considerations concerning Roman citizenship. As a matter of fact, even though the Etruscans appear to have joined the rebels for a short time in 90, they readily (if not "happily," as stated by Appian) accepted Roman citizenship under the conditions of the *lex Julia de civitate*.³³⁷³ From that point on, the history of the Etruscan cities became an integral part of the history of the Roman state, and their external relationships only survived in the domain of historical commemoration.³³⁷⁴

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V. Topography of Etruria

Philip Perkins

69The landscape and environment of Etruria

Abstract: Etruria, homeland of the Etruscans, lies on the western coast of Italy to the north of Rome between the Tiber and the Arno rivers. This hilly region is defined by its low-lying coast and the rugged Apennine mountains to the north and east. Since the Etruscan period the sea level is little changed but there has been significant soil erosion modifying the hills and valleys. The climate in the Etruscan period was similar to today's but human action has modified the vegetation cover. To conclude, the major landscape zones of Etruria are briefly described.

Keywords: geology, mountain, river, drainage basin, environment

1General location

Etruria, homeland of the Etruscans, lies on the western coast of Italy to the north of Rome (Fig. 69.1). Its approximate boundary to the south and west is the Tiber River, which flows from Monte Fumaiolo in the Casentino through northern Umbria past Perugia and Orvieto and then to Rome and the sea at Ostia. To the north, Etruria is approximately bounded by the Arno River flowing from Monte Falterona past Florence and Pisa to the sea. To the west, Etruria is washed by the Tyrrhenian Sea, part of the Mediterranean Sea enclosed between Italy and the large islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. Off shore lies the Tuscan archipelago, an arc of small islands the largest of which are Giglio, Elba, and Capraia. These, along with Corsica, are all visible from the mainland.

In general terms, the sea level along the coast of Etruria over the past 4,000 years has been stable, with an estimated change in effective sea level from approximately -2.0 m to -1.0 m below present levels, between 4,000 and 2,000 years before the present.³³⁷⁵ Compared to the contemporary coastline, sea levels not much more than 1.0 m lower than present will have created only localized differences in the shoreline or susceptibility to inundation, given that the tidal range in the Tyrrhenian Sea is approximately 0.4 m. Sea currents tend to circulate clockwise around the Tyrrhenian Sea.

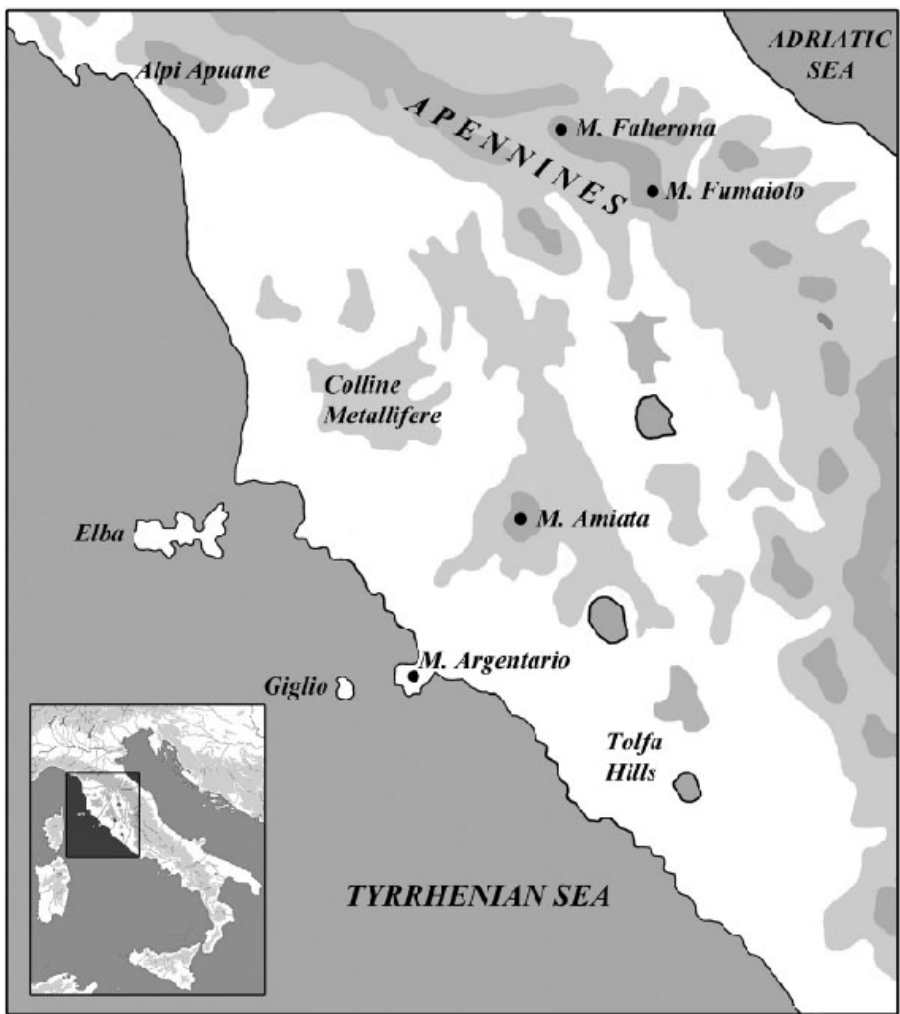


Fig. 69.1: Altitude and mountains in Etruria

2Geology and Geomorphology

The northern part of the Italian peninsula was shaped by two ongoing geological processes. In the Mesozoic period (approximately 250 million–56 million years ago), sedimentary rocks formed in the Tethys Sea which lay between landmasses that were to become the continents of Europe and Africa. Toward the end of this period, the tectonic collision of the African and European plates caused these rocks to be formed into mountains, and a complex process of folding and faulting created the Apennine Mountains. As part of this process, the earth's crust to the west of the Apennines was

stretched and fractured in a series of faults that created the northwest-to-southeast ridges and valleys that provide structure to the Eastern parts of Etruria, through which now flow the Tiber, Arno, and the Val di Chiana. These separate the Apennine mountains from the mountains of Tuscany and Lazio that are sometimes called the Pre-Apennines or Anti-Apennines.

In the southern part of Etruria, this basic structure is overlaid by volcanic hills and plains created by a sequence of volcanic activity between 600,000 and 90,000 years ago. Although now extinct, the volcanoes are still visible in the landscape. The Alban hills south of Rome preserve the typical conical shape of volcanoes, and lakes now fill their calderas at the mountaintops. In southern Etruria, volcanic lakes and the remains of volcanoes punctuate the landscape at Lake Bracciano, Lake Vico and Lake Bolsena. These craters are surrounded by a thick layer of pyroclastic flows and ash deposits that have formed the *tuffo* rock characteristic of the region that extends over most of the lower Tiber valley and southern Etruria as far north as the Fiora River.³³⁷⁶

Farther to the north, in the center of Etruria but easily visible from Siena, is another older and larger extinct volcano, Monte Amiata, the highest point in Etruria (1,738m). Yet older volcanism is responsible for the volcanic dome of the Tolfa Mountains (579m) and the islands of Elba, Capraia, and granitic Giglio. Much of the remaining hilly areas of Tuscany are a complex mixture of Pliocene and Miocene clays, sandstones and marls, and Triassic schists. These were originally marine or lacustrine deposits, which were subsequently folded, faulted, and uplifted by tectonic activity.

The tectonic processes that have formed Etruria are still active, and earth tremors are common. However, in historic times, destructive tectonic activity (8+ on the Mercalli scale) has been rare outside the mountainous Apennine regions that form the boundaries of Etruria.³³⁷⁷ Less intense earth movements can cause severe damage in insubstantial stone and mud-brick Etruscan-type buildings and cause death and injury, but destructive or violent earthquakes are very unlikely to have been a significant cause of widespread devastation or socio-political change in Etruria.

The relatively soft geology of much of Etruria, along with torrential seasonal rainfall, has created a highly eroded landscape in many areas. Since the Pleistocene Period, ravines and canyons have formed in the relatively level volcanic *tuffo* landscape of southern Etruria. In other parts of Tuscany, erosion and gullyng of soft limestones, sandstones, clays, and marls, particularly when landscapes are deforested, has created steep V-shaped valleys and dissected ranges of hills. Nearer the coasts and in wider valley bottoms, the eroded material has accumulated as thick, level deposits of colluvium (hillwash) and alluvial deposits (river-borne silts). In many areas, mixed deposits of clays with other rock types create ideal conditions for landslips, particularly in areas of steep slopes or already eroded land. These actively eroding landscapes have led to the filling of valley bottoms, so that they typically have steeply sloping sides and wide, flat bottoms. Repeated

phases of deposition and down-cutting have often caused series of river terraces to be created on the flanks of the valleys. Such erosion has been accelerated over the past 5,000 years due to human action causing deforestation, which is often linked to agricultural activity or demand for timber. As a result, the presence of ancient sites in valley bottoms is highly likely to be masked by later deposits that have prevented their discovery by techniques such as field survey and aerial photography. Landscape change of this type could well mean that sites from the early Etruscan period are underrepresented in the archaeological record because they have not been detected beneath thick layers of river sediment.³³⁷⁸ A further effect of this erosion has been the creation of small river deltas at the mouths of the Tiber, Ombrone, and Arno.

3Environmental change and vegetation

The climate, environment and vegetation in the Etruscan period were generally similar to those of the present day. The most significant difference has been caused by extensive clearance of lowland forested areas for agricultural purposes in the Roman and especially recent periods. This has been followed by soil erosion on hills and slopes. Another important change has been the draining of coastal areas, in the first half of the twentieth century, which has dried up coastal lagoons and marsh land and enabled the cultivation of areas that were previously pasture or uncultivated land.

The Tuscan climate is characterized by its strong seasonality with hot dry summers and cooler humid winters and most rain in spring and fall, but it varies considerably, particularly with altitude.³³⁷⁹ Lower areas have a typical Mediterranean climate, but higher land has a more temperate climate (see Table 1).³³⁸⁰

Evidence from lake cores, pollen records, and glacier advances suggests that Tuscany, in common with western Europe, experienced a cooler and wetter period in the first half of the first millennium BCE that was similar to current conditions and was followed by a warmer and dryer period until the third century CE.³³⁸¹ This climatic variation drove changes in the natural vegetation in the Etruscan period with an increase in the proportion of turkey oaks (*Quercus cerris*) and pines (*Pinus sylvestris*) and a decrease in the proportion of the more drought-tolerant holm oaks (*Quercus ilex*) and downy oaks (*Quercus pubescens*). These changes need to be seen in the context of a general reduction in tree cover that was caused by human activity from the Bronze Age onward. At the same time, there was an increase in the proportions of Mediterranean scrub (Fr. *maquis*, It. *macchia*) plants, such as juniper (*Juniperus*), and tree heather (*Erica arborea*), which are useful for making charcoal. Alongside these changes there was an increase in the

proportion of economically important cultivated and wild plants, particularly the olive (*Olea europaea*), vines (*Vitis vinifera*), sweet chestnuts (*Castanea sativa*), walnuts (*Juglans*), and hazel (*Corylus avellana*), matched by an increase in weeds of cultivation.³³⁸² Modern introductions, now common in Tuscany and Lazio, such as acacias, sunflowers, maize (corn), and tomatoes, would not have featured in the Etruscan landscape.

Table 1: Climatic and vegetation zones (adapted from Blasi et al. 1999, table 2 and Bartolini et al. 2008, table 1).

Zone	Mean temperature (°C)	Mean Summer temperature (°C)	Mean temperature in coldest month (°C)	Rainfall (mm)	Dry Period	Vegetation	Type
Coastal	15.5	26	3.5	616–826	3–6 months	Maquis, mixed oak / holm oak / cork oak woods	Mediterranean
Hilly areas near coast	15	28.5	3	813–1000	3 months	Maquis, turkey oak / mixed oak / holm oak / cork oak woods	Mediterranean
Hilly interior	14	26	1	962–1189	2 months	Chestnut woods, turkey oak / mixed oak / holm oak woods	Transitional
Higher hilly	13	26	1	1156–1397	1 month	Beech woods, chestnut woods, turkey oak / mixed oak / holm oak woods	Temperate
Lower mountain	11	21.5	1	1159–1447	0 months	Mixed deciduous woods, beech woods, chestnut woods, mixed oak / holm oak woods, spanish broom shrublands	Temperate
Upper mountain	7.5	21.5	–3	1430–1586	0 months	Beech woods, high altitude shrublands, mixed deciduous woods	Temperate

4Regions, districts, and land forms

4.1Coastal zone

The coast of Etruria forms a sub-region known as the Maremma. It is characterized by a low-lying coastal strip that rapidly transitions to steep hills, which would have been wooded, as most are now. Flatter areas of land only occur in the flanks of the river valleys where Pliocene or Pleistocene river terraces survive at a higher level than the contemporary river flood plains. Along the coastline, sea currents have created sandbars and coastal dunes parallel to the coast that caused lagoons to form. Together, in the Etruscan period, the river mouths and lagoons created an environment along the coast consisting of marshy areas and stretches of shallow brackish water that made the coastal strip narrower than at present. Few lagoons now survive, due to silting up as a result of soil erosion and human land drainage and reclamation activities. Only at Orbetello and Lake Massaciuccoli, near Pisa, are they of any size, but in Etruscan times the lagoons extended along much of the coast and were particularly extensive around the mouths of the Albegna and the Ombrone (ancient Lake Prile) and Pisa. At the mouth of the Ombrone, landscape change caused by the desiccation of Lake Prile has significantly affected the local environment of the hilltop Etruscan cities of Vetulonia and Roselle, which were formerly close to the shores of the extensive lagoon and are now much farther from access to the sea.³³⁸³ The low-lying coastal strip is divided into discrete areas at regular intervals where hills meet the sea directly. At Civitavecchia, the Tolfa hills close off the coastal strip that runs northward from the mouth of the Tiber. Continuing north, Monte Argentario and Poggio di Léccio separate the coastal strip around Tarquinia and Vulci from the Albegna Valley, which in turn is separated from the Ombrone valley by the Monti dell'Uccellina, and the pattern of alternating stretches of flat coastland and hill continues up the coast of Tuscany.

4.2Mountains

Other than the sea, the dominant geographic feature that defines Etruria is the arc of the Apennine mountains that encloses Etruria (Fig. 69.1). To the north and east, these high, rugged limestone mountains separate Etruria from the Po Valley and continental Europe and from the eastern coastline of Italy and the Adriatic Sea. To the south of the Tiber River, limestone mountains and the volcanic Alban Hills rise to between 1,000 and 2,000 m, completing the arc of

mountains that surrounds Etruria. Although the Apennines rise to between 1,500 and 3,000 m, there are many passes below 1,000m which provide crossing points in the mountain chain. Even if the Arno and Tiber Rivers form the traditional boundaries of Etruria, it is the mountains that define the region and local ecosystems.

In the northwest of Etruria, the Alpi Apuane rise steeply to nearly 2,000 m within 4 km of the sea. From there, the Apennines continue eastward, forming the northern flank of the Arno Valley. To the north of Florence, the upper reaches of the Sieve River form an upland basin, the Mugello, between the folds of the mountains, which creates a micro region between the Arno and the Po Valley to the north. Farther to the southwest, the upper reaches of the Arno Valley constitute the Casentino, a similar, inaccessible, mountain basin. The upper reaches of the Tiber, forming the traditional boundary of Etruria, also flow between high mountains. In contrast, Monte Amiata, in the center of Etruria, does not act in the same way as a barrier: river valleys tend to radiate from the mountain.

4.3 Drainage basins

Inland from the coast, Etruria is typically hilly. In southern Etruria the volcanic *tuffo* created a level plateau that has subsequently been eroded by torrential rivers creating deep ravines leaving long, narrow, and flat fingers of land between (Fig. 69.2). This landscape is characteristic of the areas around Viterbo and to the north of Rome. Farther north, the hills are dissected by steep valley slopes, and the only flat areas are valley bottoms.

In Etruria, the major river valleys of the Tiber, Ombrone, and Arno define the topography and natural divisions of the land. The Tiber drainage basin dominates the territories of the ancient cities of Rome, Caere, Veii, Orvieto, and Perugia. Large stretches of the river were navigable, perhaps as far inland as Orvieto. On the Etruscan bank of the river, a series of small rivers drains from the extinct volcanoes cutting across the *tuffo* plateaus either into the Tiber to the east or into the sea. The largest of these, the Arrone River, flows from the caldera lake of Bracciano to the sea between the mouth of the Tiber and Caere. Farther north, the Marta River drains the lake of Bolsena, which is otherwise enclosed by the volcanic crater rim of the Volsini Mountains, into the sea near Tarquinia. Northeast of the lake, near Orvieto, the Paglia River, the largest tributary of the Tiber, flows from the slopes of Monte Amiata in the center of Etruria to join the Tiber. The Paglia Valley rapidly narrows as the terrain becomes more mountainous. The Tiber itself flows from the east, cutting down from its wide valley in the folds of the Apennines which cross Umbria from northwest to southeast (Fig. 69.3).

To the west the minor rivers flow from the volcanic mountains toward the sea in a generally northeast-to-southwest direction. The Fiora River rises on

the southern slopes of Monte Amiata, flowing toward Vulci and the sea, approximately marking the boundary between the volcanic areas of southern and sedimentary areas of northern Etruria. Slightly farther west, the Albegna River flows from Monte Labbro to the sea just to the north of the Lagoon of Orbetello. The Ombrone is much larger and in the Etruscan period drained much of northern Etruria into Lake Prile, now dry, which lay in the plains around Grosseto. The Ombrone rises deep in the interior of Etruria near Siena and takes a winding route through the dissected and eroded landscape of Etruria's interior. Its many tributaries drain the northern slopes of Monte Amiata, the hills of Chianti, and the Colline Metallifere, creating a very extensive but heterogeneous drainage basin that incorporates much of central Etruria.



Fig. 69.2: Drainage basins in Etruria

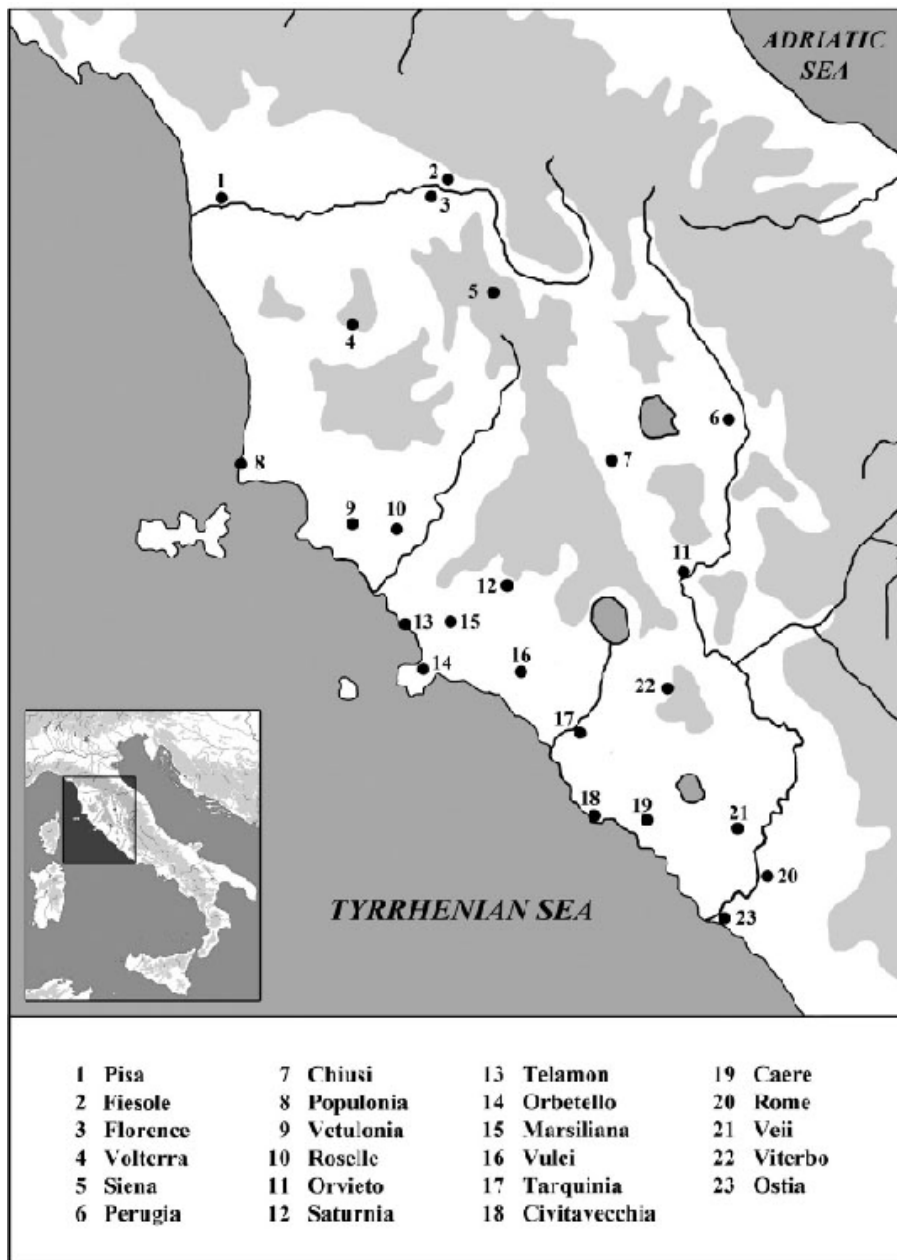


Fig. 69.3: Major sites in Etruria (Rome and Ostia in Latium vetus)

Northern Etruria is defined by the Arno River. It rises in the Apennines and flows south, only to loop back toward the north enclosing the Prato Magno, a hilly area of woodlands and upland summer pastures. The river flows north through a wide and deep valley to the east of the Chianti hills. The convoluted course of the river was determined by a series of geomorphological changes in the drainage pattern of central Etruria. Initially, the Arno flowed south past

Chiusi through the Val di Chiana to become a tributary of the Tiber flowing from the north of Etruria. In the Pleistocene, this route reversed due to silting, and the Arno subsequently flowed north toward Florence. The Val Di Chiana is still a significant valley in central Etruria, and in the Etruscan period it was marshy and contained shallow lakes; now only the small Lake Chiusi and Lake Montepulciano have survived modern drainage schemes. Slightly to the west, between the Val Di Chiana and Perugia, is Lake Trasimene. At over 125 km² it is the largest lake in peninsular Italy, but it is extremely shallow (4 m deep), and its level—and therefore its size—fluctuates with varying rainfall: it is likely to have been larger in the Etruscan period.

Returning to the Arno, at Florence the river flows into a wide, flat-bottomed rift valley which is now largely occupied by Florence, Prato, and Pistoia, but was, in Etruscan times, dominated by Fiesole in the east and the newly discovered urban settlement at Gonfienti in the center. To the southeast, the Arno cuts through the ridge of the Chianti hills and Monte Albano and flows east toward Pisa and the sea. This lower stretch of the Arno flows through a wide valley that in historic times has been susceptible to flooding. Between Empoli and Montecatini lie the Fucécchio marshes, a former lake, and in the Etruscan period a branch of the Sérchio River (the ancient Auser) flowed into the Arno near Biéntina, creating an extensive marshy area. The low-lying area around Pisa would have been marshy with coastal lagoons in the Etruscan period, and today only Lake Massaciuccoli survives to the west of Lucca, near where the Sérchio now flows into the sea. To the south of the Arno the parallel Era and Elsa Rivers flow from the southeast to the northwest, connecting Siena and Volterra to the Arno Valley.

To the East of Volterra, the Cécina River flows directly to the Tyrrhenian Sea. The Cécina, along with the smaller Córnia, Pécora, and Bruna, drain from the Colline Metallifere into the sea, rapidly transitioning from steeply sloped valleys to the flat coastal strip. In the Etruscan period, the Bruna flowed into Lake Prile, along with the Ombrone.

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Andrea Zifferero

70Southern Etruria

Abstract: Southern Etruria is the region between the Tyrrhenian coast and the right bank of the Tiber. It includes Veii, Caere, Tarquinii, the Faliscan and Capenate ager, Vulci and Vulcian territory as far as the Albegna Valley, Volsinii and the southwest area of Lake Bolsena centered around Bisenzio, and finally, Perugia and the Tiber Valley. The geomorphology of the region—with an accessible coastline with numerous landings and tufa plateaus of 150 or more hectares—encouraged the formation of cities and the development of important ports. Systematic excavations have identified Final Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlements with proto-urban characteristics on tufa plateaus surrounded by outcrops with necropolises. Beginning in the second half of the eighth century BCE, settlements developed from proto-urban centers into historic cities, with the definitive organization of plateaus that were fortified in exposed areas, and elaborate necropolises, including fossa tombs, chamber tombs, and tumuli that reflected the gentilicial structure of resident communities. Aristocracies were clearly dominant in this period. Excavations have highlighted the flourishing of minor settlements in city-controlled territories, imitating Etruscan cities on a minor scale with plateaus of 5–10 ha and nearby necropolises. Between the Late Orientalizing and the Archaic periods, the progressive development of crafts, together with the increasing population of the countryside, supported the significant production of cereals, wine, and oil. These phenomena hint at the rise of social classes associated with agricultural production, manufacturing, and trade, which weakened aristocratic power and brought about major changes in the structure of the Tyrrhenian cities. Between the mid sixth and mid fifth centuries, these classes were governed by tyrant-kings who transformed the cities, introducing new cults and renovating the sanctuaries. The crises experienced by the coastal southern Etruscan cities from the middle of the fifth century brought urban social unrest until the power of the aristocracy was restored in the fourth century. During the fourth and third centuries, Roman expansion into Etruria caused the destruction and depopulation of most Etruscan cities. In some cases communities were transferred to other, less protected sites. During the Early Imperial period, the region declined and eventually became part of the Augustan Regio VII.

Keywords: Southern Etruria; cities and territory; urban plateau; necropolises; sanctuaries

Introduction

The concept of Southern Etruria as a defined area has been officially invoked in connection with the protection of antiquities in the Provinces of Rome and Viterbo, under the jurisdiction of the Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Etruria Meridionale e del Lazio. In *L'antica Etruria marittima compresa nella dizione pontificia: descritta e illustrata coi monumenti* (1846), however, Luigi Canina also described an area bordered on the east by the Tiber and on the north by the Fiora Valley as *Etruria marittima*.³³⁸⁴ In this chapter the term denotes the area stretching from the Tyrrhenian coast to the right bank of the

Tiber, including Veii, Caere, Tarquinii, the *ager Faliscus* and Capena, Vulci and Vulcian territory as far as the Albegna Valley, and Volsinii and the southwest area of Lake Bolsena, centered around Bisenzio; Perugia and the Tiber Valley are also briefly discussed.

The region has remarkable geomorphology. The most favorable area for settlement is the Tyrrhenian plain, which extends approximately 120 km from the mouth of the Tiber to Monte Argentario behind a long, low strip of sand. The many lagoons in the landscape were originally fed by rivers that flowed at right angles to the coast, creating sheltered moorings; when the openings were obstructed, they became coastal salt lakes with abundant fish.³³⁸⁵

Besides Pyrgi and Gravisca, the most famous ports are found on the coast near Vulci, just north of the Albegna River. An Etruscan port (Portus Telamonis) with strong emporic features has been recognized behind Talamone, at Puntata di Fonteblanda, which now overlooks a filled lagoon connected with the settlement of Doganella. Ports farther south, at the mouth of the Chiarone, at Pescia Romana, and in the locality Le Murelle (Regae), suggest extensive coastal organization. A lagoon basin has also been hypothesized southeast of Caere overlooking the port of Alsium, which is noted in ancient sources together with Pyrgi and Punicum. The whole coast, however, is dominated by the wide mouth of the Tiber. In the Roman period, the river was navigable as far as Orvieto, connecting Rome, Veii, and even the Faliscan and Capenate territories with Mediterranean trade routes.³³⁸⁶

Inland, volcanic activity (at what are now Lakes Bolsena, Vico and Bracciano, Albano, and Nemi) has created excellent settlement conditions. Quaternary eruptions spread tufa, a compact, carbon-rich stone, easily excavated and hewn, between the Tiber Valley and the Ernici mountains. The deposition of tufa on clay and limestone, which is vulnerable to surface water and therefore unstable, has created a complex mosaic of wide tufa uplands resting on furrowed surfaces, typically with gently sloping sides, which are well-suited to intensive and extensive cultivation.³³⁸⁷ These plateaus measure 100–150 ha or more and provided favorable conditions for the formation of cities in the final phases of the Bronze Age. The plateaus of Caere, Tarquinii, and Vulci stand between 5 and 12 km from the coast and are surrounded by rocky outcrops (of marine origin at Tarquinii, but equally workable) that encouraged the excavation of wide necropolises with tumuli and chamber tombs.³³⁸⁸ Small inland tufa uplands (between 5 and 10 ha) were systematically occupied, first in the Final Bronze Age and then again in the Late Iron Age, by Etruscan settlements that were typical in particular of the area of the rock-cut tombs to the west of Lake Vico extending to the Biedano basin. Here, an upper class emerged that was effectively an aristocracy, whose members reproduced on a minor scale the processes already occurring in the cities, controlling minor settlements and the surrounding countryside through the formation of large estates worked by the lower classes and slaves.³³⁸⁹

“Territorial states” are characteristic of Southern Etruria, where the cities

exercised strong pressure on the surrounding countryside beginning in the Iron Age. Between the eighth and seventh centuries, they consolidated political and economic control over the countryside, imposing agreements and federations on minor centers and defining boundaries and spheres of influence. Massive population growth in southern rural areas is attested between the late seventh and early sixth century, as small settlements occupied arable land. This was the basis for the start of the Etruscan trade in agricultural products, particularly wine and oil for perfumes and ointments, which would reach ports and *emporia* in the western Mediterranean.³³⁹⁰ In the Archaic period, the territorial states were challenged by the growth of a middle class of artisans and merchants that was protected by regimes with tyrannical connotations, but they endured until the end of the sixth or the first half of the fifth century, when symptoms of a grave social and productive crisis appear that had serious consequences for the countryside and control of trade routes and effectively paved the way for Roman military and economic expansion.³³⁹¹

1Veii and the Faliscan and Capenate territories

Veii (Etr. **Veī*) is the Etruscan city most often mentioned in Roman sources. It dominated the middle and lower Tiber Valley and was essentially a mirror of Rome on the opposite bank of the river. The first historical events, set in the time of Romulus and the conquest of the *ager Romanus Antiquus*, concern the political structure of the city and feature regal figures shrouded in legend, such as Morrius and Propertius, or historical personalities such as Lars Tolumnius, king in 438 (Fig. 70.1).³³⁹²

Conflict with Rome began in the eighth century and aimed at control of the right bank and mouth of the Tiber, the latter with valuable salt and moorings. Romulus expanded Roman territory by annexing the *septem pagi* district; for a long time, Trastevere and the Janiculum area were considered frontiers with Etruria.³³⁹³

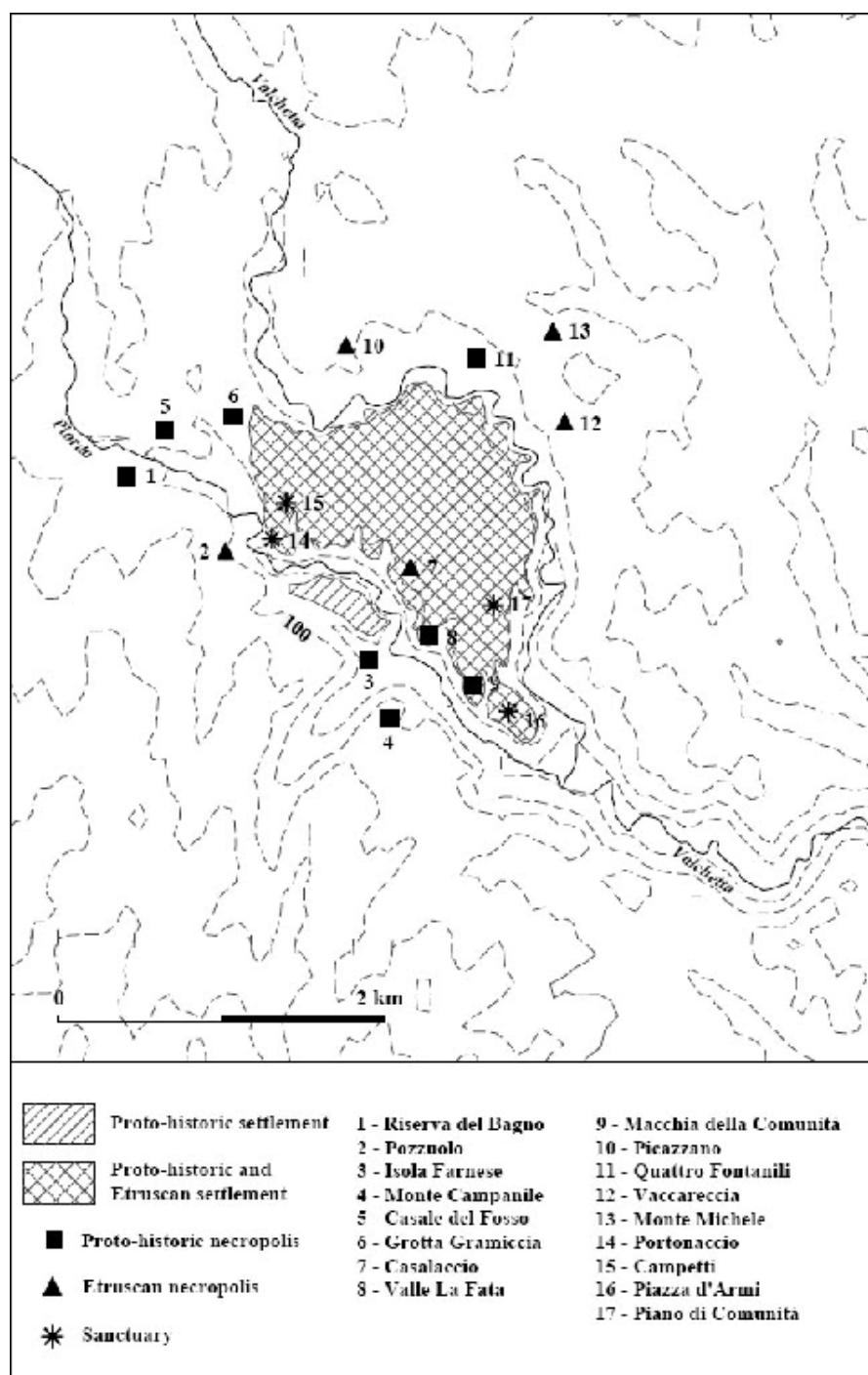


Fig. 70.1: Simplified distribution of archaeological evidence (quoted in the text), on the plateau and in the suburban area of Veii (drawing by the author)

Research has identified a complex system of settlements (fortified with

ditches and *aggeres*) between the Late Iron Age and the Orientalizing period. Some, such as the *oppida* of Colle Sant'Agata at Monte Mario and that on the Janiculum, known only through literary sources, were real outposts resisting Rome. Others were distributed in a line joining the settlements of Torre di Prima Porta on the Via Tiberina, Colle Ospedaletto, Acquafredda on the Via Aurelia, and Monte Roncione, to form a border controlled by the Etruscan city.³³⁹⁴

Veii stood on a plateau of 185 ha. Recent investigations have identified a core group of Final Bronze Age habitations on the small plain of Isola Farnese, which in the late phase of the period appear to have expanded to the major neighboring upland, which was bordered by the Valchetta (the ancient Cremera) and the Piordo streams. Final Bronze Age tombs at Casale del Fosso and Quattro Fontanili imply intensive occupation.³³⁹⁵

In the Early Iron Age, Veii underwent extraordinary development, indicated by the reception of Middle and Late Geometric Greek pottery. Necropolises at Casale del Fosso, Grotta Gramiccia, and Quattro Fontanili reflect a stratified community that intensively occupied the plateau and buried its dead in distinct cemeteries. Excavations conducted by Gilda Bartoloni at Piazza d'Armi since 1996 have clarified the development of an elite section of the community between the ninth and fifth centuries. Two Early Iron Age burials of young men have been found. The first lay in a curvilinear hut resembling a "funerary chapel," possibly to honor an ancestor, and was respected until a reorganization of the area in the mid seventh century. At this time the site changed drastically through the construction of new buildings aligned with orthogonal roads. Between the late seventh and the first half of the sixth century, a small *oikos* temple (excavated by Enrico Stefani in 1922), clearly continuous with the ancient "funerary chapel," was built, as well as other buildings that are still being studied and are likely to have had a residential and cult function. The site was further transformed from the middle of the sixth century, with the rebuilding of roads and the erection of craft structures, until its abandonment between the fifth and fourth centuries.³³⁹⁶

A defensive embankment from the first half of the eighth century has been brought to light at the northwestern gate. In the southern part of the plateau, at the Piano di Comunità, excavations following those by Rodolfo Lanciani in the late nineteenth century have recently uncovered a building atop a row of Orientalizing houses and Iron Age huts. The presence of a Iuno Regina sanctuary in the area has been hypothesized thanks to Late Archaic architectural terra-cottas. On the east and south slopes of the hill, structures dating from the second half of the seventh to the beginning of the fifth century that include cisterns, ditches, and kilns for pottery and votives can be interpreted as parts of Veii's main craft quarter.³³⁹⁷

Necropolises placed around the fortified plateau indicate that the community grew consistently in the Orientalizing and Archaic periods. Tufa *opus quadratum* walls with gates were erected in the sixth century. From the

northwest to the northeast, necropolises are located at Riserva del Bagno, Casale del Fosso, Grotta Gramiccia, Picazzano, Quattro Fontanili, Monte Michele, and Vaccareccia; and in the southwest, at Valle La Fata, Monte Campanile, Macchia della Comunità, Casalaccio and Pozzuolo. Those in the former group have more complex funerary architecture and grave goods. Fossa and *a caditoia* tombs with *loculi* for inhumations and grave goods become popular between the Late Iron Age and the Orientalizing period, with aristocratic males cremated at Monte Michele. In the latter group, in contrast, mid-level burials are attested from the middle of the seventh century.³³⁹⁸

Funerary architecture included exceptional examples of painted chamber tombs, some with animals inspired by Etrusco-Geometric pottery (e.g. the Tomb of the Roaring Lions at Grotta Gramiccia, dated to 690, and the Tomb of the Ducks at Riserva del Bagno, dated to the last years of the first quarter of the seventh century). The Campana Tomb at Monte Michele is special, with two axial chambers within the tumulus decorated with images of figures on horses and on foot accompanied by fantastic animals and wall-hung shields. The paintings stylistically resemble Etrusco-Corinthian works and can thus be dated to the end of the seventh century.³³⁹⁹

Several monumental tumuli date from the Middle and Late Orientalizing periods. They are generally set in suburban areas, near roads leaving the city (e.g. the tumulus at Vaccareccia or Monte Aguzzo, 5 km from the urban plateau). Funerary habits changed in the sixth and fifth centuries with the introduction of chamber tombs with a great trench, entrance steps, and *loculi* carved in the walls to hold vases of cremated ashes, with very poor or even no grave goods. The phenomenon can be explained by the adoption of sumptuary laws aimed at limiting ostentatious funerals, comparable with those of contemporary Rome.³⁴⁰⁰

Veii is known above all for its cult places. The suburban Portonaccio sanctuary, built on a terrace facing the Piordo stream, was discovered in 1914 by Ettore Gabrici and then excavated repeatedly until 1997. The site was in use from the mid seventh century and first hosted an open-air oracular cult of *Menerva* and other female divinities. The sacred area held a shrine and altar as well as a huge quantity of offerings (including Etrusco-Corinthian and bucchero pottery, and terracotta statues and votives); the importance of the oracle explains the attendance of worshipers from many south Etruscan centers, such as Caere, Vulci, Castro, and Volsinii. A great Tuscanic temple built in the late sixth century beside a large ritual pool had three *cellae* and two columns *in antis*. The temple decorations included several grand acroterial statues in an Ionian style, depicting and thus suggesting the worship of *Tinia/Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercle*, as well as an outstanding array of revetment tiles and antefixes to protect the wooden heads of the *columen* and *mutuli*. The decorations were made by craftsmen directed by the “Maestro dell’Apollo,” who, according to Giovanni Colonna, can be identified as the “veiente esperto di coroplastica” whom *Tarquinius Superbus* commissioned to

work on the Jupiter Capitoline temple at Rome a few years before 509. The complex underwent further modifications in the fifth century and remained in use until after the Roman conquest, when the temple was dismantled and the votives and terra-cotta decorations were buried; the *Menerva* cult, however, lasted until the second century.³⁴⁰¹ Several places in the city, particularly near the gates, are also characterized by cult places, including those at *Porta Caere*, Macchiagrande, and Campetti, which is known for substantial deposits of votive offerings in connection with the *Veii-Ceres* sanctuary (Fig. 70.2).³⁴⁰²

From the age of Romulus, the history of Veii was tightly tied to that of Rome. The sources speak of difficult relations at the start of the Republic, and in the fifth century, Veii, with the Faliscans and Capenates as allies, repeatedly attacked Rome. The massacre of the *gens* Fabia at the Cremera in 477 provoked an immediate Latin reaction. In 396, the Romans conquered Veii and took the Iuno Regina cult to Rome. Under Roman control Veii experienced a period of prosperity, with the repopulation of the countryside through land allocations to veterans and plebeians. From the second century on, the city gradually declined, despite the Augustan creation of the *municipium Augustum Veiens*. Finally, in 780 CE, Pope Hadrian I established an agricultural colony called the *domusculia Capracorum* in the countryside near Santa Cornelia, which survived until the thirteenth century.³⁴⁰³

Due to its proximity to the Tiber (which provided important access to the Sabine lands, Umbria, and northern Etruria), Veii controlled a wide territory ranging from the Arrone to the eastern shore of Lake Bracciano and the center of Capena. While the frontier with Rome seems to have been established by the Late Iron Age, boundaries with the *ager Faliscus* and Capena, centered around the Treja basin, seem to have been less well defined.³⁴⁰⁴ Settlements in this area resembled those of Etruria. Many small tufa uplands were sparsely occupied from the Final Bronze Age and often show continuity with the Early Iron Age. Population growth between the Final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age was hampered by the formation of Veii, which affected the Faliscan countryside: myth holds that Halesus, the founder of Falerii, was an ancestor of the Veian king Morrius, and that Capena was founded by a group of young men sent by King Propertius.³⁴⁰⁵



Fig. 70.2: Veii: Experimental reconstruction of the great Tuscanic temple at Portonaccio (1993), with the nearby altar of *Menerva* covered by a roof (photograph by the author)

Population recovery is visible in the eighth century. The most important centers, Falerii (now Civita Castellana) and Narce, stand out in an area historically inhabited by people speaking Faliscan, a variant of archaic Latin widely documented in inscriptions beginning in the second half of the seventh century. The community at Capena instead spoke a language similar to that of the Sabines and was open to Etruscan and Sabine presence, extending into the Tiber Valley through the great inter-ethnic sanctuary of *Lucus Feroniae*.³⁴⁰⁶

Between the Iron Age and the Orientalizing period the *ager Faliscus* developed a funerary ritual with *pozzo* tombs, where the *olla* was used for the funerary urn, that was later succeeded by inhumation in *fossa* tombs with the dead deposited in tufa sarcophagi or tree trunks. The elaboration of Orientalizing *fossa* tombs with lateral *loculi* for the deposit of grave goods is characteristic; progressive enlargement of these *fossae* was the basis for the development of chamber tombs with *loculi* in the Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods.³⁴⁰⁷

High-quality pottery production testifies to lively communities at Falerii, Narce, and Capena. Capenate brown *impasto* pottery with plant and animal motifs and the Faliscan incised and *ad incavo impasto* ware stand out.³⁴⁰⁸ Black-figure and then red-figure Attic pottery arrived subsequently, reaching Falerii in the second half of the sixth century as the center consolidated its dominant position in the Tiber Valley. At the end of the sixth century, temples at Vignale and Sassi Caduti joined the older suburban sanctuary of Celle that was dedicated to Iuno Curitis, and in the same period a great three-*cella* temple with magnificent terra-cotta decoration was built at Scasato.³⁴⁰⁹

Despite progressive Roman expansion in inland Etruria with the founding of the Latin colonies of Sutri and Nepi around 383, Falerii retained a high commercial and craft profile. In the middle of the fourth century, although allied with Tarquinii against Rome, the city hosted important ceramic workshops that reworked models of Attic red-figure pots. Terra-cotta decorations remained of a high quality in the Early Hellenistic period, as indicated by the Scasato pediment with the well-known bust of Apollo.³⁴¹⁰

Hostilities with Rome resumed in 293 and saw Falerii defeated. In 241 a rebellion led Rome to besiege and destroy the city and move its people to the new site of Falerii Novi, which was built on a plain 5 km away on the Via Amerina. Roman expansion in the Tiber Valley was characterized by the redistribution of land to new owners. The presence of the Via Amerina, and from 220 the Via Flaminia, conferred a certain importance on the area until the second century CE.³⁴¹¹

2Caere

Caere (possibly after the Greek name *Chaire*, which is derived in turn from the Etruscan *Ceisra* or *Cisra*) was also known as Agylla. Myths connect it with Pelasgian founders, but evidence from the Sorbo and Poggio dell'Asino necropolises, along with funerary evidence in the rural east, dates its formation to the Bronze Age (Fig. 70.3).³⁴¹²

The proto-urban form of Caere was characterized by a number of Final Bronze and Early Iron Age settlements connected to necropolises. To the west, the population was grouped around the Monti Ceriti, near the Sasso di Furbara, and around the south slopes of Monte Tosto Alto. To the east, settlement traces can be recognized at Monte Abatone with the necropolises of Migliorie di San Paolo and Monte Abbadoncino. In the Early Iron Age the center was located on the highly populated Vignali plateau (of 160 ha): necropolises with *pozzo* and *fossa* tombs at Sorbo and Cava della Pozzolana evoke the picture of a middle-class community with a rather indistinct distribution of prestigious funerary goods.³⁴¹³

Necropolises provide the main information about Caere. Located on wide tufa uplands beyond the Manganello and Mola streams, beside Vignali, they have been known since 1834 and excavated from 1908 to 1933 by Raniero Mengarelli and then from 1947 to 1976 by Mario Moretti, with exploration of the Banditaccia and other burial areas (e.g. the Via degli Inferi, the area of the Tegola Dipinta, and the Tombe del Comune). The Fondazione Lerici also studied hundreds of tombs between 1956 and 1970 near Banditaccia (e.g. Laghetto I, Laghetto II, and Bufolareccia) and on the Monte Abatone upland (Fig. 70.4).³⁴¹⁴

In the middle of the eighth century, the development of the center appears

to have accelerated with the emergence of an aristocracy that interacted with the East, particularly the Aegean and Anatolia, through Phoenician mediation. Innovations at this time include tumuli, tombs with earthen mounds erected over round bases carved in the tufa rock (the diameters of which are sometimes wider than 60 m, as in the case of the Monte Tosto tumulus), whose sides were decorated with moldings resembling fillets and torus. In Alessandro Naso's opinion, these motifs reached Caere thanks to an artisan of Syrian origin, who knew the monumental solutions used in Anatolian tumuli (Fig. 70.5).³⁴¹⁵

Inside, the mounds held one or more family tombs. Chamber tombs with several interments and imitations of hut roofs (Tomb of the Hut and Tomba 1 del Colonnello) are characteristic of the first phases of the Orientalizing period, or the late eighth century.³⁴¹⁶ The interiors are a local phenomenon, with rooms partially excavated and partially built with blocks (e.g. the Regolini-Galassi Tomb), with successive courses of stonework placed atop one another to create a tapering effect (e.g. Tomb 1 in the San Paolo tumulus). In the Middle Orientalizing period, rectangular rooms became the norm, placed on axis and divided by pairs of pillars, with an imitation central roof with a *columen* and smaller rooms with pitched roofs, essentially reproducing huts in the funerary space (e.g. Tumulo Mengarelli, Tomb of the Ship 1, Tomb of the Painted Animals).³⁴¹⁷

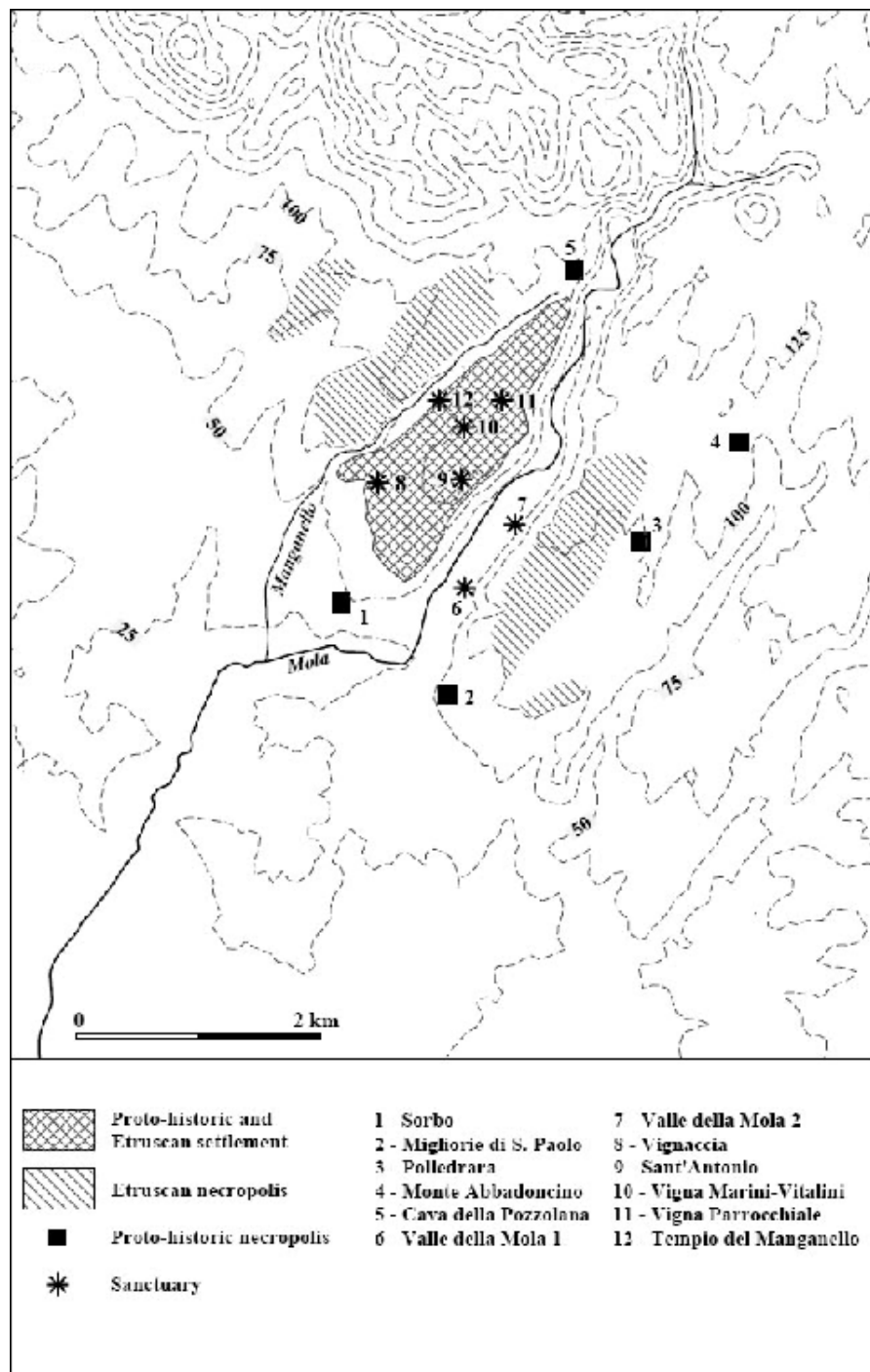


Fig. 70.3: Simplified distribution of archaeological evidence (quoted in the text), on the plateau and in the suburban area of Caere (drawing by the author)

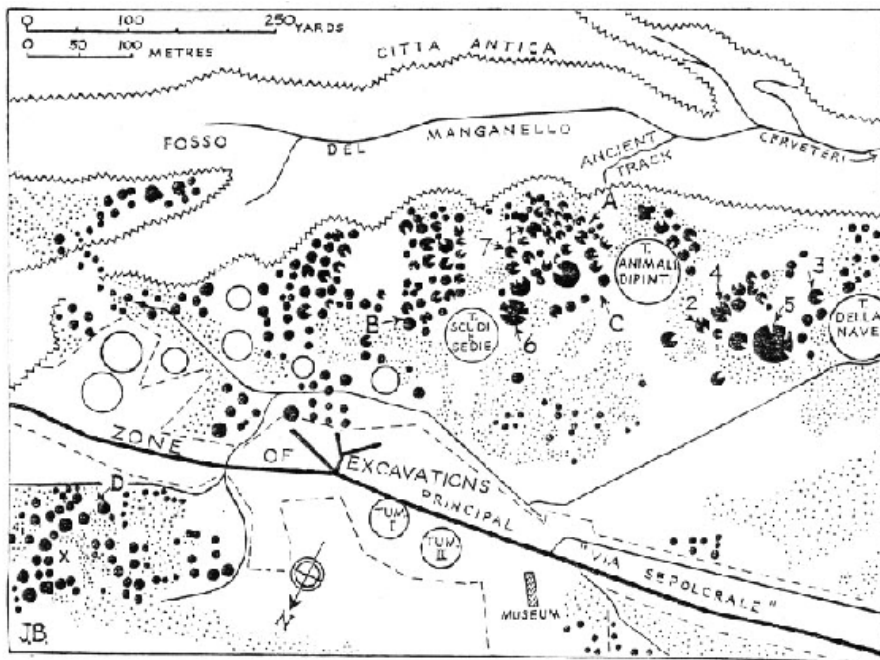


Fig. 70.4: Caere: Distribution and density of tumuli between the Banditaccia and the Tegola Dipinta necropolises, according to the excavated evidence, and compiled by the interpretation of aerial photography (after Bradford 1957)

From the end of the eighth century, and especially in the early seventh, Caere became a protagonist in Mediterranean trade. Its territory lay between the Marangone River, with Castellina as the last outpost of the Monti della Tolfa to the west, and the Arrone River to the east. Its hinterland extended toward the Mignone Valley with settlements on tufa plateaus (Monterano, Pian Conserva and Pian dei Santi, San Giovenale are among the best known). The local material culture, including funerary architecture and pottery, was distinctive to Caere. The commercial interests and influence of the city reached the “*corridoio pulsante di vita*” created by the inland Etruscan centers clustered around the Biedano, including Blera and San Giuliano. Here several features of Caeretan architecture were assimilated and re-elaborated in tumuli and later rock-cut tombs.³⁴¹⁸



Fig. 70.5: Caere: Oblique aerial view of the tumuli located in the area of the Tegola Dipinta necropolis (photograph G. Trogu)

Bucchero workshops were set up at Caere in the first quarter of the seventh century, benefiting from experience gained working brown *impasto* ware. Working alongside Etrusco-Geometric and Sub-Geometric pottery workshops,

they produced vessels for tableware and the symposium. Etrusco-Corinthian pottery and red-slip ware (painted first with “white-on-red” and then with stamped decorations) were produced throughout Caeretan territory. Goldsmiths and bronze workshops specializing in the production of statues and tableware were also active.³⁴¹⁹

The first changes in the social fabric can be discerned in the Late Orientalizing period. The growing strength of a commercial and entrepreneurial class eroded aristocratic power and increased agricultural production, possibly by reorganizing the distribution of arable land to individuals. Between the start of the sixth and the fifth century, Caere promoted long-distance trade, especially with the Celts, of wine transported in red-brown *impasto* amphorae and oil for perfume and ointments carried in Etrusco-Corinthian *aryballoi* and *alabastra*. The inclusion of the Phocaeen colony of Massalia in wine-trading routes was a serious menace for Etruscan, and especially Caeretan, commerce in the mid sixth century. In 540, in Corsican waters near Alalia, the Phocaeans were defeated by the Caeretans, who were allied with the Carthaginians. This confirmed the victors’ control of the eastern coast of Sardinia and Corsica and thus their thalassocracy in the Tyrrhenian Sea.³⁴²⁰

Between the Orientalizing and the Archaic periods, funerary goods included pottery from the major Greek centers (first from Corinth and then from Athens, but also Laconia and the Cyclades). The city became increasingly open to the Mediterranean from the middle of the sixth century, when Caere welcomed Ionian artists from Asia Minor fleeing Persian invasion, including a potter (possibly from Phocaea) who founded the workshop responsible for Caeretan *hydriae*.³⁴²¹

The Archaic period saw profound changes in funerary architecture as tumuli were gradually replaced by hypogean tombs with axial chambers and small rooms opening onto a *dromos*, and a new type of tomb was introduced, the *a dado* tomb, built in tufa *opus quadratum* with an entrance facade. These tombs created a new planimetric organization in the necropolises. Funerary roads and squares (Via dei Vasi Greci, dei Monti della Tolfa, dei Monti Ceriti) in the Banditaccia necropolis are hints of the consolidation of the middle class with limited displays of funerary luxury and the increasing weakening of aristocratic power (Fig. 70.6).³⁴²²



Fig. 70.6: Caere: View of the *a dado* tombs along the Via dei Monti Ceriti, at the Banditaccia necropolis (photograph A. Naso)

Limited information about the Orientalizing and Archaic city was provided by nineteenth-century excavations that uncovered a Roman theater, by the work of Raniero Mengarelli, and by excavations in 1983–89 led by Mauro Cristofani at Vigna Parrocchiale and Sant’Antonio. At Vigna Parrocchiale, a residential quarter with at least one public building, probably a *regia*, was discovered, dating to the sixth century. The area was demolished at the start of the fifth century to make way for a great Tuscanic temple, perhaps dedicated to *Vei*, which remained in use until the beginning of the third century. The temple was contemporary with a large elliptical open-air building with tiered stairs set on thick perimeter walls, which has been identified as a public space for assemblies. The center of Vignali is also remarkable for the notable number of cult buildings brought to light in nineteenth-century excavations at Vigna Marini-Vitalini that yielded large quantities of Archaic and Late Archaic architectural terra-cottas now dispersed in major European and American museums. Other sacred buildings were located near the urban gates, including the Manganello temple to the west, where a votive deposit suggests a male and female fertility cult; and the temple at Vignaccia, connected with a cult for the protection of childbirth and infants. At Sant’Antonio, in an area occupied by Iron Age oval huts and primarily female *fossa* tombs, a complex sacred arrangement arose at the start of the fifth century with the construction of two Tuscanic temples (A and B) oriented to the southwest and on set either side of an altar. The main divinity was *Hercle*, probably accompanied by *Menerva*. The *fons Herculis* recalled in ancient sources may be the complex along the Fosso della Mola to the east of the city.³⁴²³

Between the mid sixth and mid fifth centuries, Caere was a cosmopolitan city. Greek sources mention a Caeretan *thesaurós* at Delphi, and a substantial number of cults were recorded at Pyrgi in a document written in Punic, reflecting Carthaginian presence at the sanctuary for commercial purposes.³⁴²⁴

Excavations at Pyrgi, begun in 1957 by Massimo Pallottino, have brought to light a Greek-style temple (called B) built in ca. 510 with a *pronaos* and one *cella* surrounded by a peristyle, as well as richly decorated revetment plaques for the *columen* and *mutuli* featuring the labors of *Hercle*. The nearby Area C, with an altar and *bothros*, hosted a chthonic cult. Between 470 and 450, Temple A was built, parallel to Temple B, and dedicated to *Thesan/Leucothea*; it had a Tuscan plan with *cella* and *alae*, and a *columen* plaque depicting a scene from the myth of the Seven against Thebes (Fig.51.15). Inscribed gold tablets found in Area C record the dedication of Temple B to *Uni/Astarte* by King Thefarie Velianas in Etruscan and Punic, with strong tyrannical connotations. Research has recently uncovered a crowded southern section of the sanctuary, with several altars and shrines indicating cults of *Śuri/Apollo* and *Cavatha*, gods of the underworld.³⁴²⁵

The complexity of the Archaic and Late Archaic city, ruled by tyrant-kings, is evident in the dense population of the suburbs and countryside. The coast up to the slopes of Monti Ceriti was occupied by open sites connected with necropolises of varying sizes, and by scattered shrines. The picture changes at the start of the second quarter of the fifth century, when Caere lost control of the mid-Tyrrhenian sea after Syracuse's defeat of an Etruscan fleet near Cumae in 474. The resulting decline in the wine trade in the Gulf of Lion affected agricultural and craft production in the city and its territory, and led to depopulation of the hinterland.³⁴²⁶

Caere appears to have recovered from this crisis at the beginning of the fourth century. The political balance had changed, however, with the commercial strength of Carthage and the aggressive presence of Syracuse in the Tyrrhenian Sea; the latter plundered the port and sanctuary of Pyrgi in 384. The growing power of Rome was another important factor. From this time on, the city had a new character; it was controlled by an aristocracy that renovated urban sanctuaries and built large hypogean tombs that were sometimes decorated with stucco and monumental facades (e.g. Tombs of the Reliefs, of the Tarquins, of the Sarcophagi, of the *Tamsnie*, of the Alcove, and of Sant'Angelo). The premise for this recovery was an amicable relationship with Rome: Caere in fact aided Rome in the rescue of the Vestal Virgins and the sacred objects taken from the Capitoline sanctuaries in the Celtic invasion of 390, and was consequently granted *hospitium publicum* and *civitas sine suffragio*.³⁴²⁷ Relationships worsened, however, in the early third century when a rebellion caused Rome to halve Caere's territory, build the Via Aurelia, and establish the maritime colonies of Castrum Novum, Alsium, Fregennae, and Pyrgi on the coast. Caere briefly prospered under Augustus

with a public works program, including the theater, and the prestige of the aristocracy helped it to become a *municipium* with local magistrates. But decline was unstoppable, and by the second century CE public buildings and cult places had fallen into ruin. In the Middle Ages, the few remaining inhabitants moved to Ceri, and the city was revived only in the Late Middle Ages under the name Caere vetere.³⁴²⁸

3Tarquinii

Tarquinii (Etr. *Tarch(u)na*) is considered by the literary sources to be the most ancient city in Southern Etruria. According to tradition, it was founded by Tarchon, the eponymous hero of the Etruscans and the first haruspex. The development of the city has been the subject of a wealth of intensive, high-quality research. From an advanced phase of the Final Bronze Age on, the population was concentrated on the Piano di Civita and the Piano della Regina (150 ha), and in the Early Iron Age also occupied the plateau of Poggio Cretoncini. The necropolises are grouped on the east hills (e.g. Poggio Selciatello, Poggio Sopra Selciatello, Poggio dell'Impiccato, Poggio della Sorgente) but also appear to the north (Poggio Gallinaro) and south of the settlement (Poggio Quarto degli Archi). The number of settlements in the Early Iron Age (at several places on the Monterozzi plateau, where the Arcatelle and Villa Bruschi Falgari necropolises stand out) indicates a complex demography, suggesting a community organized in kinship groups similar to Roman *curiae*. A rich material culture was evidently divided between social classes and featured high-quality ceramic and metalwork from the beginning of the eighth century. In the Late Iron Age, the inhabited area shrank inside the confines of the historical city and Monterozzi became the main necropolis (Fig. 70.7).³⁴²⁹

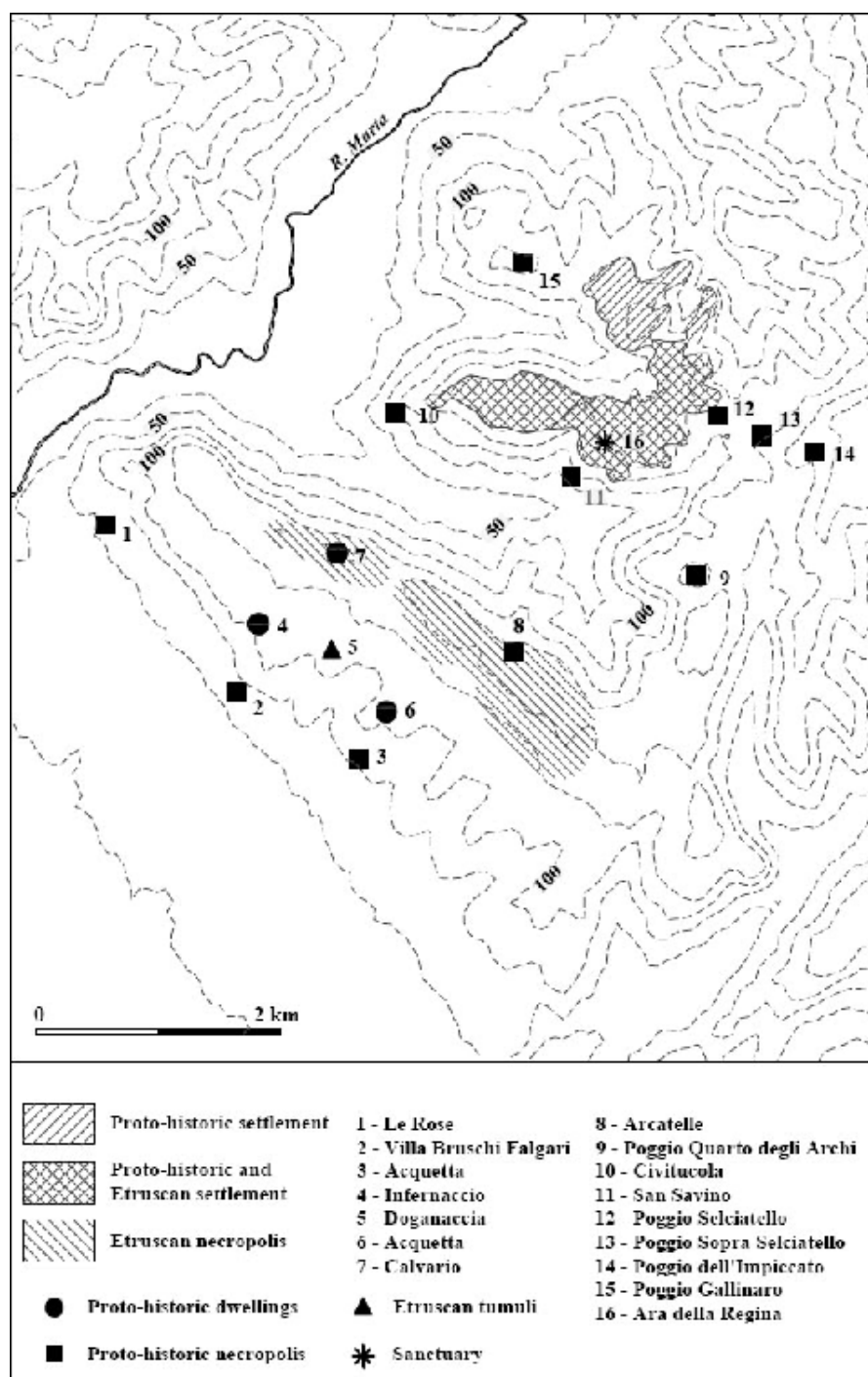


Fig. 70.7: Simplified distribution of archaeological evidence (quoted in the text), on the plateau and in the suburban area of Tarquinii (drawing by the author)

Excavations at Piano di Civita, directed by Maria Bonghi Jovino since

1982, have brought to light a complex area with a public and religious character. In the Final Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, huts were concentrated around a natural cavity that has been interpreted as a *mundus*. In the Late Iron Age, blood sacrifices were carried out, including the ritual killing of a man (possibly of Greek origin) who was buried with a Euboean *olla*. In the seventh century, the area was monumentalized with buildings and enclosures aligned along a road; of these, Edifice Beta is considered the ceremonial and religious base of the resident *curia* on the Piano di Civita, with a foundation deposit formed of a trumpet *lituus*, a shield, and a bronze axe (Fig. 45.2).³⁴³⁰

The sixth century saw the construction of the city walls in *opus quadratum*. The first *oikos* was built on the Piano della Regina around 570 and was incorporated into a second cult building in 530–520. The sanctuary included a terrace in front of the Archaic building, where a chest made of limestone slabs (interpreted as Tarchon's *heroon*) was placed in the first half of the sixth century and remained *in situ* during subsequent alterations. At the start of the fourth century, the sanctuary gained a great temple with *alae* and a single *cella* behind a deep *pronaos*. Imposing terracotta decorations included pedimental *simae*, antefixes with Silenus and Maenad heads, and revetment plaques with plant motifs; parts of the revetments for the *columen* and *mutuli* have survived, including the well-known hand-molded plaque with winged horses and part of a female figure. The venerated deities may have been Apollo and *Artumes*/Diana, but there are no certain data.³⁴³¹

The relationship between Tarquinii and the Mediterranean is demonstrated by the arrival of the Corinthian merchant Demaratus in the middle of the seventh century. He brought a retinue of artisans to Tarquinii, married an aristocratic woman there, and sired Lucius Tarquinius, the future king of Rome. This story reflects ongoing contact with the Greek world and explains the noteworthy development of artisanal work, including Etrusco-Geometric pottery. The necropolises, located primarily on the Monterozzi plateau, provide confirmation (Fig. 70.8).

Funerary architecture at Tarquinii shows originality from the start of the Orientalizing period, with chamber tombs dug out of the limestone and approached by a wide *dromos* with curving walls and a longitudinal gap at the top that was closed by stone blocks (e.g. Tomb of Bocchoris). Chest tombs, *a cassone*, with a deep trench covered by limestone slabs, are also known and were generally used for single burials. Recent studies have focused on several mid-Orientalizing *tumuli*, where the burial chamber was preceded by an open-air vestibule with steps and benches used for funerary cults. This type of tomb closely resembles the royal tombs of Salamina at Cyprus (of the eighth to seventh century) and shows Tarquinian connections with Near Eastern culture (e.g. Tumuli of Poggio del Forno and Poggio Gallinaro, Tumulo Luzi, Tumuli of Doganaccia).³⁴³²

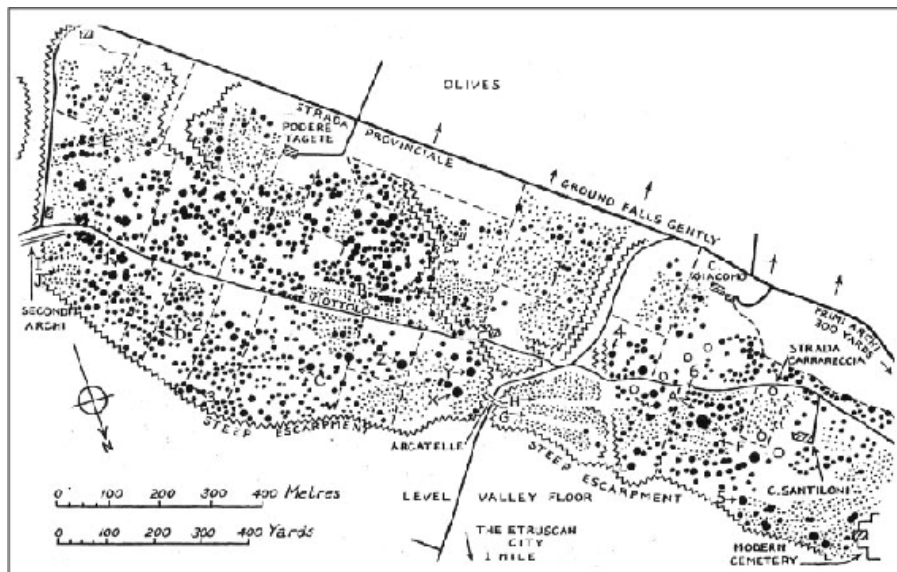


Fig. 70.8: Tarquinii: Distribution and density of tumuli on the Monterozzi necropolis, according to the excavated evidence, and compiled by the interpretation of aerial photography (after Bradford 1957)

Chamber tombs with benches excavated in limestone became popular between the Late Orientalizing and the Archaic periods. They had a long *dromos*, a small tumulus, and limestone blocks or slabs forming a polygonal masonry platform that was probably used for the deceased's *prothesis*. The entrance to the chamber could be closed with slabs decorated with stepped motifs and representations of animals and myths relating to the underworld.³⁴³³

Contacts with the Greek world were strengthened in the sixth century with the establishment of Gravisca, an emporic sanctuary 6 km from the city. Excavated by Mario Torelli since 1969, the site provides extraordinary proof of the presence of Greek merchants, entrepreneurs, and sailors between the beginning of the sixth century and the first quarter of the fifth century. The first shrine of Aphrodite was built around 580 and replaced by a new building at the end of the century; the impressive number of votive offerings (including Corinthian, Ionian, Laconian, and Attic vases, wine amphorae from Corinth, Chios, Lesbos, Samos, and Massalia, and small bronzes and ivories) and dedications on vases reflect the commercial activities familiar in literary sources (for example, those of Sostratos of Aegina, who dedicated an anchor to Apollo), which were already evinced by other dedications to Aphrodite at the emporion of Naukratis on the Nile Delta. The addition of Hera and Demeter cults caused the construction of a new cult building between 480 and 470 that contained a large shrine and incorporated the cult of Adonis. The political climate, however, made the presence of Greeks increasingly rare, and a reorganization of the site at the end of the fifth century can be explained by

exclusively Etruscan patronage. The cults, which were now those of *Turan*/Aphrodite, *Uni*/Hera, and *Vei*/Demeter, prevailingly had a health-giving and popular character that was reflected in copious anatomical votives.³⁴³⁴

Around 530, some painters who were experts in large-scale painting arrived in Tarquinii after the Persian invasion of Ionian Asia Minor. They transformed local funerary painting, which had been based on the enhancement of architectural details (such as pediments and columns, with polychrome bands between the walls and the lower part of the roof) and the depiction of animals derived from Etruscan ceramics. The city became a laboratory for technical refinements and the development of an expressive, lively, and colorful style for depicting various points in the funerary ritual (the exposure of the dead, athletic games, and races with horses and chariots) that culminated in the banquet and *symposion* honoring the dead with performances by dancers and musicians. Other images, like the hunt, evoked the social identity of the deceased, and there were also scenes with vulgar and erotic content, always accompanied by the consumption of wine, which emphasized the triumph of life over death (Fig. 70.9).

Ionian influence is most visible between 520 and 500 but gave way to styles inspired by Attic ceramics, which can be irregularly perceived until the end of the fifth century. Local painting strictly reproduced elite lifestyles (to date, only three percent of all known tombs are painted) but changed with the approaching crisis of the fifth century, as the number of painted tombs decreased and subjects suggesting that the afterlife was perceived as dangerous and disturbing were introduced. Despite the high quality of paintings in tombs such as the Tomb of the Orcus I, in general quality declined between the end of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century, which prefigured the decay of style and quality known in crafts in the late fourth and third centuries.³⁴³⁵



Fig. 70.9: Tarquinii: Tomb of the Lionesses: performance of the dancers and musicians beside a krater, with banqueters on the lateral walls (about 530) (after H. Leisinger, *Malerei der Etrusker*, Stuttgart 1954)

At this time, however, the urban aristocracy began to recover and consolidate the prestige of *Tarquinii* in Etruria. This change is evident in the tombs, which became grand rooms, frequently adorned with paintings and space for a large number of sarcophagi made from the dense tufa-like volcanic rock known as *nenfro* that were designed to hold members of the most important families (e.g. the Pulena, the Partunu, the Pumpu, the Velcha, the Pinie). City walls were restored and the Ara della Regina temple and terracottas were completely renewed.³⁴³⁶

The period between the last quarter of the fifth and the end of the fourth century is central to Torelli's reconstruction of the fragments of Julio-Claudian inscriptions that were found in 1938 during excavations at the Ara della Regina. These fragments record the *res gestae* of an aristocratic Tarquinian family, the Spurinna, and probably came from the base of an honorary monument with their portraits. The first member, Velthur Spurinna, would have held the title of *praetor* in the Etruscan contingent during the siege of Syracuse in 413–412, as an ally of Athens in the Peloponnesian War (Fig. 38.13). In contrast, his grandson (?) Aulus Spurinna may have been a protagonist in the war between Rome and *Tarquinii* from 358 to 351.³⁴³⁷ This evidence shows strong Tarquinian influence in Etruria, in particular the significant policy of acquiring land by conquest, submission, and alliances in the fourth century, a strategy that repeatedly countered Roman penetration

into inland Etruria. In fact, Tarquinii successfully brought together several inland districts to create a solid frontier against Rome.

Tarquinius influence spread as far as Lake Bolsena and the Tiber region. Here lay flourishing centers, such as Acquarossa, which was excavated by the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies at Rome, providing knowledge of the structural and decorative features of Etruscan architecture in the Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods. Three buildings decorated with antefixes and revetment plaques were arranged around a courtyard to form a monumental area. This complex, probably a *regia*, expresses the autonomy enjoyed by the local leaders of settlements on the periphery of territorial states. The settlement was abandoned at the end of the sixth century and re-founded anew in the fourth at Ferentium. Farther west, Tuscania displays strong adherence to Tarquinian models in its fourth-century tombs, where chambers of wealthy local families held *nenfro* sarcophagi bearing images of the recumbent dead (e.g. Tombs of the Vipinana, the Statlane, and the Curuna). Castel d'Asso and Norchia (Etr. **Urcla?*), in the Biedano Valley, have an extraordinary array of rock-cut tombs, including *tomba a dado* with external porticoes and facades resembling temple frontages. In this phase, *gentilicia* of Tarquinian origin and a prolific workshop of *nenfro* sarcophagi are attested at Norchia. Blera, at the edge of Caeretan expansion in the Archaic period, renewed the terra-cotta figural decoration of some cultual buildings and increased the necropolises for a community to a moderate extent, in which *gentes* of Tarquinian origins are attested. San Giuliano reinforced its *opus quadratum* city walls and supported a workshop making sarcophagi in *peperino*, a volcanic rock similar to *nenfro*, a practice probably inspired by Tarquinii. At its height, Tarquinian territory stretched from the Arrone to Lake Bolsena (*lacus Tarquiniensis* in the sources), to the Monti Cimini in the east, San Giovenale in the south, and the Monti della Tolfa in the west; many of these frontiers had *oppida* and border sanctuaries.³⁴³⁸

Wars were fought several times in the heart of inland Etruria, with the Faliscans and Tarquinii as allies, between the Mignone and Biedano Valleys, on the frontier of Sutri and Nepi (defined as *claustra Etruriae*, the locks of Etruria), and in the Caeretan *ager* up to the salt marshes of the Tiber. The end came in 281 when Rome conquered Tarquinii and dissolved its vast territory. Although the Via Clodia crossed the land, settlements along its route (e.g. Blera, Norchia, and Tuscania) inexorably decayed. The Romans also separated Tarquinii from the coast, where the maritime colony of Gravisca was to be founded in 191. The result was a progressive decline in handicrafts, visible in black-glazed pottery, terra-cotta and *nenfro* sarcophagi, and tomb paintings. The forum was reorganized in the Julio-Claudian period, but Tarquinii experienced gradual decline from the third century CE on and was abandoned five centuries later for the episcopal seat of Corneto.³⁴³⁹

4Vulci

Vulci (Etr. *Velχ*) was located in the low Fiora Valley, 11 km from the Tyrrhenian coast. Historical information about the city is scarce. The Roman *Fasti Triumphales* recall the triumph of the consul Tiberius Coruncanius after his victory over the population of Vulci in 280, and a veiled female personification of the people of Vulci also appears on the well-known marble altar from Julio-Claudian Caere.

The city sat on a plateau of 126 ha and went through the same proto-urban processes as other southern Etruscan centers. Research by Marco Pacciarelli has highlighted consistent settlement on the principal upland, La Città, since the Final Bronze Age, with *pozzo* tombs located near Osteria and at the Ponte Rotto on the left bank of the Fiora River. There are also traces of settlements on the neighboring Pozzatella upland and remains of a necropolis to the south. Complete definition of the center came in the Early Iron Age with widespread occupation on the two plateaus and the establishment of several cemeteries on surrounding hills (to the north, the groups at Osteria; to the west, the areas on the hills in front of Pozzatella; and to the south, at several points in the Tamariceto) extending to the left bank of the Fiora, Cavalupo, Mandrione di Cavalupo, Ponte Rotto, and south of the Cuccumella. It is also interesting to note that other peripheral necropolises, such as Poggio Maremma with tombs dating back to the Final Bronze Age, seem to be connected to the center and anticipate control of the suburban zone by part of the central community through the burial of its members. The votive deposit at Banditella, discovered near a spring 5 km to the east of Vulci in 1992, seems to indicate suburban organization by the Early Iron Age; votives here indicate that the cult site was frequented from the Final Bronze Age to the seventh century, and include two bronze horses and examples of miniature, wheel-made *ollae* (Fig. 70.10).³⁴⁴⁰

Material culture in the Early Iron Age is relatively unknown due to the limited number of excavated *pozzo* tombs but appears to have included high-quality pottery and metalwork. Laminated bronze vessels were abundant; they were used as grave goods between the Late Iron Age and the Orientalizing period. Female grave goods from the late ninth century Tomb of the Sardinian Bronzes in the Cavalupo necropolis show close connections between Etruscan and Sardinian elites, which possibly had been strengthened by marriage. The coast has yielded notable traces of Late Iron Age settlements and cemeteries near Pescia Romana, at the mouth of the Chiarone, the source of the Cesnola Painter's famous Euboean crater. Contact with Euboean sailors, although mediated through the *emporion* at Pitheculasae, is attested around the middle of the eighth century, and artisans of Greek origin, probably transplanted to Vulci, are evident in the abundant production of Etrusco-Geometric pottery with its clear inspiration from Greek ceramics.³⁴⁴¹

Around the middle of the eighth century the city's influence began to

extend to the north, toward settlements in the Fiora valley that were repopulated after Early Iron Age abandonment. Cultural influence was still felt on the western shores of Lake Bolsena and reached as far as Bisenzio. In the second half of the eighth century, the area around the Albegna valley between the Talamone promontory and the south slopes of Mount Amiata became the limit of Vulcian expansion.³⁴⁴²

Most data about Vulci have come from excavations that only became systematic after World War II. Looting and random discoveries from as early as the eighteenth century have produced an incredible number of artifacts (particularly Attic vases) that are now resident in European and American museums. Recent research on the urban plateau, coordinated by Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, has identified powerful defenses at the western gate in the eighth century. More information about the population, however, comes from Late Iron Age and Early Orientalizing period *fossa* tombs, often covered with tufa slabs, in the large necropolises of Osteria, Cavalupo, Mandrione di Cavalupo, and Polledrara, and to a lesser extent from Poggio Maremma and Marrucatello. Grave goods indicate the growth of an aristocratic class that controlled the arable lands around the city and in the countryside and participated in an exchange network that brought pottery from Corinth and the Greek islands, decorative objects, ivories, ornaments, and fine wines all to Vulci, principally through the Phoenicians.³⁴⁴³

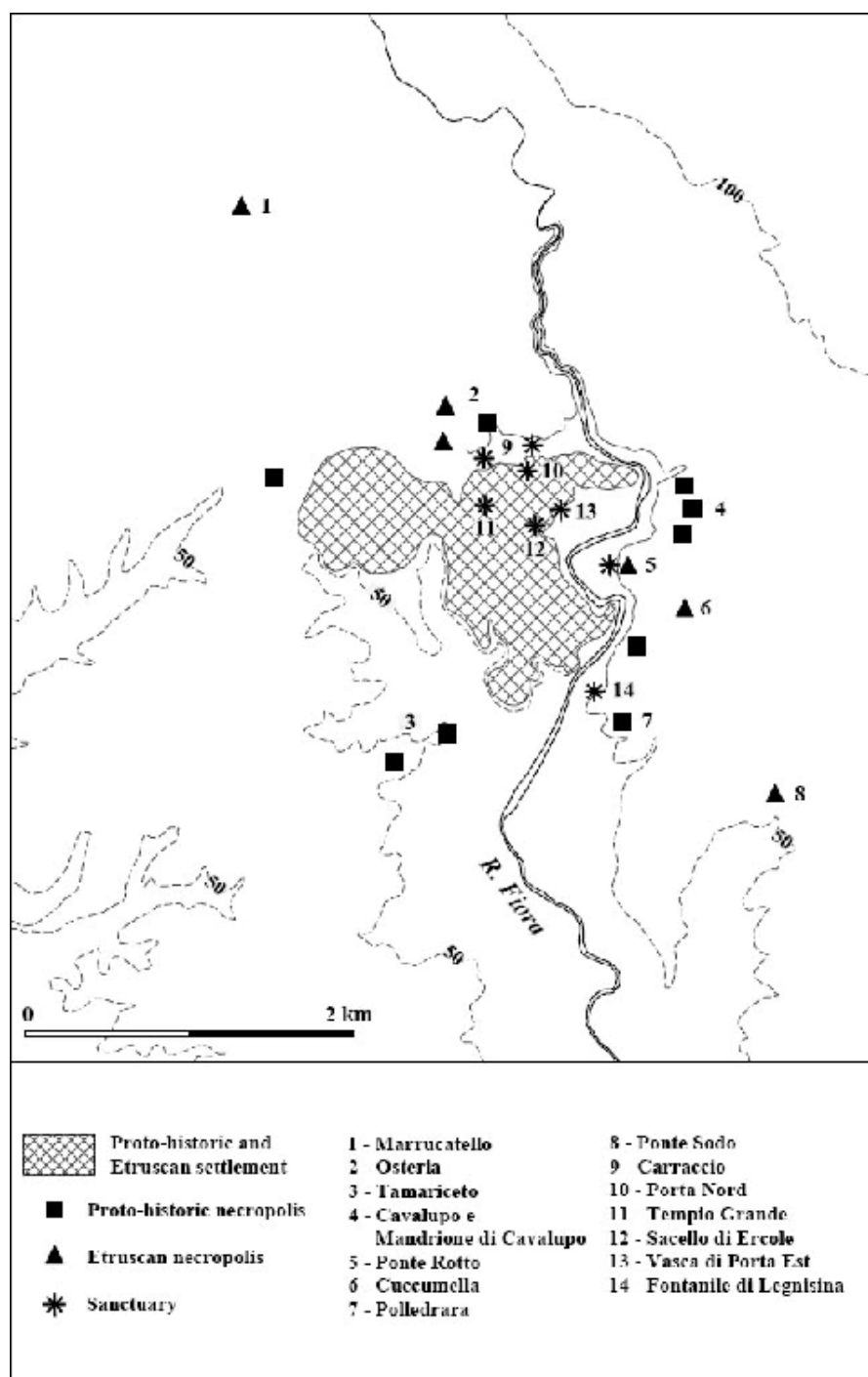


Fig. 70.10: Simplified distribution of archaeological evidence (quoted in the text), on the plateau and in the suburban area of Vulci (drawing by the author)

In the Late Iron Age, Vulci produced a type of fine Etrusco-Geometric

pottery known as *Metopengattung*, characterized by banquet and symposium forms, which circulated in the Fiora and Albegna Valleys from the last quarter of the eighth century alongside brown impasto ware decorated with thin metal sheets in geometric shapes. Large vases in laminated bronze maintained a high standard of production, in the form of biconical vases (often used as cinerary urns), cups, and tripod stands for banquets. The first chamber tombs appeared in the Orientalizing period. Some were simple, such as the Tomb of the Bronze Chariot at Osteria, found intact in 1965 with a rich array of metal vases for two cremation burials, while others were more elaborate, like the Tomb of the Carved Ceilings, a mid-seventh-century tomb with four rooms looking onto a vestibule and a representation of a pitched roof with beam endings that are shaped like disks, that clearly reference contemporary architecture at Caere.³⁴⁴⁴

Tumuli appeared around the city in the last decades of the seventh century, although fewer than elsewhere in the south. The Cuccumella tumulus, with a diameter of approximately 65 m, was surmounted by great *opus quadratum* towers and a rich decorative program of *nenfro* animal sculptures. Inside, two chambers opened onto a large atrium with carved steps along the sides, which was used as a cult space. The nearby Cuccumelletta tumulus had an open-air atrium leading to the burial chambers; new investigations have revealed that sculptures of lions and sphinxes were originally placed on the summit and have confirmed the presence of an adjacent *sacellum*.³⁴⁴⁵

The *cassone* tomb with one underground chamber, generally used for a single burial, and an open anteroom became popular in the Late Orientalizing period. Grave goods in this period included a large number of sumptuous goods such as bronzes, ivories, glass, and pottery from Corinth and eastern Greece. These suggest the rapid growth of an urban community with a class connected to agricultural production as well as artisan and commercial activities. Etrusco-Corinthian ceramic workshops were set up in this phase, including the Painter of the Bearded Sphinx and later the Ciclo dei Rosoni, who may have been stimulated by resident Corinthian potters. Their products were widely distributed across southern Etruria and were also associated with western Mediterranean trade routes for wine. Between the late seventh and the early sixth centuries, wine from Vulci was traded principally with Celtic *emporia* in the Gulf of Lion; the origins of this trade lie in the development and integration of different urban social classes unified by greater access to fertile land suitable for the intensive production of cereals, wine, and olives. The production process in the lower and middle Albegna Valley was systematically researched by field-walking in the 1980s.³⁴⁴⁶

A dense system of open sites was centered on the settlements of Marsiliana d'Albegna and Doganella. Marsiliana d'Albegna was already populated in the Late Iron Age and the Orientalizing period, and grave goods indicate a stratified community (the subject of current research) that occupied a hill system of 47 ha and an intensely populated suburban area in the Archaic and

Late Archaic periods. Doganella appeared at the end of the seventh century as a settlement dedicated to the manufacture of *dolia* and transport amphorae for moving wine and olive oil, and above all the collection of agricultural surplus to take to the seaport in the Talamone lagoon. The high number of transport amphorae made with orange clay fired in the lower Albegna Valley that have been found in the French Midi and at Catalonia reinforce the high volume of the city's production (Fig. 70.11).³⁴⁴⁷

Like Caere, Vulci acquired a leading role in the Mediterranean between the Late Orientalizing and the Archaic periods. It had a diffuse and organized system of ports at sites including Pescia Romana, Orbetello, and on the edges of the Talamone lagoon; the nearest was located at Le Murelle (identified with ancient Regae), where at least two Late Archaic and Classical buildings have been found along with a significant number of local and imported amphorae.³⁴⁴⁸

Less is known about the city in the Archaic and Late Archaic periods. The Pozzatella upland continued to be occupied in the sixth century, and pottery kilns suggest the presence of craft workshops. Several sanctuaries appeared on the La Città plateau, and the Tempio Grande was built around 500 with a single *cella* and peristyle atop a large podium. It was probably dedicated to *Menerva*, and architectural terra-cottas indicate that it was completely renovated in the second half of the fourth century. The extra-urban cult site to the south at Fontanile di Legnisina had a contemporary cult building with three *cellae* for the worship of *Uni/Juno* and a monumental altar dedicated to *Vei/Ceres* with a rich votive deposit of pottery, bronze statues, and anatomical votives. Another sanctuary was sited at the Ponte Rotto. The flourishing of important sanctuaries hints at growing *isonomia* at Vulci, as do modest tombs with one chamber and *buca* tombs that contained vases with cremated remains and only few grave goods. The grave goods document a great development in craft, especially in bronze, stone animal sculptures, jewelry, bucchero, and black-figure ceramics. The Paris Painter and his followers (the so-called Pontic Painters) and the Ivy Leaf Group were active in the second half of the sixth century, and the Micali Painter, working between the last quarter of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, led a prolific workshop specializing in vases with funerary subjects.³⁴⁴⁹

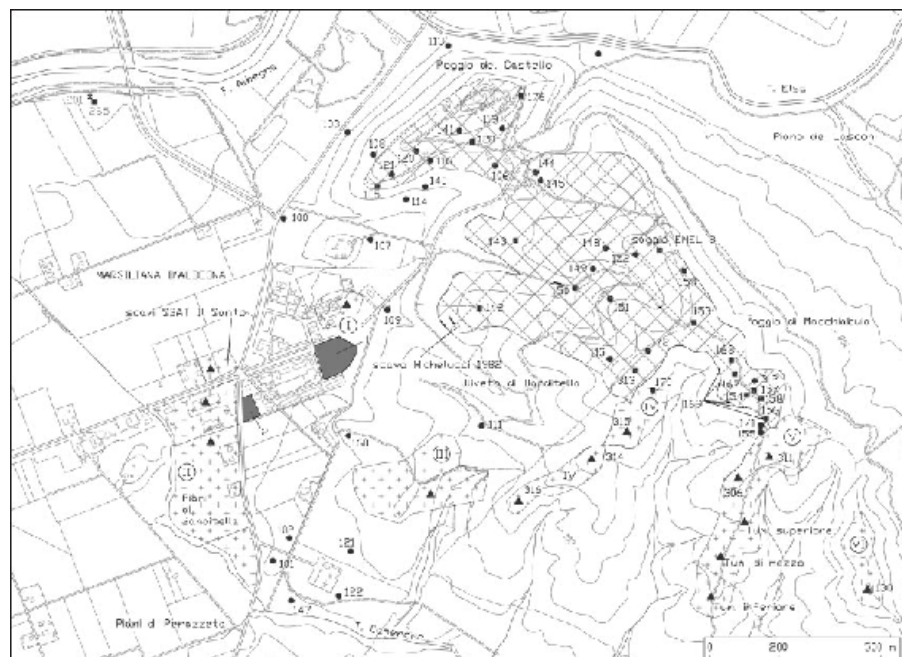


Fig. 70.11: Marsiliana d'Albegna: The area of the recently identified settlement (*square-hatching*), surrounded by necropolises (*cross-hatching*) (drawing by the author)



Fig. 70.12: Sovana: The carved facade of the Tomb of the Siren (second century; photograph by the author)

In the mid fifth century, Vulci experienced a crisis. A decline in the wine

trade and importation of Attic vases was accompanied by general depopulation on the plateau and at open sites in the Fiora and Albegna Valleys. Changing social tensions brought the aristocracy to the fore in the mid fourth century, and signs of recovery are evident in the construction of city walls, renovated sanctuary decorations, and the building of great gentilicial tombs. The vitality and pride of local aristocrats (the Tarna, the Tetnie, the Prušna, and the Tute) can be recognized in the Ponte Rotto necropolis, the site of several monumental Late Classical and Hellenistic hypogean tombs with a long *dromos* and burial chambers opening onto a wide atrium, and the exceptional François Tomb from the second half of the fourth century featuring paintings depicting historical events at Vulci glorifying the *gens* Satie and their antipathy toward Rome.³⁴⁵⁰

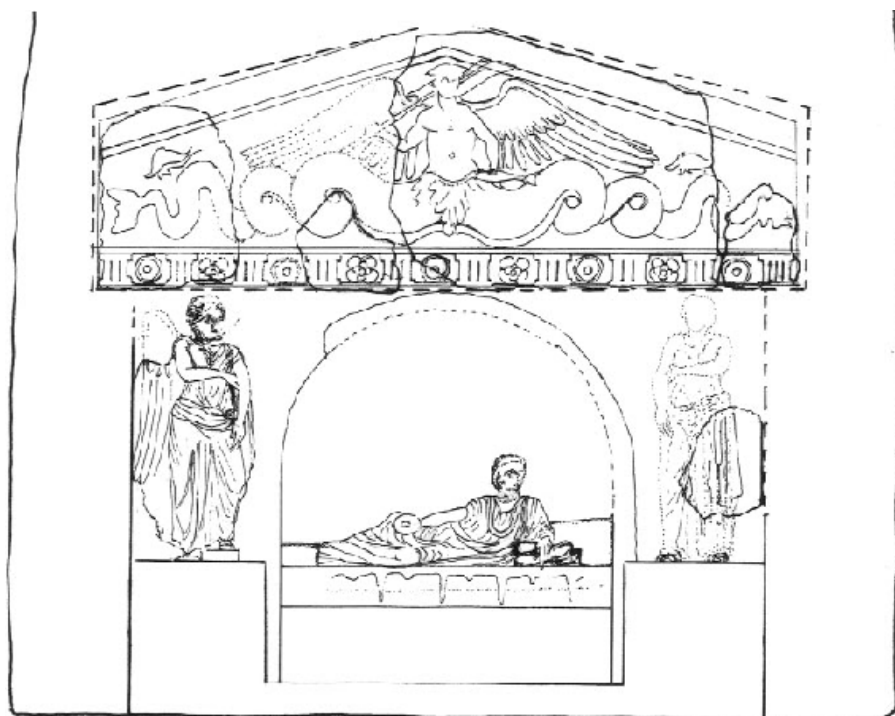


Fig. 70.13: Sovana: Proposed reconstruction of the facade of the Tomb of the Winged Demons (late third–early second century; drawing by A. Maggiani, courtesy La Nuova Immagine Editrice)

Between the Archaic period and the fourth century, the settlement of Sovana (Etr. **Svea*, Lat. *Suana*), located at the borders of Vulcian territory in the Fiora Valley, developed a unique style of funerary architecture in contrast to other villages in decline (Poggio Buco, Pitigliano, Castro, and to some extent even Saturnia in the Albegna Valley). The new style was characterized by rock-cut tombs with monumental facades imitating the fronts of temples and *aediculae* (e.g. the Hildebrand and Pola Tombs and the Tombs of the

Typhon, of the Siren, and of the Winged Demons) (Figs. 70.12., 70.13).

In 280 Vulci was defeated by Rome and lost the majority of its territory and ports. Rome founded the Forum Aureli near Montalto di Castro, established prefectures at Saturnia and Statonia, and created the maritime colony of Cosa in 273. Although the Via Aurelia opened in 241 and the central plateau continued to host considerable public and private buildings, such as the Late Republican *domus* of the Criptoportico, the city underwent progressive depopulation in the Imperial period and was abandoned in the eighth century CE.³⁴⁵¹

5Volsinii and Bisenzio; Perugia and the Tiber Valley

Volsinii (Etr. *Velzna*) was located at the confluence of the Tiber and the Paglia Rivers on a tufa plateau of about 85 ha that today is completely occupied by Orvieto. Continuing discoveries have identified the settlement's cultural features, which are found in a wide area to the north and east of Lake Bolsena and have also clarified its relationship with Bolsena, where Rome established Volsinii novi after the destruction of the Etruscan city in 264. The proto-urban phase is demonstrated by Final Bronze Age pottery found at several places on the plateau, while Iron Age finds from the city center and plateau slopes (in secondary contexts) suggest widespread occupation. At least three funerary areas (at Crocifisso del Tufo, on the slopes beneath the Pozzo di San Patrizio, and near Surripa) can be connected with Early Iron Age settlements.³⁴⁵² Orientalizing artifacts are scarce and exclusively funerary. The city developed substantially only in the Archaic period, probably through specialization in intensive and extensive agriculture, particularly cereals (Roman sources record that Volsinii supplied wheat to the urban *plebs* after the fall of the Etruscan monarchy), and oversight of goods circulating in the Tiber Valley.³⁴⁵³

The emergence of a middle class associated with agriculture, craft production, and trade is reflected in the organization of necropolises below the urban plateau, such as the Crocifisso del Tufo in the northwest and the Cannicella in the southeast. These were laid out in equal-sized lots and primarily contained *dado* tombs built in *opus quadratum* with bare chambers and grave goods of fairly uniform quality and quantity. Funerary inscriptions concerning *gentes* from areas such as Caere, Veii, Latium, and Celtic lands suggest a recently formed urban community that was open to outsiders. The most significant data come from multiple excavations at the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis. In the first decades of the sixth century, tombs here had a regular *dado* plan inspired by prototypes from Caere, with a single chamber, a pseudo-vaulted ceiling created by layered steps of stone courses, benches for

the deceased, and an architrave at the entrance inscribed with the names of those interred. Decoration was limited to the upper part of the facade above recurring moldings of a fillet, torus, and hawk's beak. Spherical or pinecone-shaped *cippi* in tufa were usually placed on the summit (Figs. 70.14, 70.15).³⁴⁵⁴

The organization of the city in the Etruscan period is evident today in systems for managing water, such as drains, *cuniculi*, and cisterns, and the remains of several cult buildings. Two decorative cycles (of the first half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century) are documented at the Belvedere temple, a Tuscanic building dedicated to *Śuri*/Apollo and *Tinia*/Jupiter. On Via San Leonardo, another building with high-quality architectural terracottas can be dated to the end of the fifth century. Several suburban sanctuaries are also attested: a Late Archaic decorative system including a battle with Giants has recently been connected with a building in the Vigna Grande area (dedicated to **Nurti*/Nortia?); and a Late Archaic sanctuary with a funerary element dedicated to *Vei*/Ceres is evident at the Cannicella necropolis. A more peripheral sanctuary with remains of a building and trenches holding architectural terracottas and Late Archaic and Hellenistic pottery has also been linked to the Etruscan federal sanctuary of the Fanum Voltumnae, dedicated to *Voltumna*/Vertumnus, where the *concilia omnis Etruriae* were held.³⁴⁵⁵

In the Archaic and Late Archaic periods, the city directed its interest toward the lower Tiber Valley. Written sources describe the reign of Porsenna at Chiusi and Volsinii, and his attempts in Rome and Latium Vetus to restore the Etruscan monarchy. During this phase, the city underwent considerable development, with mid-quality craft production including bucchero, fine pottery, black-figure vases (the Orvieto Group), and locally produced metal vessels, although stylistically these products depend on prototypes from Vulci. Like the Faliscan and Capenate regions, the Tiber area of Etruria was not affected by the crises of the coastal cities in the fourth century; the strength of the economy is reflected in the repeated supply of grain from Volsinii to Rome during famines, the consistent flow of high-quality Attic pottery that reached the city in the second half of the fifth century, and the considerable trade with Etruscan settlements in the Po Valley.³⁴⁵⁶ Like the coast, Volsinii experienced a remarkable development of the local aristocracy in the Hellenistic period that was connected to local agriculture. *Latifundia* and necropolises far from the urban center flourished from the middle of the fourth century. The Porano necropolis is illustrative: excavated in the Settecimini area in 1863, it includes the two painted tombs Golini I and II: the first contains scenes of preparations for the funerary banquet, while the second shows the journey of the deceased to the afterlife. A third painted tomb located at Castel Rubello depicts the journey of the dead Laris Hescanas to the afterlife.³⁴⁵⁷



Fig. 70.14: Volsinii (Orvieto): Aerial view of the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis (photograph by P. Nannini)

Between the fourth and early third centuries, Volsinii repeatedly repulsed the advance of Rome until it was finally defeated by the consul Tiberius Coruncanius in 280. In 264 the Romans intervened again when called on by the local aristocracy to suppress an uprising that saw the city taken over by slaves. Volsinii was destroyed and its population was transplanted to a new settlement along the Via Cassia, modern Bolsena, which became an important *municipium* in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. Excavations by the École française de Rome have uncovered the forum, the baths, and other public and private buildings.³⁴⁵⁸

Volsinii enjoyed its greatest influence in the Archaic period, when its territory extended from the Paglia and Tiber Valleys to the northern and eastern shores of Lake Bolsena. This region had been populated since the Final Bronze Age, and many settlements show continuity in the Early Iron Age, especially east of the lake, for example at Gran Carro. Volcanic activity produced small tufa uplands overlooking the lake that were occupied by settlements and cemeteries reflecting influence from Volsinii in their use of features like mushroom-shaped funerary *cippi*. Civita di Grotte di Castro and Civita d'Arlena, respectively northwest and east of the lake, have been explored intensively, revealing occupation between the Orientalizing and Archaic periods.³⁴⁵⁹

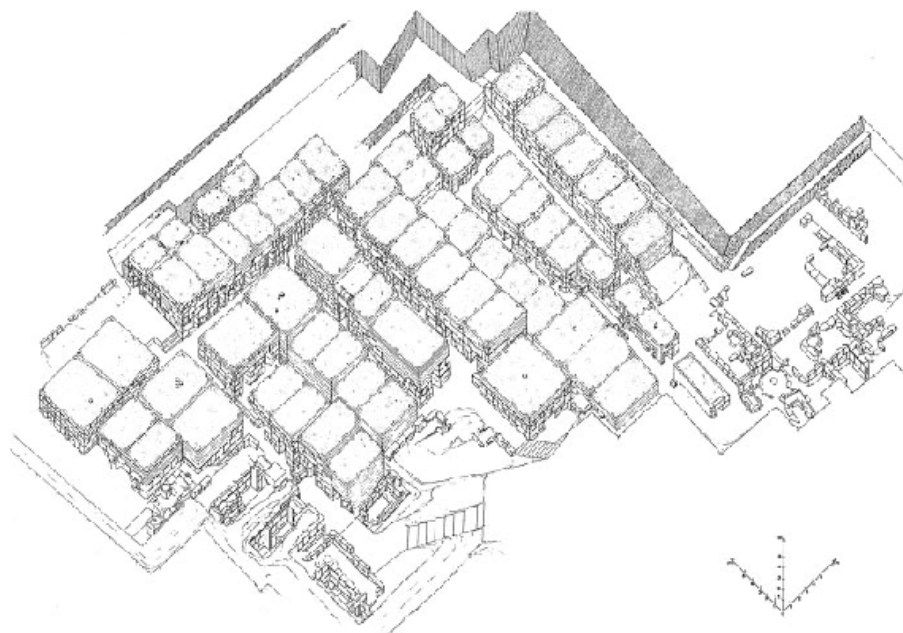


Fig. 70.15: Volsinii (Orvieto): Three-dimensional reconstruction of the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis (drawing by Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria, courtesy Quattroemme)

The area south of the lake is a significant part of inland Etruria. The land to the southwest, between the Marta and Fiora Valleys, was controlled by Bisenzio, a town known since the nineteenth century for its large number of tombs. The Etruscan settlement was set on a hill (now Monte Bisenzio) that was later occupied under Rome by the *municipium* of Visentium. Roman inscriptions record the magistrates and the registration of the Sabatina tribe (as at Vulci), and the worship of Minerva Nortina, who is also linked with Volsinii. The settlement emerged in the Final Bronze Age and greatly developed in the Early Iron Age, with a large number of *pozzo* tombs with original features that set them apart from the proto-urban coastal centers.

Maximum development occurred in the Late Iron Age with the establishment of the main necropolises at San Bernardino, Porto Madonna, Polledrara, Bucacce, Olmo Bello, and Piantata; more recent chamber tombs, perhaps relating to the same settlement, are found on the north shore (e.g. Grotte del Mereo, Poggio Falchetto). A smaller number of grave goods date to the Orientalizing period, and deposits at Olmo Bello continued to the end of the sixth century. The high level of the community is evident in the male funerary ritual, where the deceased, often dressed as a warrior, was interred with a banquet service and symposium set. Women were buried with ornaments and grooming equipment. Influence from Vulci is discernible in the Late Orientalizing and Early Archaic periods, in the spread of Etrusco-Corinthian pottery and bucchero combined with elements of Volsinii's local culture in the second half of the sixth century. This phase also saw a thorough reorganization of the area with the founding of new settlements, such as Poggio Evangelista, perhaps to reinforce the frontier between the lands of Vulci and Volsinii. Bisenzio progressively contracted and eventually disappeared at the beginning of the fifth century.³⁴⁶⁰

The left bank of the Tiber near Lake Trasimeno is also an important area of Etruria, home to Cortona and Chiusi and oriented toward the Val di Chiana and the Amiata region. The eastern side of Lake Trasimeno was an important frontier between the Umbrians, who occupied modern Umbria, Romagna, and Marche (with the towns of Asisium/Assisi, Hispellum/Spello and Mevania/Bevagna), and the Etruscans of Tuder (Todi) and Perugia.³⁴⁶¹

Perugia (Lat. *Perusia*) has two mythical origins: an Umbrian one, in which it was founded by the Sarsinati; and an Etruscan one, in which it was built by Aules, the brother of Ocnus, who founded Felsina and Mantua. Perugia became important at the end of the fourth century when it participated in battles against Rome, culminating in those at *Sentinum* (295) and the *Lacus Vadimonius* (283). During the Second Punic War it supplied Rome with grain and timber; and, following integration into the Tromentina tribe, it became involved in the civil war between Mark Anthony and Octavian. It was destroyed in 40 BCE and rebuilt by Augustus as Augusta Perusia. Continuous occupation of the site since antiquity means that archaeological data are fragmentary. Some grave goods from the Palazzone necropolis date from the Iron Age, but almost nothing survives from the Orientalizing period. A significant number of Late Archaic tombs with Attic pottery and bucchero vases from Volsinii were discovered in the Palazzone necropolis, while important Archaic tombs of peripheral gentilicial groups were found at Castel San Mariano and San Valentino di Marsciano.

Perugia seems to have benefitted from the destruction of Volsinii in 264, experiencing a consistent growth in the urban and rural populations. Imposing travertine city walls with monumental gates (the Arco di Augusto and Porta Marzia) were built in the fourth century. Necropolises were located on the slopes of the upland supporting the city and included *fossa* and chamber

tombs with benches to hold cinerary urns that were made in *pietra fetida* or terra-cotta and had fronts decorated with ornamental motifs or mythical scenes; the lid took the form of a pitched roof or a portrait of the deceased. In the third century, cremation became the exclusive rite, leading to the widespread production of cinerary urns in Perugian territory (from the eastern shore of Lake Trasimeno to Umbertide to the north and Arna/Civitella d'Arno and Bettona on the left bank of the Tiber). Important monuments include the hypogean tomb of the Velimna/Volumni, dating from the late third century BCE to the early first century CE, with a nine-room plan, and tombs at Villa Sperandio and San Manno, the last hosting the tomb of the *gens* Precu. At Montelucente, the tomb of Cai Catu was discovered in 1983. It held fifty travertine urns deposited between the mid third and the first century BCE.³⁴⁶²

Finally, Bettona (Etr. *Vetuna/Vetuni*?, Lat. *Vettona*) should be included among the settlements in Perugia's countryside. The settlement was set 14 km southeast of Perugia on a hill at the confluence of the Chiascio with the Tiber. A perimeter wall of irregular sandstone blocks remains, and a necropolis with sandstone chest tombs was located to the north of the settlement; there are also various remnants of shrines. moderate number of Etruscan inscriptions identify Bettona as a frontier community facing Umbria composed mainly of Etruscan-speaking people.³⁴⁶³

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Erik O. Nielsen and P. Gregory Warden

71Northern Etruria

Abstract: Northern Etruria can be defined as the area bounded by the Arno to the north, the foothills of the Apennines to the east together with the upper reaches of the Tiber, and the Albegna River valley to the south. It is an area that includes varied and sometimes rugged topography. The Arno basin features mountainous edges, the sparsely inhabited but economically fundamental Colline Metallifere, the upper Maremma with sites such as Populonia, Vetulonia, and Roselle, which are intimately connected to the coast and the sea, and the major interior sites of Chiusi and Cortona, with the broad and fertile Chiana valley between them. As is the case in the rest of Etruria, the region divides into a coastal zone that includes the centers of Populonia, Vetulonia, Roselle, and even Volterra, set farther back but still connected to the coast. The interior includes Chiusi, the Senese (with the important Orientalizing and Archaic center of Poggio Civitate), Arezzo, and Cortona.

Keywords : Northern Etruria; cities and territory; urban plateau; necropolises; sanctuaries

Introduction

For the purposes of this chapter, Northern Etruria can be defined as the area bounded by the Arno to the north, the foothills of the Apennines to the east together with the upper reaches of the Tiber, and the Albegna River valley to the south. It is an area that includes varied and sometimes rugged topography. The Arno basin features mountainous edges, the sparsely inhabited but economically fundamental Colline Metallifere, the upper Maremma with sites such as Populonia, Vetulonia, and Roselle, which are intimately connected to the coast and the sea, and the major interior sites of Chiusi and Cortona, with the broad and fertile Chiana valley between them. As is the case in the rest of Etruria, the region divides into a coastal zone that includes the centers of Populonia, Vetulonia, Roselle, and even Volterra, set farther back but still connected to the coast. The interior includes Chiusi, the Senese (with the important Orientalizing and Archaic center of Poggio Civitate), Arezzo,³⁴⁶⁴ and Cortona (Figs. 32.1.–32.5).

The sequence of development for northern Etruria appears to be consistent and not altogether different from what is found in southern Etruria. Evidence of Bronze Age occupations is relatively modest and scattered. Iron Age settlements begin to appear toward the end of the tenth century BCE and continue toward the end of the eighth. While not much remains of these early settlements, their existence is evident from their numerous necropolises. Toward the end of the eighth century, there is a visible increase in the wealth

of grave goods and a noticeable influx of imported luxury items and exotica that signals the Orientalizing Period. It is noteworthy that Greek ceramics as well as vessels of Phoenician manufacture and Sardinian bronzes are found together with local products at sites such as Vetulonia. As elsewhere in Etruria, there are changes in mortuary custom and an interest in more monumental forms of funerary display, the grave circle and the tumulus, which are undoubtedly connected to changing social structures. By the early decades of the seventh century, the increase in luxury items, the proliferation of grave goods, and the quantity of exotic imports give a dramatic picture of an explosion of wealth and wider contact beyond Etruria. Centers such as Marsiliana, Vetulonia and Populonia display remarkable wealth no doubt acquired from their fortuitous position near the rich mineral resources of the Colline Metallifere or as ports of entry for traders. The presence of refined *bucchero sottile* of purely Etruscan origin alongside the imported exotica points to an exchange of goods among the Etruscan elites and evidences contact among the cities and southern Etruria, notably Caere.³⁴⁶⁵ More recent studies have shown a similar connection inland with the site of Poggio Civitate,³⁴⁶⁶ which also showed some aspect of exchange with Roselle through shared stamped ceramic motifs. These two sites are directly connected by the Ombrone and Merse Rivers, which ultimately allowed traders ingress from the coast. By the end of the seventh and the early sixth centuries, some centers—for instance Vetulonia—appear to lose their prominence. In contrast, Populonia and Roselle are now in the ascendancy. By the middle of the century, the presence of Greek vessels increases, particularly those of Attic production. Necropolises increase in size and in their proximity to the cities. It has been assumed by some scholars that individual farmers and smaller settlements are moving closer to the cities as the latter develop as economic centers and provide more resources for their inhabitants. At some sites, inhumation increases and almost entirely replaces cremation, a change that has been interpreted as an indication of the rising merchant class and the decline of a small ruling elite. Stephan Steingraber, among others, has concluded that the rise of the cities in Etruria appears to take strong form in the sixth century, coinciding with the rise of this stable middle class.³⁴⁶⁷ The villages in turn grew out of groupings of huts, common in the late Iron and early Orientalizing Period in much of Etruria save for a few sites that appear to have developed a strong urban character ahead of their contemporaries (Veii and Tarquinia).

While the changes in funerary customs described above hold true for much of northern Etruria, the region around Chiusi presents an anomalous situation. The city appears not to have figured prominently in the Orientalizing Period, if one compares the richness of the local grave offerings with that found near the coastal cities, but its presence was felt more strongly in the subsequent Archaic Period and beyond. Despite its relatively small size (ca. 25 ha) and its estimated population of ca. 5,000, it exerted a significant influence on the

surrounding regions with its artistic production. By the Archaic Period, its distinct artistic style is ubiquitous in the north central portion of Etruria, particularly manifested through its production of “bucchero pesante” and stamped decoration produced by roulette. Cremation remained popular and a particular form, the Canopic urn (Fig. 48.3), became associated with the city and its immediate environs.

The predominantly funerary nature of the evidence makes it difficult to define the phenomenon of northern Etruscan urbanization. These cities, with easy access to water or readily defensible—preferably both—are today the same sites occupied by modern cities, hence difficult or impossible to excavate. Only occasionally, at sites like Poggio Civitate or Poggio Colla does the discovery of isolated structures on sites that were left abandoned provide us with us a rare look at architectural remains of freestanding buildings. But any conclusions must be viewed with caution. The bulk of our evidence is mostly funerary in nature, hence very selective. The size, evolution and architectural complexity of a specific urban center are difficult to present to the reader because of the dearth of evidence. Chiusi, Cortona, Vetulonia, Volterra and a host of other North Etruscan cities, lie under the remains of modern construction and are thus impossible to retrieve. Isolated sites such as Poggio Civitate and Castelnuovo Berardenga³⁴⁶⁸ provide architecture of a scale and design which compels us to wonder what relationship they might have had to the surrounding area and how they functioned within that regional, social framework. The problem is exacerbated by the lack of evidence for Etruscan Siena³⁴⁶⁹ and any major urban center in the region between Volterra and Chiusi.³⁴⁷⁰ The common model for understanding Etruscan urbanization is that of the city-state, of city and territory, thus a definition of Etruria along the lines of its political landscape.³⁴⁷¹ The model works along theoretical and macro lines, and in fact reflects what we know from historical sources about the twelve peoples of Etruria, but is less useful in its details. Specific sites—like sanctuaries, and settlements like Poggio Colla—are arguably liminal,³⁴⁷² being more self-sufficient markers of boundaries than political entities imbedded in the greater territory of a large city-state. Indeed, in northern Etruria, the model of centralized power through a single, dominant, centrally located city is not always applicable. Chiusi, for instance, has a widely distributed urban pattern, even if it appears to be a dominant political power in the late Archaic Period, according to Roman sources. And the Agro Fiorentino, with its equally widely distributed pattern of settlement, is a case in point for arguments for very different models of political geography. The same may hold true for early Volterra.

The self-sufficiency manifested by the sequence of structures of the Orientalizing—and by implication, the early Archaic—Periods at Poggio Civitate suggests that other hill-tops were similarly occupied and may have served as home to a local chieftain who enjoyed his own estate complete with workshop, residence and ceremonial or public structures.³⁴⁷³ This leaves one

wondering where the support personnel lived or where others not included in the immediate family were expected to construct their homes. Perhaps one should see, for this region, houses of a type such as the Casa dell'Impluvium (Roselle) as serving the remainder of the community. Similarly, the houses at Lago di Accesa, which are simpler in plan, provide a middle ground in size and construction. However, the disparity in size and decoration with the structures at Lago dell'Accesa reinforces the impression that sites like Poggio Civitate and Castelnuovo Berardenga, as we will see, represent special cases. Suffice it to say the settlement patterns of northern Etruria, perhaps because of the topography, but also because of social and political structures, is complex and not yet fully understood.

1 Vetulonia

The urban nucleus of Vetulonia itself is built on a natural outcrop of rock that has an elevation of ca. 340 m. Its walls enclose an area of ca. 100–120 hectares, making it one of the larger cities in northern Etruria. The extent of the circuit walls corresponds to a rebuilding period sometime in the second half of the fourth century, contemporary with the early minting of coins with the legend *vatl*. However, portions of the circuit wall constructed of large polygonal blocks probably date to the sixth century and are contemporary with sections of the circuit wall at Roselle, which suggests that the region was experiencing troubled times in this period. As with several other large and well-known Etruscan cities, the urban settlement at Vetulonia yielded little material contemporary with the period of major growth of the city. Our knowledge of Vetulonia is thus derived primarily from tombs.³⁴⁷⁴ Many assumptions regarding the importance and size of the city are based on the quantity and opulence of the artifacts found in the tombs and in the monumentality of the tomb constructions. Admittedly, the grave goods do provide a reasonable indication of wealth of some of the elite inhabitants and dramatic evidence of commerce with the world beyond Etruria.³⁴⁷⁵ Both Vetulonia and Populonia, cities separated by ca. 50 km, one directly on the coast and the other slightly inland appear to have enjoyed a healthy existence in the late Villanovan period. Both cities appeared to profit from their vicinity to the Colline Metallifere. At Vetulonia the early Villanovan period is characterized by relatively poor grave goods that increase in wealth by the late Villanovan period (eighth century). Cremations in biconical urns remain the standard form of burial, but unlike most other sites in northern Etruria, Vetulonia manifests the acceptance of hut urns as a container for the ashes, a custom more commonly found in southern Etruria and Latium. In addition, inhumation burials in *fosse* have also been found, datable from the ninth century to the middle of the eighth, providing for an unusual variety of burial

custom.

The necropolis of Poggio alla Guardia is the most significant of the Villanovan necropolises at Vetulonia, and contains a heavy concentration of *tombe a pozzetto*. Most common is the single deposition, though occasionally one finds double or triple depositions with a cinerary urn placed on top of another and separated by a stone slab. There are no external grave markers. The presence of the so-called “Circolo di pietre interrotte” at Poggio alla Guardia, which dates to the late ninth century, is also noteworthy. This custom of placing the burial “wells” within the confines of a ring of stones (which is found elsewhere in Etruria) has been interpreted as a desire on the part of a family or clan to provide a physical demarcation to the burial plot and may even reflect social stratification, a supposition reinforced by the richer grave goods often contained within these circles. Evidence of contact with Sardinia—albeit possibly only through indirect trade—is given in the form of several small Nuragic bronzes found among the grave offerings. Judging from the grave goods, traders from the Baltic, Greece (principally Euboea), and the Levant were also attracted to the area. Mining and metallurgy account for the rich economic base. While iron no doubt was one of the highly prized commodities of the area and sought by traders, its relative impermanence and fragility have left us with few good examples of the skill of the craftsmen or the range of the artifacts produced. Quite common are the remains of iron associated with chariot elements and some weapons. Nevertheless its use as a decorative element in inlays, one example of which can be seen in the buckle from Poggio Civitate,³⁴⁷⁶ suggests it was also a prized material. On the other hand, production in bronze, because of its better preservation, has left us with good indicators of the extent of Vetulonia’s impact on other centers and its geographical reach for this early period. Bronzes of Vetulonian manufacture have been identified at Tarquinia and as far away as Olympia and Samos, in Greece.³⁴⁷⁷

Typical of the Orientalizing period at Vetulonia, as at Marsiliana, are the circle tombs (*tombe a circolo*) with one or more *fosse* contained within. By the middle of the seventh century one sees the emergence of large tumulus burials (*tholoi*) with *dromos* and side chambers accompanied by a wealth of grave offerings. Perhaps best known among these is the Pietrera Tomb, which dates to the second half of the seventh century.³⁴⁷⁸ The tumulus was constructed of a large artificial hill circumscribed by a drum more than 60 m in diameter and 14 m high. In the interior was a chamber tomb with a central pillar. This chamber collapsed in antiquity and was immediately rebuilt with a second chamber placed on top of it. At the time of the excavations, numerous *fosse* filled with rich grave goods were uncovered around the tumulus. Numerous statue fragments of stone figures³⁴⁷⁹ (Fig. 71.1) were recovered in the interior, which represented one of the few sculptural groupings of the Orientalizing period discovered to this point. The recent excavations at Casale Marittimo (discussed below), some 60 km distant, where similar sculptures

have been uncovered, give clear evidence that the fashion extended beyond the confines of this settlement, perhaps providing testimony to the sphere of artistic influence of this city.

Judging by the wealth of the tombs, it would appear that Vetulonia reached its zenith during the seventh century.³⁴⁸⁰ By the sixth century, tombs are smaller in size, less numerous, and less impressive in the quality of the exhibited grave goods. As noted above, this may only reflect a redistribution of the wealth over a larger population and the supplanting of a small group of “elite” families with a rising and financially comfortable “middle class.” In his study of the area, Giovannangelo Camporeale has posed some interesting questions. Does the presence of these Etruscan artifacts manufactured in bronze and recovered at sites beyond Etruria reflect trade only in metal, or does their presence allow us to imagine transport of more fragile and fugitive materials such as cloth or foodstuffs? Is it solely trade or do these objects indicate immigration, perhaps of experts who traveled to other sites bringing with them their expertise as well as objects.³⁴⁸¹ While the argument has been made for Near Eastern artisans reaching the shores of Etruria, settling in coastal cities and plying their trade, it has seldom been suggested that Etruscans emigrated beyond their borders.³⁴⁸² Perhaps we should see this as the logical outcome of an exchange that traveled in two directions.



Fig. 71.1: Vetulonia: Stone relief figure from the Pietrera Tomb (photo SAT)

Like its coastal neighbors, and given its proximity to the Ombrone River, Roselle is well-situated to take advantage of seagoing traders wishing to make their way inland, though apparently not close enough to the sources of metal to take full advantage of mining. This is borne out by the archaeological evidence, for the scarcity of remains for the Late Bronze Age through Iron Age would suggest that the site was eclipsed by its more powerful neighbors—Vetulonia and Populonia in the north, and Marsiliana to the south. Early signs of activity can be seen in the mid-eighth century from traces in the necropolis surrounding Roselle.³⁴⁸³ The picture that emerges is that of Roselle serving as a tributary of Vetulonia, perhaps reflecting the relationship Marsiliana enjoyed with Vulci, as a welcome port of entry leading to sites further inland.

While funerary remains are scarce, evidence of habitation can be found on the north and south hill in the form of huts that date to the second half of the eighth century. What emerges is a picture of a settlement formed of irregularly placed huts, with ample open space dedicated to fields for pasturing and cultivation, similar to models that are well attested in the south. During the middle of the Orientalizing period, there is a dramatic change in architectural form, with the construction of the so-called “Casa con Recinto,” a formal two-room enclosure composed of crude brick, located in the forum between the two hills. More recently it has been proposed that it served as both a public and sacred center for the community. The absence of tiles suggests a roof of straw or thatch. Mario Cygielman sees here two functional yet distinct areas: an open courtyard on the east, perhaps for more public encounters, and a closed space on the western flank where ceramic evidence suggests the presence of symposia or formal gatherings.³⁴⁸⁴ Cygielman further sees the features of a tholos in this structure, thus documenting a relationship between tomb type and habitation. In this way, he sees the monumental tombs of the period as reflecting with some accuracy various architectural elements of residences.³⁴⁸⁵ The building itself is of considerable size (26 m × 7.5 m), not unlike OC1 at Poggio Civitate, which is roughly contemporary but fitted with a more elaborately decorated roof. One of the fragments found within the “Casa con Recinto” is the rim of a *dolio* with an inscription translated by Mauro Cristofani³⁴⁸⁶ as indicating a gift from one person to another. Is this an example of a precious offering exchanged between two members of the elite class at Roselle, or an indicator of interaction further afield? Cristofani has assigned an elaborate gold fibula displaying designs in the *pulviscolo* technique (associated with Vetulonia and particularly common to the Tomba del Littore) to this period.³⁴⁸⁷ All the elements of the architecture taken together, with the presence of a *focolare*, have resulted in various interpretations for the function of the building, from a Regia of the type known from the Roman forum to a public/sacral building (similar to the Roman cult of Vesta) connected to an ancient royal residence. A more recent interpretation by Gilda Bartoloni and Piera Bocci Pacini suggests that the

structure functioned as a gathering place for the local community, combining all the functions of a public and sacred space. Comparable to the Greek *Basileus*, it was the home of the local chief where the community would gather on special occasions.³⁴⁸⁸ This is also one of the possible solutions offered by the excavators at Poggio Civitate for the buildings of the Orientalizing Complex as well as the subsequent Archaic Building on the site.³⁴⁸⁹ Yet the elaborate nature of the decoration at Poggio Civitate and the number of buildings in the Orientalizing Complex compared to the single structure at Roselle makes one wonder about the relative importance of these local “princes.” If the elite at Roselle gained his power from the fortuitous location of the site, what was the source of power at Poggio Civitate? At the end of the seventh century at Roselle, one sees new buildings on the north hill and the construction of the “Casa a Due Vani,” which cuts into one of the wings of the “Casa con Recinto,” perhaps replacing the function of the latter. This continuity has also been postulated at Poggio Civitate between the structures of the Orientalizing Complex and its Archaic successor.³⁴⁹⁰

The existence of circuit walls for this early period at Roselle is still under discussion. The excavations have uncovered traces of walls, though some have suggested that they served as part of a terracing system rather than serving to defend or define the city. As the area of habitation expanded, the need for cultivatable land increased and necessitated the use of terracing to take maximum advantage of the limited space. By the sixth century, Roselle appears to break away from the dominance of its neighbor Vetulonia, and begins to establish itself in the area. By the middle of the century, reflecting the unrest visible in much of Etruria, the city has constructed a circuit wall enclosing the north and south hills. The wall, about 3,170 m long, encloses an area of about 45 hectares. It was built over an extended period of time and was repaired during the Roman era. Constructed in polygonal masonry of local stone, the northern sector rises up from trenches dug in the bedrock. The southern sector of the wall is built in squared blocks, and appears to date to the second century during a period of later rebuilding. Steingraber puts its population at ca. 12,000, less than half of that postulated for Populonia and yet more than twice the size of Chiusi, at 5,000 inhabitants.³⁴⁹¹

Between the 1980s and 1990s, excavations on the north slope of the north hill, some five meters from the summit, brought to light the existence of a remarkable building. From the results of these careful excavations, the archaeologists concluded that the typology of the Italic house centered around an atrium with *impluvium*, as hypothesized for Marzabotto, was already in use in Etruria by the sixth century. Equally interesting is evidence that suggests a continuity of habitation and architectural development in the immediate area progressing from the late Villanovan Period through to the early decades of the fifth century. Three successive occupation phases have been identified. Remains from a refuse pit suggest that houses in the early period were constructed using reed impressed plaster. The excavator, Luigi Donati, feels

that the absence of tiles indicates the presence of a straw or thatch roof such as that suggested for the contemporary “Casa con Recinto” uncovered in the forum between the two hills. The second phase of occupation is represented by the remains of House C, a freestanding two-room unit. Though somewhat difficult to pinpoint chronologically, Donati suggests a date between the Villanovan construction associated with cavità A and the House of the Impluvium, i.e. between the end of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth.³⁴⁹²

3Populonia

Populonia (Etruscan *Pupluna*) is exceptional in that it is the only Etruscan city directly on the sea (Fig. 71.2), the last city to join the Etruscan league, and a site whose very foundation and later political identity was often connected by ancient authors to non-Etruscan areas like Corsica and Syracuse.³⁴⁹³ Populonia was also a center of intense mineral exploitation and metal production, and metal production areas have been excavated at both Populonia and nearby Campiglia Marittima. The residues of this production—literal mountains of slag—eventually blanketed the cemeteries on the Golfo di Baratti (see chapter 26 Corretti). By the fifth and fourth centuries, Populonia lays claim to an industrialized production that will eventually result in a monetary economy, as evidenced by the extensive production of silver coinage in the Hellenistic period. In his studies on the urbanization of Etruscan settlements, Stephan Steingraber concludes that at its height, Populonia was certainly one of the larger cities in Etruria after Veii, Caere and Tarquinia, covering ca. 150 hectares.³⁴⁹⁴ The urban center was girdled with a wall more than two kilometers long, which was interrupted by defensive towers during this period. Also noteworthy is the development of settlements on the coast in the third and second centuries when Volterra was extending its power. With respect to populations, Steingraber estimates Populonia to have had ca. 25,000 inhabitants, similar to Caere, while Vetulonia was somewhat smaller, with 17,000.



Fig. 71.2: View of the Golfo di Baratti from Populonia (photo P. G. Warden)

Populonia seems to be one of the few Etruscan cities where the Iron Age culture is placed directly on top of the late Bronze Age, as evidenced in the region of the Villa del Barone, where a Protovillanovan necropolis was uncovered. A horde of bronzes found in the locality of Poggio Guardiola belongs to the same period. The first imports to reach the city seem to come from Sardegna. However, many of the foreign imports point to the presence of Greek merchants, especially those from east Greek colonies. Analysis of the grave goods from the surrounding cemeteries suggests that in the second half of the eighth century (late Villanovan period), Populonia experienced a recession, perhaps due to the ascendancy of Vetulonia. It is conjectured that the city reached its fully formed state between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century, but architectural remains of this period are scarce at best. Nancy Winter, in her recent study on the development of architectural decoration in Etruria, does not list a single terracotta from the city prior to 500 BCE.³⁴⁹⁵ In marked contrast to this lacuna, the material from the tombs shows an extraordinary concentration of wealth.³⁴⁹⁶ Exploitation and production of iron increases in the second half of the sixth century, and in the middle of the fifth, Populonia flourishes and appears to be untouched by the “crisis” that hits the cities of southern Etruria, as evidenced by the refined Greek (Attic) objects recovered from the tombs. Both Elba and the eastern coast of Corsica—especially Aleria—depended on Populonia from the fifth century when the city seems to grow in power. Its mining- and metallurgy-based wealth can be seen in the mountains of slag produced from the fifth

century onward, which covered the tumuli of the earlier necropolises and which were so rich in metal that they were re-smelted in modern times.³⁴⁹⁷ The city reached its height in the early Hellenistic period; the population seems to spread inland and develops agriculture to enhance an economy that had been reliant on mineral exploitation.

The Orientalizing and Archaic tombs of Populonia³⁴⁹⁸ share some basic similarities with those of the neighboring settlements at Vetulonia in that both sites incorporate burial within the confines of a circular structure. However, whether it is a result of the restrictions of the terrain (located so close to the beaches) or local preference, the tumuli in general are smaller than those encountered elsewhere. Recent work at Populonia has focused on the city itself, especially the dominant and prominent acropolis, which seems to have been repeatedly terraced in antiquity. The presence of fragments of decorative terracottas, along with massive foundations, indicates that at least one important temple would have been found in this area.³⁴⁹⁹

4Volterra and Environs

As elsewhere in Etruria, the population at the end of the Bronze Age in the northwestern corner of Tuscany is characterized by numerous sporadic settlements along the coastline from the Gulf of Baratti to the mouth of the Arno. Among these is the site of Volterra (Etruscan *Velathri*), located slightly further inland, and accessible from the coast by the Cecina River.³⁵⁰⁰ It is the largest concentrated settlement in the area, and appears to have been continuously occupied from as early as the ninth century. With its seven kilometers of circuit walls, Volterra was the seat of an active production center. In the earlier periods, objects of Volterranean manufacture can be found as far south as Monteriggioni, and by the Hellenistic period, Volterranean pottery is widely traded. An important sanctuary, probably dedicated to a female divinity of chthonic character, has been excavated on the acropolis.³⁵⁰¹ Ritual and devotional activity can be documented there from the seventh to the second centuries.³⁵⁰² This may be due to Volterra's convenient position roughly one day's journey inland from the coast, along the Cecina River. Thus it was strategically placed for control of the trade routes from the coast to the inland areas of the upper Arno, the Senese, and other routes that carried across the Apennines to the north and northeast. It is interesting to note and perhaps significant that like Volterra with its proximity to the Cecina, many important northern sites are strategically placed close to rivers. Artimino overlooks the Arno, Marsiliana is close to the Albegna, and Poggio Civitate and Roselle are in close proximity to the Ombrone, all rivers that create natural routes from the coast to the interior.



Fig. 71.3: The late Etruscan city gate at Volterra (photo P. G. Warden)

In the ninth century, there is evidence of a settlement in the vicinity of the topmost plateau (Pian di Castello). In close proximity is the cemetery of Ripaie, with its cremation burials. The city continues to grow and by the eighth century occupies the entire plateau. The burial customs now include both cremation and inhumation in fossa tombs, as is common elsewhere in the region. Toward the end of the Villanovan and the beginning of the Orientalizing periods, Volterra seems to have reached the geographical extent of its expansion, noticeable by the density of burials especially in the

necropolis of Guerruccia, and by the appearance of small extra urban settlements. In the Cecina River valley, settlements of this period have been identified at Pomerance, Sassa, Casale Marittimo, and Montescudaio with necropolises nearby.³⁵⁰³ Some settlements enjoyed a longer *floruit*, while others such as Montescudaio were relatively short-lived. The number and density of necropolises dating from the fourth to the first centuries indicate the area was heavily populated and dispersed. The economic base would appear to be agrarian. The number, size, and construction of the tombs may indicate a broader and flatter profile to the social landscape. Massive walls and a well-preserved gate (Fig. 71.3) of later date have been preserved.

New evidence has emerged recently of an Etruscan presence north of Volterra at minor centers like Legoli³⁵⁰⁴ and Peccioli. These centers are in the region between Volterra and Pisa, but probably lay within the territory or political orbit of the former. Excavations at Peccioli have produced an unusually large pit that was filled with a great variety of fragmented remains from nearby structures (including tiles and plaster from buildings) as well as prestige items like bronzes and some exceptionally fine Attic red figure pottery.³⁵⁰⁵ The excavators convincingly suggest that the material may be the detritus of a sanctuary, and thus perhaps ritually buried; the site has been labeled as the Sanctuary of Ortaglia.³⁵⁰⁶ Further work in the area northwest of Volterra will certainly fill in the lacunae of our knowledge of the areas around Livorno and Pisa.³⁵⁰⁷

5The settlement at Casalvecchio (Casale Marittimo)

Among the noteworthy settlements in the Cecina River valley is that at Casalvecchio. The architectural evidence suggests the emergence of a new social pattern developing during the Orientalizing period, perhaps formalizing the authority of a local chieftain. Furthermore, fragments of pottery recovered from the area shed some interesting light on the exchange of gifts among the elite of this and the adjacent regions. The settlement occupied the summit of a small hill.³⁵⁰⁸ Excavations have revealed the existence of a collection of huts, which appear to have been destroyed toward the end of the eighth century. In the course of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, the settlement occupied the area of the plateau immediately below the acropolis. However, it was in the fully developed Orientalizing period that a building (Beta) of relatively imposing size and construction was erected on the site. The dramatic architectural departure from its predecessors, together with the numerous fragments of refined bucchero associated with the building have led scholars to conclude that the structure enjoyed an importance perhaps as a political or ceremonial center for the area. Suggestions that it may have served as the

“reggia” of the settlement echo similar hypotheses presented for the contemporary “Casa con Recinto” at Roselle and the larger more complex arrangement at Poggio Civitate. The excavations have revealed that toward the end of the seventh century, a new and larger structure (Building Gamma—at no less than 4.5m × 15m) was erected over the earlier foundations with an elongated plan consisting of clay walls reinforced with reeds and strengthened with poles. The structure was decorated with Gorgon-headed antefixes and painted plaques, and was probably destroyed by fire and apparently rebuilt without coroplastic decoration. It was finally destroyed and abandoned in the early decades of the sixth century. Excavations carried out in the 1960s indicate the existence of an intricate system of buildings belonging to the Hellenistic period.

Among the ceramic evidence recovered from the vicinity of buildings Beta and Gamma are a number of cup fragments with incised and impressed decoration of a type found at Monteriggioni, the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, Caere, and more recently Poggio Civitate. They provide a clear trail of gift exchange among elite families from these centers, though one wonders at the circumstances that brought them to these locations.

6Necropolis at Casa Nocera

The nearby necropolis at Casa Nocera consists of a series of tombs situated on a small mound rising from the plain.³⁵⁰⁹ The tombs chronologically range from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the sixth century, with the majority clustered around the middle of the seventh. There are inhumation burials of varying types. While Tomb C is not the earliest, it is certainly the largest and most elaborately built, and dates to the second quarter of the seventh century. As they have been robbed, few remains are preserved from any of these tombs. However, two imposing limestone statues were recovered in the vicinity, and it is thought that they belonged to the earliest phase of Tomb C.³⁵¹⁰ They are striking in their similarity to those recovered from the Tomba della Pietrera at Vetulonia, and attest to the range of influence of that city in this period. Together with the “bucchero sottile” from Building Beta, they provide a more nuanced picture of the interrelationship of elite families during the Orientalizing period.

While the grave deposits for this region are few, due to their removal over time, the recent discoveries in the area confirm the impression, given by earlier documentation that Volterra and its environs benefitted from their fortuitous location. The elaborately woven gold chain displaying techniques of filigree and granulation, together with the elegant gold fibulae attributed to the Tomba di Gesseri³⁵¹¹ indicate that certain elite families in the area were the recipients of opulent gifts like those of their coastal neighbors. They also

corroborate an exchange among elite families between this region and Vetulonia, and Caere, a conclusion drawn from the presence of similar “bucchero sottile” recovered from burials in these areas.

7Poggio Civitate (Murlo)

Traveling from Roselle, up the Ombrone, one reaches the hilltop site of Poggio Civitate some fifty-five kilometers inland. In some ways, despite its remarkable state of preservation, the site raises more questions than it answers. It presents us with some striking anomalies when considering Etruscan architectural development. While the site has produced one monumental building and several subsidiary structures that date to the sixth century, and three smaller yet equally impressive earlier structures representative of occupation on the hill during the Orientalizing period (Figs. 71.4.–71.5), the architectural picture is at best incomplete. One cannot say with certainty that a village existed on the top of the hill, but it is tempting to imagine that an area so large, which could easily have supported a small community, was home to a community greater than the inhabitants of the currently excavated structures. In the early 1970s, the discovery of nine fossa tombs on the adjacent Poggio Aguzzo, datable to the early to mid-seventh century,³⁵¹² provides a richer context for the architectural picture.

To date, the most notable and frequently discussed architectural units from the site are located on Piano del Tesoro, near the top of the hill.³⁵¹³ One large building, 60m× 90m, datable to the Archaic Period (Fig. 71.6), dominates the plateau. Its footprint occupies approximately seventy-five percent of the available building space on the plateau. The structure is composed of a series of rooms on four equal sides and is built around a colonnaded courtyard open to the sky. A projecting room at the northeast corner and another at the southwest corner connected by the extension of the western wall 30 m to the south, have been interpreted as watchtowers. Construction began some time shortly after 600. Ceramic evidence in the form of Greek pottery suggests the building was destroyed toward the last quarter of the sixth century, at which time the site was apparently abandoned. Though the nature of the destruction was thorough, and many of the various decorative elements appear to have been deliberately broken and buried in pits and hollows scattered throughout the plateau, the archaeologists were left with a relatively uncontaminated context. This has resulted in the preservation of a large portion of the structure’s decorative terracotta elements, including ridge tiles, pan and cover tiles, antefixes, simas and decorative frieze plaques. Noteworthy are the large statues of human figures, considered by many to represent ancestors, and the real and mythological creatures, which adorned the ridge of the roof, as protectors and symbols of power and authority.³⁵¹⁴

Adjacent to the building are two smaller structures. One lies immediately to the north of the northern wall and is situated on the very northern edge of the plateau. Its placement would suggest that the builders were either aware of the impending construction of the larger building or were already constrained by its existence. Ceramic evidence indicates that it was constructed after the destruction of the Orientalizing phase of occupation on the site. A second, equally small building lies to the south of the southern flank. Fragments of imported Greek pottery place the floruit of this structure toward the last quarter of the sixth century. It is the latest building to have been standing on the plateau. How this large structure and the adjacent buildings to the north and south functioned and who destroyed them remain up for discussion. It would be prudent to reserve judgment regarding the function of the building and the importance of the site in the region until further exploration on the hill has been carried out. Piano del Tesoro, while ideally situated on the hill, takes up less than a quarter of the available area, but the monumental building is not located on the highest point on the hill. Architecturally, Poggio Civitate documents the continuity of architectural development on one site, allowing us to see how architectural systems of decoration developed. This is particularly noticeable in the evolution of the lateral sima, the frieze plaques and even the acroterial decoration.³⁵¹⁵



Fig. 71.4: Poggio Civitate. Reconstruction of the Orientalizing period complex, view from the south (courtesy Murlo archive)

Lying below the foundations of the western flank of the Archaic Building is an earlier structure (OC1), which for its period would be considered substantial (5.8m × 35m) (Figs. 71.4.–71.5). From the materials recovered from the floor of the building, it would appear to have functioned as a

residence for a wealthy Etruscan of the period.³⁵¹⁶ Architecturally, the building's roof is crowned with ridgepole decoration in the form of flat geometric cutouts, vegetal patterns as well as animal and human motifs, a predecessor to the figures in the round which decorated the later structure built over it. While other decoration directly associated with the building from the find contexts is lacking, it can be inferred from those elements retrieved from a building situated to the southwest (OC2), less than 100 meters away and lying at the southernmost edge of Piano del Tesoro. This freestanding shed-like structure is devoid of walls and clearly served as a workshop for the mass production of large scale terracottas, artifacts of varying size in bronze and carved objects in bone, antler and ivory.³⁵¹⁷ It is assumed that ceramic production took place in the near vicinity, if not directly in the building, though no kiln has been found to date, nor is there evidence of intense heat around the workshop. It has been assumed that kilns are probably located along the south slope of the hill. This would allow them to catch the natural updraft and be near enough to the building for convenience of transporting clay artifacts in the fragile "greenware" state, but not next to it as a precaution against fire. Evidence of large containers of grain and carbonized seeds indicate that storage of comestibles was yet another function of the building. It should be noted that grain was also found stored in large vessels embedded in the floor of OC1. Remarkably, for so utilitarian a building, the roof was elaborately decorated with geometric cutouts of the type associated with OC1. In addition, a fully functioning lateral sima with applied female heads and hand-modeled lion spouts, in an earlier stage of development than that found on the archaic structure, decorated the lower terminus of the roof. The recovery of an unfired frieze plaque from the floor of the workshop, devoid of relief decoration and probably painted with scenes in its final stage also points to the evolution of that decorative form on the site. Its successor, which adorned the Archaic building, is almost identical in all dimensions, and was decorated with scenes in low relief accentuated by paint.

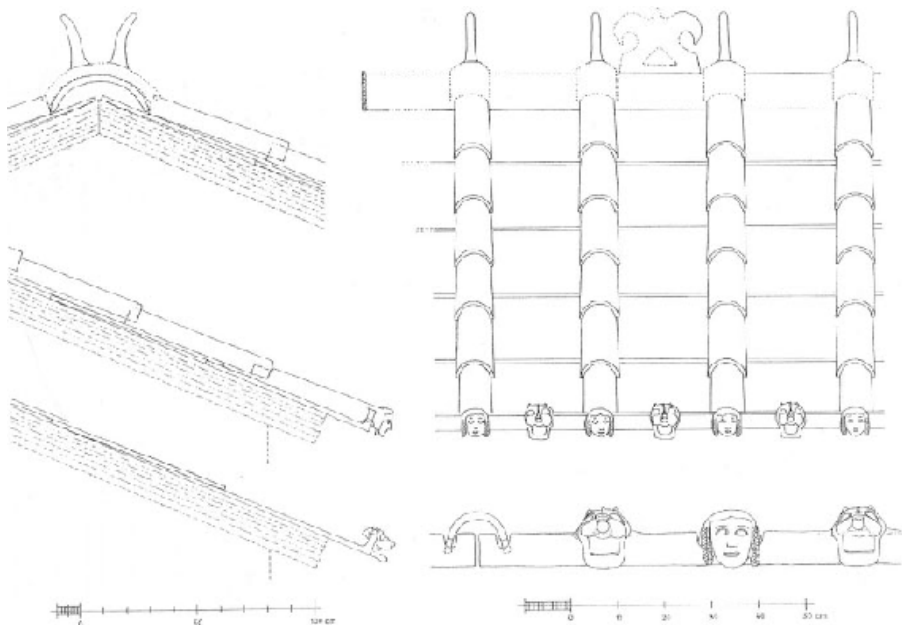


Fig. 71.5: Poggio Civitate. Roofing system of the Upper Orientalizing period complex: Workshop (courtesy N. Winter)



Fig. 71.6: Poggio Civitate. Reconstruction of the archaic period structure, view from the southeast (courtesy A. Tuck)

Between the workshop and the residence, the excavators have uncovered a third structure (OC3), a tripartite building with large foundation walls.³⁵¹⁸ The relatively large thickness of the walls suggests that the builders were inexperienced with supporting a heavy tile roof, and thus overcompensated by constructing thicker walls than necessary. This in turn suggests a first attempt at tile roofed construction on the site soon to be followed by other buildings with more appropriate walls as confidence and experience in the system grew. The excavators see in this building one of the early examples of a transition in construction from a thatched roof to a tiled one. More recent excavation in the

area, in an attempt to provide greater clarity, has brought to light fragments of *bucchero sottile* vessels lying on the floor and within the building.³⁵¹⁹ They are of a style associated with cups manufactured at Caere and perhaps Populonia. These cups, with their distinctive decorative patterns, incised, impressed and in relief have been identified as indicators of gift exchange among the elite. Similar vessels have been found at Caere, Vetulonia, Populonia, Monteriggioni, and Casale Marittimo, to name a few sites. These vessels were recovered from the floor of the building, and so it is tempting to see evidence of the building's usage as a religious or ceremonial structure and of a type suggested for the "Casa con Recinto" at Roselle and Building Beta/Gamma at Casale Marittimo. The formal arrangement of the rooms in OC3, with two wings flanking a central "cella" of twice the length, reinforces the impression of a building dedicated to ritual use.

All three buildings of the Orientalizing period at Poggio Civitate are tied together chronologically by stratigraphy and appear to have been destroyed by a single conflagration some time at the end of the seventh century. In this complex of three buildings, it is tempting to see the functional predecessor to the Archaic structure that dominated the site in the early sixth century. The elements of a residence, atelier and ceremonial/public center may be inferred in the later structure in three of the four wings that comprise the Upper Building together with what may have been an altar, located in the central courtyard adjacent to the western flank. The construction date for these buildings is still a matter of discussion.

The decoration of the Archaic building, and that associated with its predecessor has most recently been placed in a chronological sequence of architectural decoration found in Italy by Nancy Winter.³⁵²⁰ In her exhaustive study, the author dates the decorative elements of the Archaic building to ca. 580–575, with the possibility of some later replacements manufactured ca. 550–525. Those from the Orientalizing structure are placed between 640 and 630 in the sequential development of Italic terracottas; Winter observes that they constitute some of the earliest and most elaborate examples of Etruscan roof decorations. It is hard to imagine, however, that the elaborately decorated buildings of the OC were first attempts; they too must find their origins in earlier systems. Yet for the moment, the Orientalizing Complex at Poggio Civitate provides us with the earliest elaborately developed system yet uncovered in the region and its successor, the Archaic Building, is the earliest monumental structure to make its appearance in the Archaic period in northern Etruria. Paradoxically, no large tumuli have been identified to date that compare to those at other well-known sites for which equally elaborate architecture has yet to be uncovered. What are we to conclude? Why is the Archaic Complex sitting on the top of Poggio Civitate and what was its function? Where is the settlement associated with it?

Establishing a coherent chronology for the site is problematic. The building complex has no contemporary tombs, and conversely, the Poggio Aguzzo

tombs appear to be slightly earlier than the building dates normally assigned to the structures on Poggio Civitate.³⁵²¹ One may conclude that we have yet to find these earlier structures on the hill, given its considerable size, or we may have to reconsider the chronology currently assigned to the material from Poggio Civitate and Poggio Aguzzo. Is it possible to push back the chronology of the Orientalizing period buildings to more closely fit the tomb material or should we push down the dates of the tomb material to conform more closely with Winter's chronological sequence? How does Poggio Civitate aid in our constructing an accurate picture of an Etruscan settlement? If tombs are to be any indications, should we expect to see houses of monumentality, congruent with tombs of the period? If the simple "fossa tombs" of Poggio Aguzzo are associated with the inhabitants of Piano del Tesoro in the late Orientalizing period, where are their houses? Is the inhabitant of the monumental Archaic complex on Piano del Tesoro interred with his family on Poggio Aguzzo? Is there a monumental tumulus in the vicinity yet to be discovered? If the fossa tombs relate to the monumental complex and its predecessors, what can we expect architecturally in residences at Vetulonia and Populonia? To some degree, the answer may be provided in the OC complex on Piano del Tesoro. The material lying on the floor of OC1 has strong parallels with material found in the Montagnola tumulus at Sesto Fiorentino. The gold work, ivory/antler and the ceramics show a chronological relationship. Hence we may associate this tomb type with this residence, and by extension with the "cousins" of the Sesto tomb who were interred in the monumental tumuli of Populonia and Vetulonia. What remains a puzzle is the dearth of architectural terracottas at these and other important period sites. If structures as simple in function as the workshop on Piano del Tesoro can enjoy elaborate decoration, why have so few pieces come to light at sites other than Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa? It cannot be due to the fragility of the material or their reuse in another fashion. If the elaborate decoration of these buildings is an attempt by their owners to display social status and to serve as a statement of their lineage, then it might be reasonable to assume that these elements of distinction would be destroyed by succeeding generations in an attempt to restate the new social order. In any event, their presence on these buildings reinforces the interpretation that the site of Poggio Civitate enjoyed a position of considerable importance in the region during its *floruit*.

8The Colline Metallifere, Massa Marittima and the Lago dell'Accesa

The Colline Metallifere provided the Etruscans with vast natural resources that were fundamental to the wealth of Populonia, and Vetulonia, the major

Etruscan urban centers in the region, but also the other centers farther north and south, which must have directly profited from the trade in metals. Lago dell'Accesa³⁵²² provides an interesting contrast architecturally to Poggio Civitate. The site, predominantly dedicated to supporting the mining activity in the area, undoubtedly housed individuals connected to the mineral exploitation. While the houses are modest in comparison to the size and decoration of the main Archaic structure at Poggio Civitate, several of the buildings exceed the dimensions of the peripheral structures at that site. These have been identified by the excavators as homes of the "upper middle class," a supposition presumably based on their relative size, the number of rooms and the array of material found within. In several cases, the excavator alludes to scoops as ritual objects and conjectures that ceremonial and religious activities were carried out.

The buildings are randomly placed with no visible symmetry or order. There is no central space around which the houses are oriented. The alignment of some of the structures and the close proximity in which they are placed suggest they were standing in different periods. No reference is made to architectural terracottas, and it is assumed that the houses were simply roofed with pan and cover tiles but devoid of decoration. Several of the buildings are relatively large, although there are few comparisons from other sites in northern Etruria. Buildings here range between twenty and thirty meters in length, with irregular interior divisions creating five to seven rooms. The irregularity may be due in part to different construction periods or later remodeling. The larger buildings do approximate the size of OC1 at Poggio Civitate, absent the architectural decoration.

If we are to assume these are the homes of "upper middle class managers," as has been suggested, can we expect to find similar structures at Poggio Civitate? In the North and South Buildings, can one see structures designed to house managers responsible for overseeing the activity on the hill? Or do we have a different social order? Is it possible that further excavation on the hill will produce a habitation area not unlike what has been uncovered at Lago dell'Accesa? The proximity of tombs to the houses at Lago dell'Accesa is also interesting, though the two constructions may not be contemporary. A similar situation may have existed at Poggio Civitate, where small tombs, plundered at an earlier date, were found near an artisan area some 200 meters to the west of the Archaic buildings on Piano del Tesoro. Thus, Lago dell'Accesa provides us with a site that is contemporary with the Archaic complex at Poggio Civitate, but considerably different in layout, size and monumentality. Again it reinforces the importance within the community of the complex on Poggio Civitate, if size and decoration are considered as significant indicators. The modesty of the construction at Lago dell'Accesa is in high contrast to the elaborate construction and architectural embellishment lavished on the Archaic Building at Poggio Civitate.

9Chiusi, Sarteano and Environs

If one compares the richness of Chiusi's grave offerings with those found near the coastal cities, Chiusi evidently did not figure predominantly in the Orientalizing Period, but made its appearance felt more strongly in the Archaic Period and later. Chiusi exerted a significant influence on the surrounding regions with its artistic production. By the Archaic Period, its distinct artistic style is ubiquitous in the north central portion of Etruria, particularly manifested through its production of "bucchero pesante" and stamped decoration produced by roulette. Cremation remained popular and a particular form, the Canopic urn, became associated with the city and its immediate environs.

Chiusi has received significant attention by archaeologists and historians, perhaps because Livy mentions one of its kings—Porsenna—in the history of early Rome. Little if anything has been recovered of the Etruscan city itself, and much of our knowledge is gleaned from the numerous necropolises that spread out in various directions from Chiusi and Sarteano: Poggio Renzo, Fornace, Fonte all'Aia and Solaia, Sferracavalli respectively. Despite its size, Chiusi's artisans appear to have wielded considerable influence, and their distinct style can be found throughout Etruria in the Archaic and succeeding period, especially in bucchero production in relief and stamped ware (cylinder seals). While *bucchero pesante* from Chiusi is ubiquitous and evidence of the city's commercial health in the Archaic and Classical period, few examples of *bucchero sottile* of the Orientalizing period has been recovered to date.

It has been noted that Chiusi did not enjoy the benefits of being on the coast or located in a mineral-rich area like many of her neighbors. However, the seventh-century Plikasnas situla provides evidence of contact with the eastern world at a time contemporary with the appearance of similar objects on the coast and to the south. The vessel has been described by Marina Cristofani Martelli as possibly the product of an immigrant worker for a local client in Caere, and it displays aspects of style common to the Levant. The Pania pyxis, an elegant container elaborately carved from an elephant tusk, shows the growing influence of Greek narrative in the decorative scheme. Stylistically, the work reflects the influence of Vulci and has been dated from associated grave finds to the last quarter of the seventh and the early sixth century, providing further testimony to the interaction among elite families between the Agro Chiusino and the coast during the late Orientalizing period.

During the Iron Age, the inhabitants of Chiusi and its neighboring areas appeared to enjoy a level of equality. Burials manifest little differentiation in size or wealth of grave goods. At Sarteano, documentation of the ninth century Villanovan period is scarce. There are, however, numerous examples of tombs from the eighth century and the transitional period between the Villanovan and the Early Orientalizing. The necropolis of Sferracavalli, which was excavated by Bargagli, stands out in importance for the number of tombs

—150—of which twelve were *a ziro* of the Orientalizing Period and the rest were *a pozzetto*. Although the number of tombs increases dramatically during the Villanovan period and the scattering of necropolises suggests a diffusion of settlements in the area, the ceramic evidence recovered remains relatively poor and is probably an accurate indicator of the relative prosperity of the region when compared to its coastal neighbors.

In the course of the seventh century, the full Orientalizing Period, the territory of Sarteano, and the entire Agro Chiusino, as manifested by the emergence of necropolises and their grave deposits, begins to show a period of awakening. Growth and prosperity continues through the late Orientalizing and through the Archaic periods, as evidenced by the emergence of chamber tombs containing “Canopics” on thrones (Fig. 48.3). As with the “*circoli di pietre*” characteristic of the emerging coastal settlements, this distinctive burial type has been cited as an indication of social demarcation illustrating the emergence of family burials under a *pater gentilis* and breaking away from the earlier more equitable distribution seen in Villanovan necropolises. Such a distinction would appear to have developed somewhat later in this region than on the coast. Totally lacking at Sarteano are the throne or bronze ossuaries documented in the necropolises of Chiusi and in the latest discoveries at Chianciano, which are symptomatic of an aristocratic wealth that began to manifest itself in burials with all the symbols and attributes of power tied to control and the agricultural richness of the area. The fact that the area’s economic base was centered on agriculture, resulting in a different social landscape, may explain why the city of Chiusi itself remained geographically limited and why settlement was dispersed in a manner that is characteristic of northern Etruria. The elite clans in the region lived outside the city, controlling large tracts of land and employing workers that lived in smaller settlements.

In the sixth century, one sees the presence of settlements in the area of Solaia and Mulin Canale, but there was a gradual movement—which became stronger in the succeeding century—toward the Astrone River and the areas under the central hegemony of Chiusi. In the area of Pianacce, a few monumental tombs were excavated by Guglielmo Maetzke in the 1950s that contain material from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods and indicate the presence of aristocratic families that used the burial sites for successive generations. The richness of the grave deposits and the source of much of their inspiration illustrate the wealth of those interred and speak to the general impact of Chiusi on the region. In the late 1990s, the discovery of chamber tombs in a fifth-century necropolis in the area of Palazzina, with deposits of Attic red figure and Etruscan black figure give further testimony to the wealth of the local elite and to the prosperity of the region.³⁵²⁵ The grave goods and tomb typologies provide close parallels with those coexisting in the necropolis of La Pedata at Chianciano and to a somewhat lesser degree those in the necropolis of urban Chiusi. The discovery of the remarkable Tomba della

Quadriga Infernale³⁵²⁶ in the Pianacce Necropolis with the well preserved remains of elaborately painted walls dramatically illustrates the level of sophistication reached by the elites of Sarteano. It also presents a radically different iconography of the afterlife in the eponymous scene of a red-haired figure (a demon?) riding a chariot drawn by two lions and two griffins. A banquet scene is somewhat more conventional, but a monumental coil of snakes once again places it in an otherworldly context. While the iconography is extraordinary, the manner of decoration connects Sarteano to other sites with monumental tomb painting, including Chiusi, Orvieto, and even Tarquinia. Further excavation in the Pianacce necropolis is bringing to light more chamber tombs and even a “theatrical” area for the performance of funerary rites. Clearly Chiusi and environs were home to well-connected wealthy and sophisticated families.

During the Hellenistic period, Sarteano experiences continued growth as one finds elsewhere in the Agro Chiusino. There are new settlements and a reflowering in the area of Mulin Canale and Solaia, documented by various tombs of differing typologies. In the Hellenistic period, we find a settlement associated with the necropolis in the area of Le Tombe, from which came most of the Collezione Bargagli, now in the archaeological museum in Siena. Further evidence of continued growth in the area can be seen from the statue fragments of a pediment now displayed in the Chiusi Archaeological Museum, which are said to belong to a sanctuary in the vicinity of Astrona.

The only settlement discovered in the area of Sarteano, and presumably dating to the third–second centuries, is that documented in an unpublished note by Guglielmo Maetzke, based on trenches dug in 1957 in the area of Aiola to the south of the center of Sarteano on the road to Radicofani. Excavations uncovered a foundation of travertine blocks, numerous tiles and black glazed pottery.³⁵²⁷ The social organization associated with this settlement model is the same explained by Cristofani for the entire agro Chiusino, one of small agricultural farmers in a familial relationship that produced grapes and is corroborated by the discovery of a tomb at Mulin Canale with thirty-nine niches cut into the dromos beside the contemporary monumental burial chamber. This societal arrangement apparently coexisted with elite families whose burials were comprised of more imposing funeral chambers.

10Arezzo, Cortona, and the Val di Chiana

As it is today, the area between and around the important cities of Arezzo and Cortona must have been extremely fertile in antiquity, and the agricultural wealth would have enriched the nearby cities. In fact, the plains around Arezzo (*Etrusci campi*) are mentioned by Livy as particularly prosperous and

a prime target for Hannibal during the second Punic War (Livy 22.3.3–6). The land around Arezzo was notably fertile in Roman times, and the city is strategically placed with connections that must have facilitated trade both within Etruria and with non-Etruscan areas across the Apennines.³⁵²⁸ Arezzo contributed large quantities of arms and grain to the Roman cause and the expedition against Hannibal in Africa in 205 (Livy 28.45.16–17). Although Arezzo was certainly an important city by the fifth century, little is known of its early history, and its foundation is possibly later than other cities in the northern interior. The earliest necropolis, Poggio del Sole, southeast of the city, dates to the sixth and fifth centuries.³⁵²⁹ Not much is known about the city in this period, but the presence of important Greek imports—for instance the remarkable Attic red figure krater by Euphronios, now in the Arezzo Museum—attest to lively trade with the Greek world. Arezzo figures prominently in Roman sources, especially for the later Hellenistic Period.³⁵³⁰ It remains an important center into the Roman period, particularly noteworthy for its ceramic production. The city itself is now covered by later remains, but it doubtless included the area between the Duomo and the high parts of the hill. Despite the lack of archaeological evidence, what remains documents a variety of religious areas: a votive deposit near S. Lorentino that included the famous Chimaera, more votive deposits connected to a cult area at Fonte Veneziana, architectural terracottas from a temple near S. Iacopo, and sanctuaries in the broader region, ranging from Castelsecco (third century) to Pieve Socana where a well preserved altar of the fifth century has been discovered. Farther to the north, Arezzo must have had connections to important cult centers such as the sanctuary at Monte Falterona, at a small pond that marked the headwaters of the Arno in the Apennines. Here massive amount of bronzes of every type were dedicated, from the well-known statues that now grace major museums in New York, Paris, London, and St. Petersburg, to masses of small weapons, implements, and *aes rude*.

The area between Arezzo and Cortona was once defined by the *Clanis* River and includes what must have been small hilltop towns of no mean importance, like Castiglion Fiorentino, where recent work, especially in the area of Torre Cassero,³⁵³¹ has produced evidence for a flourishing settlement from at least the sixth century onward. Not far from Castiglion Fiorentino, one of the most exceptional deposits of bronzes was excavated in 1863.³⁵³² The Brolio deposit included four large figurines—three male and one female—that clearly served as supports, possibly for a basin or as the base for a piece of furniture (Fig. 71.7a–b). A plausible hypothetical reconstruction would have the three male warriors moving (or dancing?) around the centrally placed female (a goddess?). Smaller animal figures might have decorated other parts of this object. The Brolio deposit is often referred to as votive, a term that is used generically for any sort of deposit, thus part of a sanctuary setting, but the exact nature of this early and unusual deposit remains in question.



Fig. 71.7: Two bronze figurines from the Brollo deposit: a. male; b. female (photo SAT)

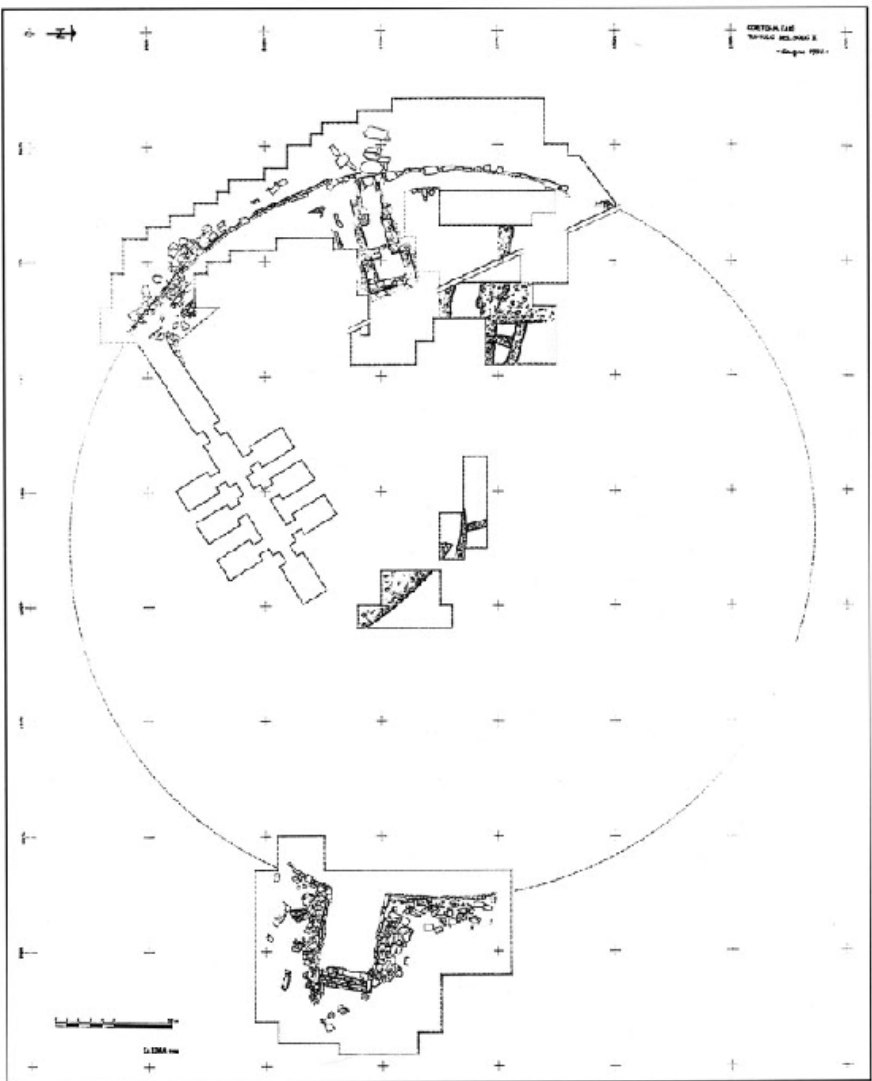


Fig. 71.8: Cortona, tumulus Sodo II: plan (courtesy SAT)

The city of Cortona is located in a dominant and defensible position that backs up against high hills and faces west towards the Val di Chiana and Lago Trasimeno.³⁵³³ The general layout of the city can still be discerned today even if the urban fabric of later periods covers the Etruscan city. Massive Etruscan walls still girdle the lower part of the city, and the high acropolis is now covered by a Medici fortress. Tombs and a possible hut serve as slight evidence of Villanovan occupation, but the city clearly comes to prominence in the Orientalizing period when large tumuli are built far below the city on the plain in the vicinity of modern Camucia.³⁵³⁴ These tumuli are in proximity to Orientalizing grave circles from even earlier, from the middle of the

seventh century. Small soundings in the city proper have turned up good quantities of seventh-century bucchero, but the preponderance of evidence once again comes from the rich cemeteries. Particularly notable are the Melone del Sodo I and II, enormous tumuli that signify the rising power of the ruling elites (Fig. 71.8). The recent discovery of a monumental stone funerary altar connected to the Sodo II tumulus, which has been known since the nineteenth century, along with evidence of other structures, provides evidence for the rituals and symbolism associated with funerary cults. The altar (Fig. 71.9) has a typical Etruscan stone podium and a steep staircase that leads to the platform. The *antae* of the staircase are decorated with scenes of mortal combat between a warrior and a lion.³⁵³⁵ In each case, a massive seated feline has within its grasp a male warrior, who is driving a sword into the side of the predator, a remarkable image of two beings becoming one while at the same time killing each other. The scale of the Cortona altar, apart from the sculptural decoration, is indicative of ancestor veneration that suggests heroization if not actual deification of ancestors.³⁵³⁶ Cortona remains an important city through the Hellenistic period. The impressive walls were added in the sixth or fifth century, and there is abundant evidence from Cortona, Camucia, and even nearby Ossaia of cult places or sanctuaries, much of which is revealed by the find spots of the abundant bronzes that grace the Cortona Museum. Two finds are exceptional. One is the famous bronze lamp found in a field in the vicinity of Cortona, which is one of the most massive and elaborate of Etruscan bronzes and a testament to the quality of metal production in the Val di Chiana. The other is the Tabula Cortonensis, which is of interest, apart from the inscription that seems to relate to real estate transactions, in the way it was purposely cut into pieces, perhaps as part of a ritual (Fig. 38.2). The splendid metal production from this area becomes even more remarkable when we factor in the Brolio deposit, the Chimaera of Arezzo, the Arringatore, and even the recently restored Minerva, now considered an original work of the Hellenistic period.



Fig. 71.9: Cortona, tumulus Sodo II: altar (photo SAT)



Fig. 71.10: Gonfienti: general view of House 3 (photo P.G. Warden)



Fig. 71.11: Stela from Londa (photo SAT)

11Fiesole and the Agro Fiorentino

The area around Florence, what Francesco Nicosia called the Agro Fiorentino,³⁵³⁷ presents a case study of demography and urban development that is characteristic of northern Etruria. This includes a loose agglomeration of various types of settlements—from hilltop towns surrounded by necropolises (such as Artimino), to orthogonally planned cities in the manner of Marzabotto to the north, and the recently discovered site of Gonfienti. The major city in the area, according to later sources, was Fiesole (Lat. *Fiesulae*), a site that came to prominence only after the classical period, at least judging from the scant evidence of earlier material that has come to light to date—primarily scant fragmentary ceramics of the Villanovan and Orientalizing periods. Settlement must have been concentrated on the two highest points, San Francesco and Sant’Apollinare, and it is only in the later Archaic period that the site demonstrates better evidence of significant material culture, including late Archaic terracottas, a fragment of which has been identified as

an altar,³⁵³⁸ and a votive deposit in the former Villa Marchi. Certainly by the fourth century, Fiesole was the dominant site, judging by the preserved remains of fortification walls, a temple embedded in the fabric of later Roman construction, and historical sources that attest to the site's importance. The picture that emerges, however, is that before the fourth century Fiesole is no more significant than any of the other sites in the area, including Sesto and its imposing Orientalizing tombs (Montagnola and La Mula), and even the plain of Florence itself, where Villanovan burials have been found at both Peretola and in the center of the modern city.³⁵³⁹ Far more impressive than Fiesole are the Orientalizing tombs at Comeana and Montefortini, as well as the remains of the settlement, unfortunately much disturbed by later building, in the area of the Villa Medicea at Artimino.³⁵⁴⁰ Recent work has also produced what may very well be a sanctuary on the dominant acropolis of Pietramarina.³⁵⁴¹ Artimino and Comeana, with their rich tomb groups of the Orientalizing Period, document the wealth of early elites at strategically placed settlements scattered around the Florence basin.³⁵⁴² That the area continued to be prosperous is clear from the new discoveries at Gonfienti, a site in the plain of what is now the area between Prato and Florence (Fig. 71.10).



Fig. 71.12: Kilns in the Podere Funghi, production areas associated with the sanctuary of Poggio Colla (photo Mugello Valley Archaeological Project)

Gonfienti was rationally laid out on a grid, and the orientation of the city is said to mirror that found across the Apennines at Marzabotto. Whether this is

by trans-Appennine design or the result of standardized religious precepts in the laying out and ordering of cities is a fascinating question. The excavators at Gonfienti have carefully excavated an elite residence that takes up an entire block, rather different in this sense from the houses at Marzabotto that constitute parts of *insulae*. The house is of the peristyle type, arranged around a porticoed courtyard that opens onto a large dining area in the back. The portico was decorated with figural antefixes, and the ceramics found crushed in the dining area include Attic red figure vases of astonishing quality.³⁵⁴³

The scattered settlement pattern in the Agro Fiorentino can also be found in the neighboring areas of Mugello and Val di Sieve, the liminal areas northeast of Florence that provided access to Bologna and Etruria Padana. That there was a cultural continuum in the Arno valley and its tributaries (Agro Fiorentino, Val di Sieve, Mugello, and even farther downstream from Artimino) is clear from the find spots of the “pietre Fiesolane,” a series of funerary stelae and cippi (Fig. 71.11) that provide a virtual guide to the demography of these areas in the sixth and fifth centuries.³⁵⁴⁴ Although almost every one of these funerary reliefs had been removed from its original position in an Etruscan cemetery, their general find spots document the many small and scattered settlements that must only have coalesced into a larger polity, presumably dominated by Fiesole, after the fifth century. In the Mugello and Val di Sieve, important settlements existed at Londa, Frascole (Dicomano), and San Piero a Sieve. The latter, judging from a now-destroyed Orientalizing tumulus on the valley floor, has the earliest documentable Etruscan presence, but recent work at the settlement and sanctuary of Poggio Colla (Vicchio) is producing rich Orientalizing-period evidence, and more that is possibly even earlier.

The acropolis sanctuary of Poggio Colla prospered from at least the seventh century until its destruction, probably at the hands of the Romans in the second century.³⁵⁴⁵ The settlement included production areas, as in Cetamura (Fig. 71.12),³⁵⁴⁶ that must certainly have been connected to the economic agency of the sanctuary itself, which was strategically placed in a dominant position at the juncture of two discrete areas, the broad Mugello basin and the narrowing defiles of the Val di Sieve, which afford access to the Arno and the Agro Fiorentino. The sanctuary, which in recent years has produced abundant information about ritual activity,³⁵⁴⁷ had at least four phases of occupation. The earliest, identified by traces of hut foundations, may be associated with two heavily carbonized strata that predate the first stone architecture and are filled with bucchero and bucceroid impasto that date to at least as early as the middle of the seventh century. Subsequent to this early horizon, there are at least three building phases that have been discussed in detail elsewhere.³⁵⁴⁸ In Phase I, possibly in the late sixth or fifth century, a monumental temple was built on the acropolis. The temple was destroyed and replaced by two subsequent courtyard complexes. The first of these (Phase II) measures approximately 11 by 20 m and had a large central altar as well as change in

axis. Phase III continued the courtyard plan, with only minor changes in layout but with rubble rather than ashlar foundations. What is interesting about the transition from Phase I to II, from podium temple to courtyard structure, is that the temple parts were ritually treated, and that these ritual actions are mirrored in the many votive or ritual deposits at the site.³⁵⁴⁹

12Pisa and Liguria

Etruscan Pisa was relatively unknown until the excavations and research of Stefano Bruni revealed an Etruscan presence as early as the Orientalizing period. Bruni carefully excavated a tumulus with a large stone altar placed at its summit.³⁵⁵⁰ The altar seems to have been used and ritually broken, and traces of a sacrificial knife, four iron spits, an iron trident (again, ritually broken), and the jaw of a horse were found *in situ*. Because the main chamber of the tumulus did not contain a body, Bruni surmised that the tomb belonged to an Etruscan noble, a *princeps gentis*, who had been lost at sea. Most interesting is the fact that the upper part of the tumulus was used as a cemetery from around 700 to the fifth century, as a place for smaller tombs for succeeding generations of descendants of the noble ancestor. Here the altar has become the centerpiece of an elaborate genealogical setting that connects the living with the dead and that endows privileged status through connection with a hero-ancestor, possibly one whose status has been ritually established through the sacrifice of a horse and the destruction of the altar. The tumulus is surrounded by cippi and stelai, some of which are inscribed with the names of family members, creating a tableaux vivant of elite genealogy.

The area around Lucca and the north has recently received more attention and has become more archaeologically visible thanks to the research of Giulio Ciampoltrini. An Etruscan presence is clear at Garfagnana³⁵⁵¹ and at the edges of Liguria,³⁵⁵² but the boundary between Etruria must have been mutable, and relationships between these two peoples would certainly have changed over the course of the first millennium. As with much of northern Etruria, there is much to be learned, no more so than in the liminal mountainous areas that separated the Etruscans from their neighbors.

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Andrea Zifferero

72 Settlement Patterns and Land Use

Abstract: The term “landscape” means the outcome of the changes wrought by man on the environment in the course of extracting resources useful for survival. Defining the Etruscan landscape is the result of recent studies, which on the one hand have analyzed and classified the features of rural sites and on the other have reconstructed specific characteristics of the environment in pre-Roman antiquity. Research on the landscape is based above all on field walking, which, through targeted surveys that explore specific regions in Etruria in an integrated way, has revealed a significant body of information on open sites since the first British studies in and around the city of Veii. These open sites—which are typically small (usually less than 1 ha of scattered surface finds of domestic ceramics and building materials), are located near arable land, and are completely lacking defenses—have long been interpreted as the fundamental Etruscan productive unit on the basis of their agricultural production (particularly the cultivation of grapes and olives, integrated with cereals) and livestock. This chapter presents the historical evolution of the rural settlement system. In the Late Iron Age, the growth of the city and the reoccupation of settlements on smaller plateaus by some of the aristocracy produced a stable form of ownership in the countryside, with large estates owned by Etruscan *aristoi* who used members of the lower classes or slaves for agricultural labor. Between the late seventh and the early sixth century BCE, however, a profound change in Etruscan society can be observed, which coincides with the rise of open sites. These sites highlight direct contact with arable land on the part of the resident population of the countryside: the presence of small, mid-level necropolises connected with open sites assumes a stable form of land ownership declared by the burial. Archaeological data indicate the emergence of a middle class in the Archaic period that was capable of producing a significant agricultural surplus to be transported on commercial routes through the western Mediterranean and particularly directed toward the Celts between the sixth and the mid fifth centuries. The chapter thus offers a synthesis of the principal problems involved with analysis of the Etruscan landscape and presents a synoptic view of the development of the rural population in southern Etruria from the Orientalizing period to the Roman conquest, which occurred between the early fourth and early third centuries.

Keywords: Rural landscape; open sites; agricultural production; land control; commerce

1 Definition of the Etruscan landscape and methods of study

If “landscape” is understood to mean the outcome of the changes wrought by man on the environment in the course of extracting resources useful for survival, then defining the Etruscan landscape is the result of many recent studies. Only in the last few years, in fact, has research into the Etruscan countryside (understood as the area around a settlement), with the critical

contribution of field walking, reached a suitable level of complexity. On the one hand, attention is concentrated on the distinctive features of rural sites, which are marked by limited, scattered finds of ceramics and building materials; on the other, a multidisciplinary approach between Etruscology and the natural sciences is increasing knowledge of the domestication of the grape and the olive in an effort to identify continuities between the ancient and the modern countryside. In its geomorphology and soil, as well as its climate and rainfall, Etruria is an ideal region for the practice of Mediterranean polyculture, which comprises the integrated cultivation of grapes, olives, and mixed cereals, side by side with livestock.³⁵⁵³

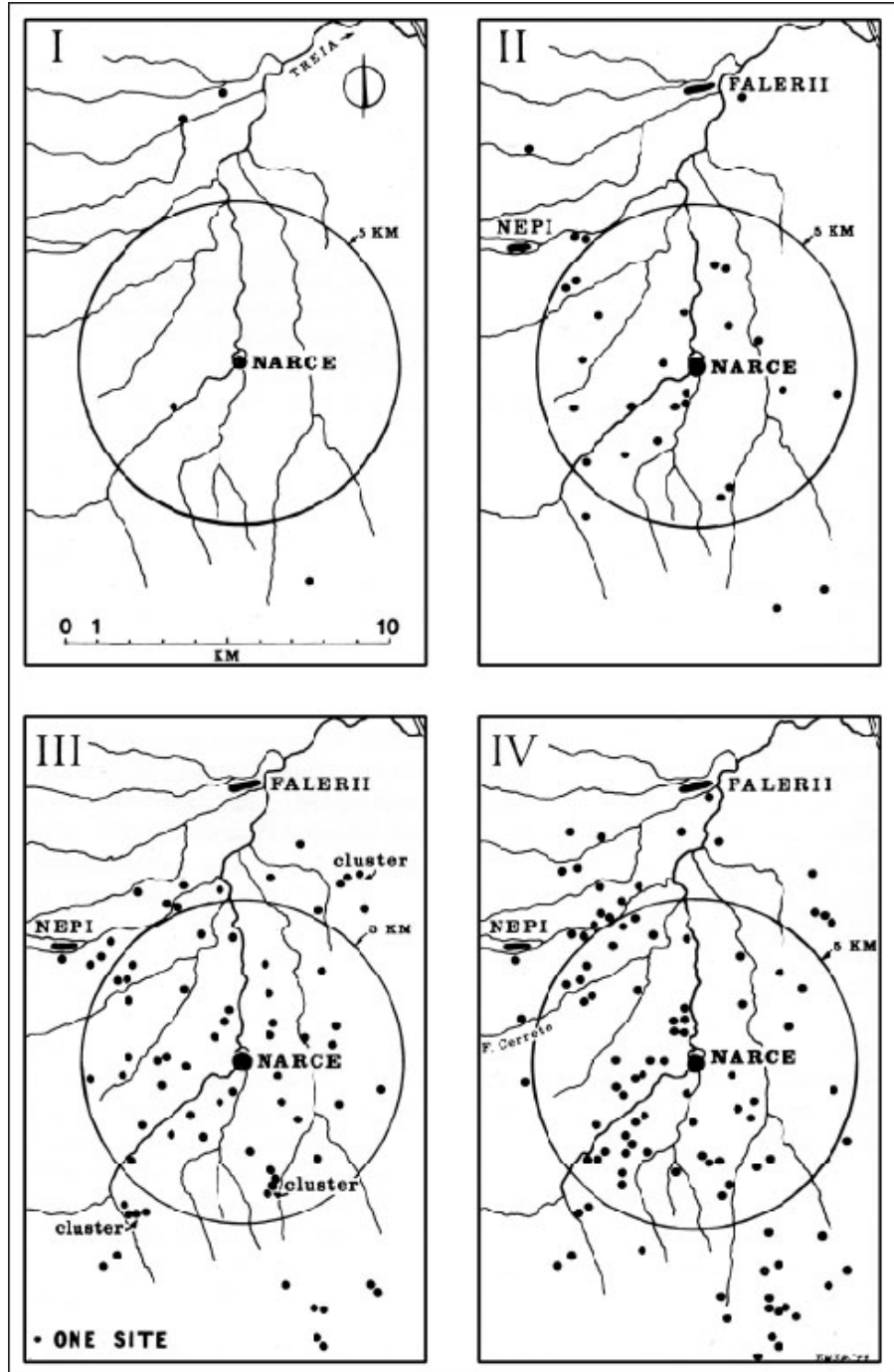


Fig. 72.1: Distribution of archaeological sites identified during the Ager Faliscus survey (1966–71), under the direction of Timothy W. Potter. The circle around Narce marks the extent of a hypothetical territory of 5 km radius. (I) Bronze Age; (II) ca. tenth–eighth centuries; (III) ca. seventh–sixth centuries; (IV) ca. fifth–fourth centuries (after Potter 1976; courtesy The British School at Rome)

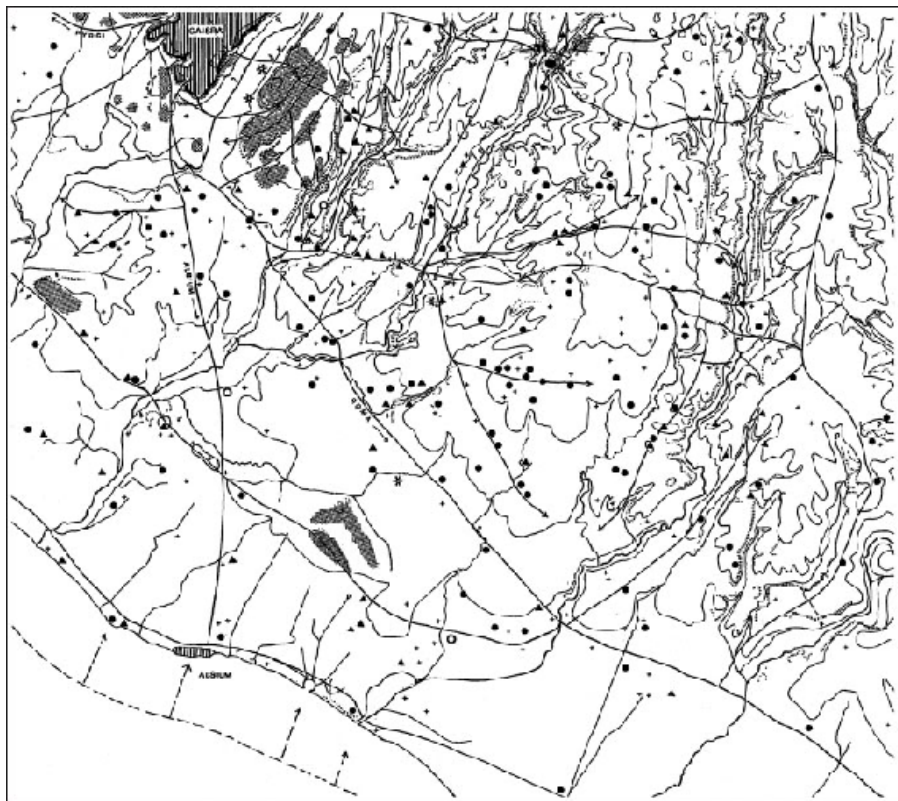


Fig. 72.2: Distribution of open sites (end of the seventh–sixth century) in the eastern countryside of Caere: (*crosshatching*) the plateau of Caere and the port of Alsium; (*black circles*) small open sites; (*open circles*) large open sites; (*black triangles*) rural necropolises; (*dotted areas*) extensive necropolises; (*asterisks*) cult places; (*crosses*) generic finds (drawing by F. Enei; courtesy of F. Enei)

Research on the landscape and agricultural use of the soil owes much to British archaeology, in particular to the methodology developed for the South Etruria Project, which was established by John Ward Perkins at the beginning of the 1950s. Here the exceptional visibility resulting from agrarian reform around the city of Veii allowed surveys that resulted in an immense quantity of data, with the development of the first typological and chronological parameters for the classification of open sites in Etruria (Figs. 72.1., 72.2).³⁵⁵⁴

One difficulty to be addressed is the predominantly historical perspective of the topographical analyses conducted by Italian scholars, who were unaccustomed to considering the complex stratification of the landscape or to approaches recognizing long periods of environmental development. The history of agricultural production and several outlines of the Etruscan food supply system have used literary and iconographical sources, underestimating the contribution of the soil, climatic, and agronomic analyses that can clarify the nature and suitability of soils for cultivation. Archaeological data have also been employed in discussions of the use of food in ritual contexts (e.g.,

the composition of funerary goods), or trade in agricultural products (e.g., the distribution of amphorae), but the considerable body of information on the handling and cooking of foodstuffs conveyed by domestic ceramics has been practically ignored.³⁵⁵⁵

Full recognition of the different types of settlements, as implied by the structure of the rural fabric, is still hindered by the paucity of knowledge of the topography of Etruscan cities, the complex nature of which has sometimes been highlighted by the identification of a suburban zone occupied by necropolises and cult places as well as minor centers and farms, distinct from the zone deeper into the countryside. These features have been the focus of research on the formation and composition of territory controlled by the city and on the close relationship that existed between the city and countryside. This relationship is evident in the remarkable size of the agricultural surplus of cities such as Caere and Vulci, which was destined for trade and transported in *impasto* amphorae (which primarily held wine and oil or olives, the principal products of Etruscan agriculture) that have been found between the Ligurian Sea and the Gulf of Lion, as far as the coast of Catalonia.³⁵⁵⁶

2The city as central place and the rise of aristocratic estates (*latifundia*)

An appropriate term for the political and economic relationship between city and countryside in Etruria has recently been devised: the “territorial state.” Structured in a hierarchical way across a network of settlements that identifies the vast area of influence of the city, it differs according to its relative position in the complex mosaic of Etruria proper, between the Arno and the Tiber, and is now also recognizable in the settlement patterns of the Po Valley and Etruscan Campania.³⁵⁵⁷

At least in central and southern Etruria, the concept of the territorial state offers distinct possibilities for focusing on the phenomenon of the city from the proto-urban phase to the extensive topographical and social organization of the historical period. As the southern area is better studied in terms of settlement dynamics, the region can be taken as a paradigm for the relationship between city and countryside in Tyrrhenian Italy. Here the city emerges in the late Final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, on uplands extending 100–150 ha or more, in a process that led to the abandonment of minor Final Bronze Age settlements (which were generally located on small plateaus or hillsides, with an average size of around 5 ha), and the relocation and concentration of Proto-Villanovan communities on larger plateaus.³⁵⁵⁸

In the Late Iron Age, from around the middle of the eighth century BCE, the southern cities redefined their relationship with the countryside through the systematic reoccupation of minor settlements between 5 and 10 ha in size,

many of which had already been frequented in the Final Bronze Age. These sites reproduce the topographic model of the city on a small scale. They are bordered by deep ravines, crossed by waterways that shaped the sides of the plateaus, and have necropolises distributed on uplands surrounding the settlement. Interestingly, the necropolises of smaller centers reflect an aggregation of family groups and yield important signs of the stratified nature of Etruscan society. At the top is found a class that expressed a level of prosperity approaching the urban aristocracies, through tomb architecture and a wealth of funerary goods.³⁵⁵⁹

It is therefore likely that, at least in the initial phase, the reoccupation of the Etruscan countryside in southern Etruria had dynamics similar to those of the coastal cities. A dominant class controlled the countryside with *latifundia* (vast family-held estates) placed within a few hours' walk from an upland settlement that were farmed by drawing on the labor of the lower classes and slaves and were inherited by descendants. As Marco Rendeli has observed, the city already exercised an important role in the organization of the countryside in the Orientalizing period, employing the geographical model of a central place with articulated peripheral branches.³⁵⁶⁰

Due to its complexity, however, aristocratic control of the countryside defies generalization, and similar evidence can suggest different forms of occupation and control of the land. For example, in the Orientalizing period, in the corridor between the Val d'Orcia and the Ombrone Valley, forms of dynastic ownership of the countryside are found that imply a desire for autonomy from Chiusi. This is expressed by monumental buildings, as in the case of Poggio Civitate (Siena), where a grand residence with an adjoining workshop was built in the mid seventh century, rebuilt at the beginning of the sixth, and finally destroyed during the second half of that century.³⁵⁶¹

3Etruscan open sites and agricultural production in the Archaic period

Although it is a recent contribution, the identification of open sites has emphasized the complexity of the settlement system in Etruria and other parts of pre-Roman Italy. Typical characteristics are: (a) a size of less than 1 ha, usually between 0.25 and 0.5 ha; (b) the presence of domestic *impasto* ceramics for preserving and cooking foodstuffs, and fine ceramic tableware in bucchero and depurated pottery; (c) the presence of building materials (usually blocks in *opus quadratum*, cover tiles, and pantiles); (d) a short distance between open sites, often less than 1 km; (e) location in an area with high agricultural potential; (f) a location lacking natural or artificial defenses; (g) connection with roads and paths of communication; and (h) connection with necropolises of limited size (Figs. 72.3., 72.4).³⁵⁶²

Increasing knowledge of maritime commerce has clarified the Etruscan system of production and its evolution over time. What appears certain is the noteworthy availability of a surplus of not only agricultural but also artisanal products that poured into markets in the western Mediterranean between the beginning of the sixth and the middle of the fifth centuries. This surplus is the result of both a well-structured system of production that was supported by slave labor and, most likely, a form of fragmentation of the land that allowed free individuals to farm large sections of the Etruscan countryside, probably under the direction and control of a city.³⁵⁶³

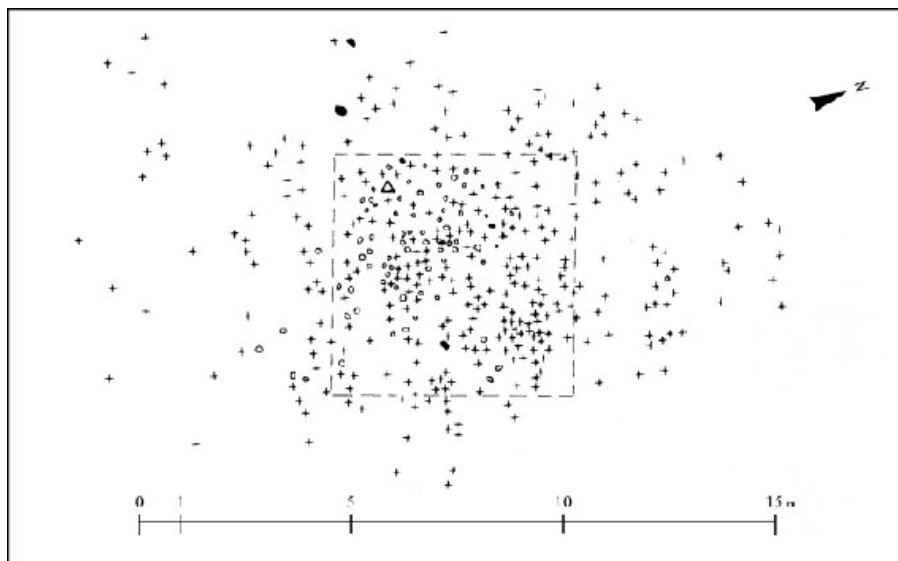


Fig. 72.3: Rendering of an Etruscan open site identified in the countryside of Caere: (*triangles*) fragments of small grindstones; (*crosses*) tiles; (*open circles*) limestone flakes; (*filled circles*) red tufa flakes; (*dashed line*) the hypothetical perimeter of the building (drawing by F. Enei; courtesy F. Enei)



Fig. 72.4: An Etruscan open site at Poggio Lascone (Tolfa), in the territory of Caere: view of the surviving artificial terraces, designed to limit erosion of the hillside, located along the side of the site (photograph by the author)

At the height of the Archaic period, the result of these transformations can be seen in the assertion of a middle class that was responsible for a peak in artisanal production due to a remarkable specialization in workshops corresponding with a perceptible rise in agricultural production. Signs of the widespread cultivation of the countryside in southern Etruria, in addition to open sites, are substructures on hillsides with terracing walls for protection from hydrological instability; extensive systems of tunnels dug into the tufa for the drainage of surface water; and roads cut deeply into tufa banks that connect the bases and summits of cultivated plateaus. It took enormous organized and collective labor to execute these works, which is unthinkable on the part of individual farmers; hence the current debate on forms of temporary control of the land or, alternatively, stable ownership secured through individual holdings awarded by the city.³⁵⁶⁴

Another topic for discussion is the relationship between rural sites and burial places. On the one hand, the distribution and topography of necropolises, along with funerary architecture and burial goods, have facilitated recognition of the social status of the deceased. On the other hand, the presence of burials directly connected with these sites has suggested forms of long-lasting ownership of arable land that was granted to those who carried out burials in contexts outside urban necropolises and those of settlements on smaller uplands.³⁵⁶⁵

With archaeological survey one can only sense the workings of the rural population. Detailed knowledge of open sites is limited by the small number of excavated southern sites. Surveys make it possible to identify a peak in the

occupation of open sites during the sixth century in southern Etruria, followed by a decline during the fifth and fourth centuries. This is especially noticeable in the territory of Caere. The city of Veii and its southern territory, in the corridor between the Arnone and the Tiber, seems to have had a peak in the sixth century and more restrained occupation in the fifth, until the Roman conquest in 396. The northwest sector of the territory of Vulci, in contrast, gravitating around the middle and lower Albegna Valley, seems to have been particularly active in the course of the fifth century and much of the fourth.³⁵⁶⁶

4The rural landscape in Etruria: An attempted synthesis

In the Late Iron Age (the middle decades of the eighth century), the Etruscan city is fully configured. Institutions are under the stable control of the aristocratic class, who were at the top of a complex social structure that includes a servile class. Aristocrats encourage the development of artisanal activities within the urban fabric, which support a high level of production and drive a complex network of exchanges and gifts connected with commercial routes in the western Mediterranean. At least in the Tyrrhenian area, this phase witnesses the construction of the Etruscan territorial states, with the reoccupation of settlements on smaller plateaus. This should be understood as part of the expansionist policies of the Etruscan cities in a territory of influence that was produced by a complex network of alliances and agreements between *aristoi* who exercised a recognized power from the city. Between the late eighth and the early seventh century, the structure of the landed aristocracy becomes visible, which establishes and guarantees family power over arable land that can be transferred by inheritance. Despite the difficulty of focusing on archaeological indicators, I have proposed that monumental tumuli and isolated tombs may indicate the existence of a landed estate, as burial represents a tangible form of control over the land. These tumuli, placed some distance from urban necropolises and/or those of settlements on smaller plateaus, sometimes initiate burial nuclei reserved for descendants and for members of classes lower than that of the dominant group.³⁵⁶⁷

Besides plateau settlements, complex territorial structures are sometimes indicated by sites on high ground, such as the summit of hill ranges, which are often reinforced by embankments and hanging walls and have probable defensive functions (ranging from the control of mineral fields to the protection of the territorial state's boundaries), which were most likely entrusted to parts of the aristocracy peripheral to the urban structure.³⁵⁶⁸

In the final decades of the seventh century, or the Late Orientalizing period,

archaeology signals profound changes in Etruscan society. Aristocratic groups increase in number with the diffusion of rank through offspring, and probably compete for possession of the land and control of production. Some aspects of the conflict may involve land distribution according to family ties expressed in a gentilicial arrangement, which collects the descendants of a common ancestor and those of lower classes under one name. The extent of the phenomenon is not clear, and there are possible analogies with another ancient society with a wealth of evidence and available documentary sources—namely, that of Archaic Rome. Recent studies of land control in monarchic and early Republican society using archaeological evidence have helped to integrate, and in some cases modify, a historiographic vision that has hitherto been built exclusively on literary sources. In the case of early Republican Rome, the effects of the land reforms instituted by Servius Tullius (in particular the creation of the rustic tribes that were named for the gentilicial Roman groups) can be observed in the growth and development of large estates. These are the actual “directional poles” of aristocratic agricultural production in the Roman suburb. At the same time, continued examination of small open sites suggests a form of individual land holdings (often acquired at the expense of nearby cities) implemented by the city against Latin towns from as early as the late Monarchic period.³⁵⁶⁹

In the Late Orientalizing period, archaeological data in Etruria suggest a type of equalization of conspicuous wealth that reaches, in the funerary sphere, standards that are apparently more balanced than in the Early and Middle Orientalizing periods. The rural population, across the open sites, has a complete and diffuse form by the beginning of the sixth century, at least in the south.³⁵⁷⁰

The high density of open sites, as registered in the countryside around Caere, Veii, and Vulci, brings a number of uncertainties into reconstructions of the rural fabric. The first difficulty lies in the substantial variability between the areas of surface dispersion. While most sites have a scatter area of between 0.25 and 0.5 ha, others extend up to 1 ha and beyond, suggesting sites of differing value.³⁵⁷¹ A second difficulty is that many open sites in the countryside around Caere and Vulci that were clearly established in the Archaic and Late Archaic periods are found near tumuli or more ancient tombs that are usually datable to the Early and Middle Orientalizing periods. One possible explanation in these cases is that the open site began in the territory of a landed aristocracy that was marked by the tomb. It is legitimate to think of a gentilicial group that steadily resided on a property long controlled by the family, or else new agrarian allocations that were perhaps worked by the city on former aristocratic land.³⁵⁷²

According to this evidence, it may be thought that the archaeological data highlight various ways of organizing labor, with nuclei of different concentrations of the population living in the countryside. The rural population evident in open sites is a tangible sign of a direct relationship with

the countryside, probably fostered and controlled by settlements on smaller plateaus within the territorial state that was driven by the Tyrrhenian cities. At least in the Archaic and Late Archaic periods, there was broad gentilicial control of arable land that presumes the existence of a landed aristocracy, along with divided farms implemented by the city through the distribution of public land.

Among the prominent signs of gentilicial control in Etruria are the rural building in Poggio Tondo (Scarlino) near Vetulonia, which dates from the second half of the sixth to the first half of the fifth century, and the “Casa delle Anfore” at Marsiliana d’Albegna (Manciano), which was occupied between the last quarter of the sixth and the second half of the fifth century (Figs. 72.5., 72.6.).³⁵⁷³ This building, which is in a suburban area, has the plan of a great urban *domus* (spread over 400 m²) with residential and possibly productive areas arranged around an open quadrangular courtyard. The architectural quality of the building, the presence of Attic ceramics, and the existence of internal and external spaces furnished with grand *dolia* and transport amphorae suggest the activity of a productive and residential site where the products of an agricultural estate were gathered. The presence of other buildings of similar type and date on the summit of Poggio Alto—a short distance from the “Casa delle Anfore”—makes it quite plausible to recognize a suburban aristocratic estate of Marsiliana controlled by an elevated social group that may have descended from local Orientalizing aristocracies.³⁵⁷⁴ There is also evidence of limited, scattered remains that can be related to small open sites in the suburban areas and countryside of Marsiliana. Current research suggests a complex situation in which, starting from the late sixth through most of the fifth century, aristocratic estates existed alongside individual holdings of arable land, which may have been worked under the direction of Vulci, which coordinated commercial transactions connected to the distribution of local wine in the lands of the Celts from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the fifth.³⁵⁷⁵

As for the end of agricultural production in the area, the archaeological record shows a systemic collapse in the first half of the fourth century. This is when settlements in the area display features that can be associated with defense against Roman expansion. Ghiaccio Forte (Scansano), which was already frequented in the Archaic period as a sanctuary (perhaps on the border of Vulcian expansion), became the base of a small gentilicial potentate of the Statie. The mighty fortification of the *oppidum* of Rofalco (Farnese), on the margins of the Selva del Lamone, was inhabited in the fourth century and destroyed following the Roman conquest of the Vulcian countryside, at the beginning of the third century.³⁵⁷⁶

Inland Etruria is yielding interesting data on the rural landscape and recent forms of land ownership. Work in progress between the Val d’Elsa, the Chianti Senese, and the Valle dell’Asso has revealed a wealth of information on open sites and their populations from the Orientalizing period to the

Romanizing phase, which concluded with the civil war between Marius and Sulla at the beginning of the first century BCE. Surveys between the cities of Volterra and Chiusi have highlighted significant activity in the countryside during the sixth century that was driven by a very strong gentilicial system. Development in the Archaic period, followed by decline during the fifth century with the abandonment of the countryside for the nearby cities, led to the consolidation and expansion of their handicraft and workshop activities. There followed a noticeably strong revival of the rural settlement system between the fourth and third centuries and the end of the second century, which is visible in the remarkable number of new open sites, particularly in the upper Ombrone Valley. At a methodological level, it is interesting to observe that the gentilicial organization of the landscape has survived in the Sienese countryside in toponymy of Etruscan origin which is often recognizable as gentilicial names ending with the suffix-*na* (for example, the present place name Percenna derives from the gentilicial name *Perkna/Perkena*).³⁵⁷⁷



Fig. 72.5: Marsiliana d'Albegna, Poggio Alto: view of the eastern elevation of the "Casa delle Anfore." On the left is the entrance of the building; on the right is a *dolium* placed against the outer wall (photograph by the author)

The *Tabula Cortonensis* is an important second century document that sheds light on a land sale between the olive grower and merchant Petru Scevaś and the *gens* of Cusu, members of the local aristocracy, in the countryside of Cortona near Lake Trasimeno, which was ratified by the public authorities of Cortona. The bronze tablet offers a detailed and fascinating insight into historic, economic, and social conditions in inland Etruria on the

eve of Romanization, and provides valuable information on the type of crops grown (especially olives and grapes) and the organization of land ownership in the Hellenistic period (Fig. 38.2).³⁵⁷⁸

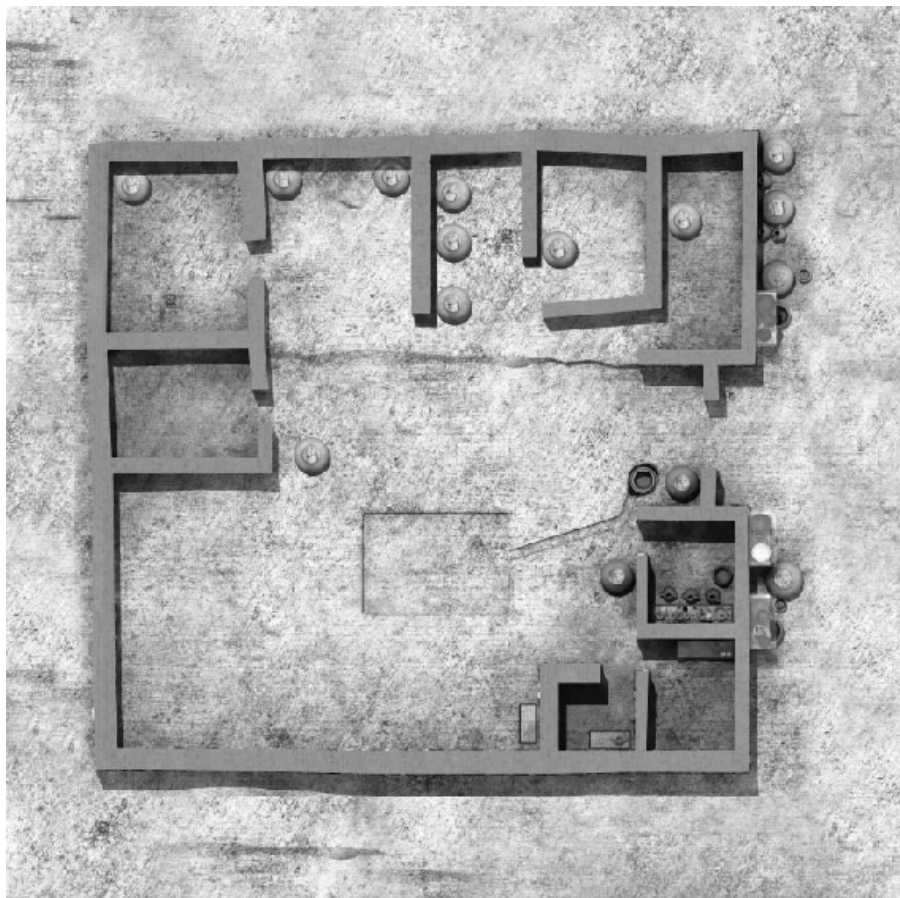


Fig. 72.6: Marsiliana d'Albegna, Poggio Alto: three-dimensional reconstruction of the “Casa delle Anfore” showing the placement of pottery found during excavations (2006–9; reconstruction by D. Calamandrei; courtesy D. Calamandrei)

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VI. Etruscans outside Etruria

Southern Italy

Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Carmine Pellegrino

73Southern Campania

Abstract: The coastal strip near Salerno represents the farthest southern frontier of Etruscan expansion. At the beginning of the ninth century BCE, groups who practiced cremation pushed into it from southern Etruria, reaching the Agro Picentino and the Diano Valley, where they stimulated the birth of the centralized proto-urban settlement, which also involved and integrated the native component of the population.

With the arrival of the Greeks on the Campanian coast there emerged an integrated economic and cultural system, ruled by aristocracies that shared interests and models of behavior transcending their different ethnic origins. In this context the Etruscans continue to represent the propulsive element in the dynamics of political structuring, guiding the processes of urban formation that in the Archaic period also involve the areas of indigenous traditions of the Sarno Valley and the Sorrentine Peninsula. The broad diffusion of the Etruscan language and of the *bucchero* testifies to the cultural and political hegemony held in this period by the Etruscans, which is manifested symbolically in the elaboration of the geographic notion of *Tyrrhenia*, transmitted by the literary sources and still operative in the fourth century BCE when the Italic peoples of the Samnite tradition achieved supremacy.

Keywords: Villanovan, Pontecagnano, Pompeii, Fratte, *Tyrrhenia*

Introduction

“Southern Campania” is the coastal strip between the Sarno Valley and the Sele River (Fig. 73.1).³⁵⁷⁹ The district includes the plains of the Sarno Valley and the Agro Picentino, closed off on the east by Apennine spurs and split by the watershed of the Sorrentine Peninsula, which separates the Bay of Naples from the Gulf of Salerno. The Sarno River plain, with the bulk of Vesuvius towering over its coast, opens northward toward the wider Campanian plain, the location of Etruscan Capua and the adjacent district of the *mesogeia* (the “middle earth” between the Campanian plain and the Sarno Valley), which was organized around the settlements of Nola and Avella (see chapter 74 Bellelli). The Sarno river Valley, by way of its tributary the Solofrana, leads to the Irno river, whose valley provides entry toward Hirpinia or descent toward the coast, where the Romans founded Salernum in 197 BCE. The pre-Roman settlement at Fratte arises farther to the rear, at the spot where the Irno and the Grancano rivers meet, which leads toward the south on the broad plain of the Sele. North of the river, the plain bears the name Agro Picentino. In it lay the Etruscan center at Pontecagnano and, at the entrance to the Sele Valley, the ancient settlement at Eboli. Continuing up the river, it is possible to advance toward Hirpinia or to enter the broad plain of the Vallo di Diano, that

Tyrrhenians is *Marcina* (Strabo 5.4.13), situated between the Cape of Sorrento and the Sele and probably to be identified with Fratte; in Tyrrhenia are located, besides Picentia (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Picentia*) – that is, Pontecagnano – the *poleis* of Nuceria (Nocera; Philistus, *FGrHist* 556.43) and Sorrento (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Surrention*), according to a widespread notion of the Etruscan *paralia* (coastal strip), including the Sarno Valley and the southern part of the Bay of Naples, which, as we shall see, goes back to the Archaic period.

1The Early Iron Age: The Villanovan phase (ninth to third quarter of the eighth century)

1.1The “Villanovan” of southern Campania

At the beginning of the ninth century, on the Sele Plain and in the Diano Valley, there appear communities of Villanovan culture who practiced cremation. Their presence, in contrast with the people who instead practiced inhumation that distinguish the Sarno Valley (*Fossakultur*) and the Apennine hinterland, fuels the debate over the interpretation of the “Villanovan” itself. It is a debate that distinguishes between those who—beginning with Renato Peroni³⁵⁸⁰—consider it a sociopolitical epiphenomenon without ethno-cultural significance, and those who emphasize its ethnic content, connecting it with the subsequent Etruscan manifestations. In this second view, the appearance of the Villanovan community in Campania is connected with a migratory movement from southern Etruria, which in the case of southern Campania could have been accomplished by sea.

The migration thesis seems preferable in light of other considerations, if we take into account controversial aspects of the archaeological evidence. Given that the phenomenon arose quite early in the process of ethno-cultural formation, it is not surprising that the Campanian “Villanovan” has developed characteristics of its own.³⁵⁸¹ Nor is it necessary to suppose that the Villanovan expansion would have occurred in sharp conflict with the local peoples of the *Fossakultur*. On the contrary, there emerge signs of contact and interaction between the two components of the population, which lead us to suppose the existence of mobility and attraction in both directions and of varying intensity. Interpretation of the acceptance into the Villanovan settlements’ ceramic repertoire of vase forms typical of the *Fossakultur*, for example, leads in this direction.³⁵⁸² A similar reading can be applied to the presence of Villanovan ceramics in the first levels of the Early Iron Age (phase I) in the inhabited area of Longola (Poggiomarino), on the Sarno River, where the phenomenon tapers off in the following levels (phase II).³⁵⁸³ A similar key to reading applies to the development of the settlement at Sala

Consilina, in the Diano Valley, where around the middle of the eighth century, despite continuity in the dwelling-places, the original Villanovan culture disappears, absorbed by the indigenous Oenotrian component, which was initially present within the community.³⁵⁸⁴ Also unsuccessful was the attempt to take up residence south of the Sele on the initiative of small groups, like that indicated by the group of tombs discovered in Capodifiume, behind Paestum.³⁵⁸⁵

1.2 Settlement choices and social structure

In the perspective outlined here, the groups of people who belonged to the Villanovan culture took shape as the moving force in a process of renewal that also involved the local components of the population. The innovative impulse is recognized in particular in the settlement choices, which recall those in the same period in other areas historically occupied by the Etruscans, in Tyrrhenian Etruria and on the Po plain. In southern Campania as well, the Villanovan settlements have a protourban character. They are extensive centers able to control vast territories and to plan the settled space in accordance with criteria that were to remain in effect over a long period, as is shown by the fundamental distinction between the large area used for dwellings and the necropolises.

The best-known case is represented by Pontecagnano, in the Agro Picentino (Fig.73.2).³⁵⁸⁶ The Early Iron Age necropolises are set around the inhabited area, which presumably developed on the travertine plateau occupied by the city in the historical period. They were established along the road leading out of the inhabited area, and in relation to significant elements of the landscape. The two main necropolises are located at the sides of the plateau, separated from it by the lowland in which the surface waters flowed. Associated with the main settlement is a village, some 2 km to the south, in Pagliarone. Located on a terrace extending along the coastal plain, it would have been in control of the salt lagoon (the Lago Piccolo of historical maps) in which the port of the Villanovan center can be identified.³⁵⁸⁷

generally lined and covered with pebbles, was extremely rare in the first phase, but was more widely diffused beginning in the second half of the ninth century. The tombs initially reflect groups organized on the basis of gender. Especially noteworthy is the figure of the adult warrior, evoked by the helmet-shaped lid of the urn and by the spearhead deposited in the grave goods; female figures are associated with spinning and weaving tools.

Already during the ninth century, distinct in the funerary areas are clusters of burials centered on figures of warriors armed with swords, an expression of the growing social stratification that led to the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few family groups.³⁵⁹³ The centrality of the warrior figure, through which ties of ancestry and descent were valorized, is also evoked by an unusual *impasto* helmet topped by a sculptural group that depicts a tall female figure embracing the shoulders of the man who originally owned the helmet (Fig. 18.1).³⁵⁹⁴ The scene might represent the welcome of the warrior to the afterlife by a goddess connected with the realm of death.

Beginning with this phase, Pontecagnano was involved in a complex network of relationships and exchange that involved the Tyrrhenian basin. Confirmation is found not only in the imported materials—from Etruria, Sardinia, Calabria, and Sicily—but also the phenomena of personal mobility, such as those hypothesized in relation to the hut urn from Tomb 2500, which goes back to Latium and Etruria, and a pair of warriors armed with swords and greaves, for which an origin in the Calabrian settlement of Torre Galli has been proposed (Tombs 180 and 889).³⁵⁹⁵

1.3 Contact with the Greeks: The second phase of the Early Iron Age

In the first half of the eighth century, the system of exchanges in the Tyrrhenian region intensified due to the Greek frequentation of the coastlines that preceded the foundation of the colonies. The archaeological evidence for these contacts consists of *skyphoi* decorated with hanging semicircles, chevrons, meanders, or birds, made primarily in Euboea and documented in the necropolises of Pontecagnano in highly significant numbers.³⁵⁹⁶ These vessels were reserved for ceremonial wine consumption, introduced by the Greek merchants as a practice for initiating hospitable relations with the local elite, which were by now widely established, and stably controlled the resources and exchanges. The elite used special burial areas, carefully laid out, and exhibited the eminence of their position through the architecture of the tombs, often topped by monumental structures, and in the funeral ritual, which now stressed the importance of certain female figures indicated by richer ornaments, as well as by the usual signs of tasks connected with domestic activity.

The system of relations and trade in the Tyrrhenian region was consolidated around the middle of the eighth century when the Greeks of Euboea founded the settlement of Pitheculusae on the island of Ischia. This settlement, in which Greeks lived side by side with Phoenicians and natives, functioned as an outpost for commerce and exchange. From Pitheculusae came not only finished products, but also craftsmen, who opened specialized workshops in Etruria and in other local communities on the Tyrrhenian coast. A little later, the Greek presence was increased further with the founding of Cumae on the Campanian coast facing the island of Ischia. The first permanent Greek colony, it was established on the initiative of the Euboeans of Calchis and the *polis* of Kyme in Aeolis.

The intensity of activity and relationships that crisscrossed the Tyrrhenian basin and the Campanian coast also involved the native population, leading to a new economic growth and producing opportunities of cultural interaction. An example is the Sarno Valley, where the agricultural villages at San Marzano sul Sarno, Striano, and San Valentino Torio became intermediaries with the Greek world for acquiring agricultural resources. This is seen from the presence of Greek or Greek-type ceramics in the burials, as well as the attestation of a particular production that decorates forms from the local repertoire with Pitheculusae-style motifs.

In the Agro Picentino, a meaningful dynamic connected to the new situation is the appearance of a series of settlements that integrate the earlier territorial system in which Pontecagnano and Eboli played an important role.³⁵⁹⁷ The new settlements, known solely from the necropolises, arose with the purpose of better exploiting the opportunities offered by the intensification of trade, and were placed near coastal landing-places and river fords in strategic spots for maritime and terrestrial communication. In the new landscape, the settlement that developed along the slopes of Monte Vetrano at the confluence of the Grancano and Picentino River valleys took on a central role protecting the access routes from the north into the Agro Picentino and in connection with the ford and a likely river landing.³⁵⁹⁸ The burial evidence attests to the prosperity of the settlement, which derived from its integration into the system of Tyrrhenian trade, in whose sphere it functioned as the aggregator of inland products. For example, in the female Burial 74, which dates to the third quarter of the eighth century, rich ornaments are associated with a set of imported bronze vessels (Fig. 73.3).³⁵⁹⁹ The Kurd-type situla, the biconical vase, and the censer are Etruscan in origin; the corded *cista* was imported from the Adriatic area; the little Nuragic boat came from Sardinia; the cauldron is of Euboean type; and the bowl decorated with an embossed row of bulls and an underlying frieze of heifers suckling calves arrived from the Near East. As for the men's side, Tomb 51 is exemplary. The deceased, known to be a warrior from the iron sword and the spearheads, is also accompanied by iron tools and sacrificial equipment—a hatchet, an ax, two knives, and a bundle of skewers—and by a bronze cauldron and basin.³⁶⁰⁰



Fig. 73.3: Tomb 74 of Monte Vetrano. Bronze vessels at the foot of the deceased (after Cerchiai and Nava 2008–9)

The function and degree of openness of the community are also evidenced by the presence of tombs that refer to the Hirpinian environment of the Oliveto Citra-Cairano culture; by imports from the Sarno Valley, the Campanian plain, and *Oenotria*; and especially by objects and contexts that recall Greece and the Near East. Aside from the bronze bowl from Tomb 74, particularly indicative are a scarab from the Lyre-Player Group,³⁶⁰¹ with a complex dance scene around an amphora (Fig. 73.4), and Tomb 111, in which the remains of a cremated woman, together with an impasto spindle whorl and burnt fragments of a *skyphos* with chevrons, are gathered in a bronze urn similar to examples from Eretria, following a ritual that goes back to ideological Hellenic models.³⁶⁰²



Apart from Montevetrano, other settlements destined to the control of the territory and exchanges developed on the coastal strip, close to the lagoons used as landing-places. Casella, on the lagoon north of the Tusciano River, took on the functions previously assumed by Pagliarone, which meanwhile had become disused.³⁶⁰³ A second settlement was found farther south, in Arenosola, on the sandy spit bordering the broadest lagoon on the right bank of the mouth of the Sele.³⁶⁰⁴

At Pontecagnano, the flourishing activities connected with the intensification of Tyrrhenian trade brought the subsequent acceleration of social dynamics, causing the emersion of groups that centralized control of the resources in their own hands. As for funerary practices, they exhibit behaviors that foreshadow the princely ostentation of the Orientalizing period, with burials characterized by monumental structures and highly complex grave goods in which bronze vases stand out; and, for female burials, sumptuously ornamented jewelry.

2The Orientalizing period: The world of the *principes* (ca. 725–625 BCE)

By the last quarter of the eighth century, the process of social differentiation appears to have been firmly settled. For this chronological horizon, the sole evidence concerning the inhabited area of Pontecagnano comes from the southwest edge of the city, between the Via Bellini and the Via Verdi, where the sanctuary of Apollo rose in the Archaic period.³⁶⁰⁵ Dating from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh century, a wide open area appeared here, occupied by huts with wells and a pottery kiln. The fact that the great central space remained unbuilt in the following phases of the sanctuary suggests that the area had a public function from the beginning.³⁶⁰⁶

Once more, it is the necropolises that represent the main source of information. At Pontecagnano there are some aristocratic groups—holders of hereditary power—who steered the mechanisms of political and social functioning of the community. Though areas utilized in the Early Iron Age were abandoned, the necropolises continued to be distributed in the two extensive funerary sectors to the east and southwest of the inhabited plateau, into zones previously crossed by ancient river beds and then reclaimed.³⁶⁰⁷ To it was added a smaller area of burials placed on a lower terrace of the plateau, near the present-day Piazza Risorgimento. In a funerary landscape structured into family plots and monumentalized, close to the tombs, near enclosures or small altars where funeral rites and ceremonies were carried out, are the “princely” burials that represent the ideology of the ruling classes. These

show—albeit with general sharing of values—the dialectical coexistence of various strategies of self-representation. Three indicators signal the distance of these eminent burials from the rest of the community. First is the funerary ritual, which reserves for the *principes* especially elaborate treatment, such as cremation, as compared with the generalized use of inhumation by that time. Second is the structure of the tomb, within which the remains of the deceased and the objects are deposited according to precise selective logic. Third is the grave goods that, with the inclusion of imports from Etruria, Greece, and the Near East, alongside the basic service that united all the burials of the time, show a capacity for relationships of broad scope and considerable economic resources for the acquisition of prestige goods.

In the western necropolis, Tomb 4461 is the earliest princely burial and dates to the end of the eighth century. It belongs to a warrior who was about fifty years old,³⁶⁰⁸ whose bones were deposited in a chest made of travertine slabs, following a secondary burial ritual used as ostentation tool from aristocracies. This is attested in Archaic Rome in the Laws of the XII Tables, which limit the use of this ritual to cases of death in war or on foreign soil. The bones of the deceased, which underwent ritual manipulation, were first subject to burial or defleshing, and were subsequently deposited in the tomb using a careful process of selection that led to the exclusion of the skull.³⁶⁰⁹ Partly the bones were found on the floor of the chest, partly in a bronze *lebes* or a bronze Kurd-type situla imported from the Etruscan city of Vetulonia. The group of large bronze containers is completed by a biconical amphora made in Etruria. In addition to imported vases (a Phoenician plate in red-slip ware, a globular Proto-Corinthian *aryballos*, an *oinochoe* from Pithecusae), the grave-goods includes sacrificial tools (an ax and a knife), arms (spears), and an extraordinary pair of bronze plated masks for horses (*prometopidia*), perhaps used during the funeral ceremony. Most likely made in Vetulonia by a craftsman from the East, the masks bear embossed figural scenes, inspired by the world of the hunt (Fig. 73.5). The two sides of the better-preserved example depict an archer shooting an arrow at a lion who is attacking a goat, a running stag, and a pair of facing wild boars.



Fig. 73.5: Pontecagnano. Horses' mask from Tomb 4461 (after Cerchiai 1995)

Dating to a generation later are the princely tombs 926 and 928 from the necropolis of Piazza Risorgimento, both male cremations.³⁶¹⁰ They exhibit an articulated architecture, with a pit lined and covered with travertine slabs placed in the middle of a travertine enclosure (Figs. 19.4., 19.5, 73.6). In the central pit a bronze cauldron holds the ashes of the deceased, carefully wrapped in a cloth fastened with a fibula, following a ritual typical of the Euboean aristocracy that is attested in some aristocratic burials in Cumae from the end of the eighth century, such as Tomb 104 of the Fondo Artiaco. The ideological return to heroic funerary practices that date to the time of Homer—like those reserved for Patroclus and Hector—reveals the cultural and ideological references on which the Etruscan aristocracy's funerary practices were based. Shaped on models developed in the Greek environment of Cumae, whose influence also touches the apices of the native community of the Campanian hinterland, demonstrate a sharing and solidarity between the ruling groups that is thick with meaning.

In tombs 926 and 928, the central pit held—in addition to the remains of the deceased—a valuable set of silver and bronze wine and banquet vessels imported from Greece, the Near-East, and Etruria. Outside the pit but still within the enclosure, were found elements that represent the social role of the *princeps*: arms, parts of carriages, sacrificial equipment for butchering and roasting meat (an ax, knives, spits, andirons, and tongs), large storage vessels (amphorae), and a bronze tripod in Tomb 928.

The key elements around which the social identity of the *princeps*—to whom the status of hero and progenitor is attributed—was constructed is clear: war, thus the management of foreign relations and conflicts; sacrifice and symposium, thus governance of religious practices, rituals, and social relations; and wealth, thus exercise of power that is both political and societal.

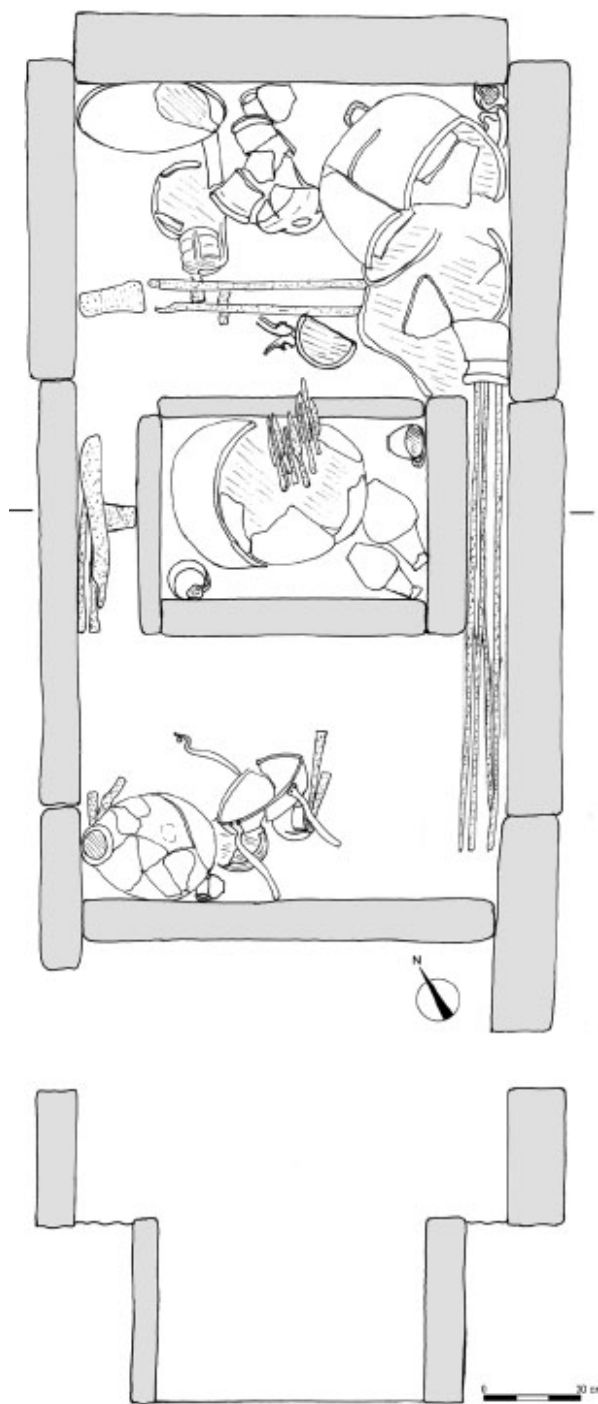


Fig. 73.6: Pontecagnano. Plan of the tomb 928. (based on d'Agostino 1977, fig. 13)

Such forms of social recognition were not reserved only for men. To the female figure as guarantor of the continuity of the family and hereditary

transmission, was also accorded a funerary ritual of the princely type. This is the case of Tomb 2465, found in the eastern necropolis in San Antonio, near an infant burial area organized around the enclosed space of a funerary cult.³⁶¹¹ The inhumation burial, dating to the late eighth century, is covered by a large tumulus that until the first half of the sixth century received mostly burials of women and children. In this context, the men's tombs, marked by arms, occupy a marginal position that don't exhibit any specific indications of prestige.

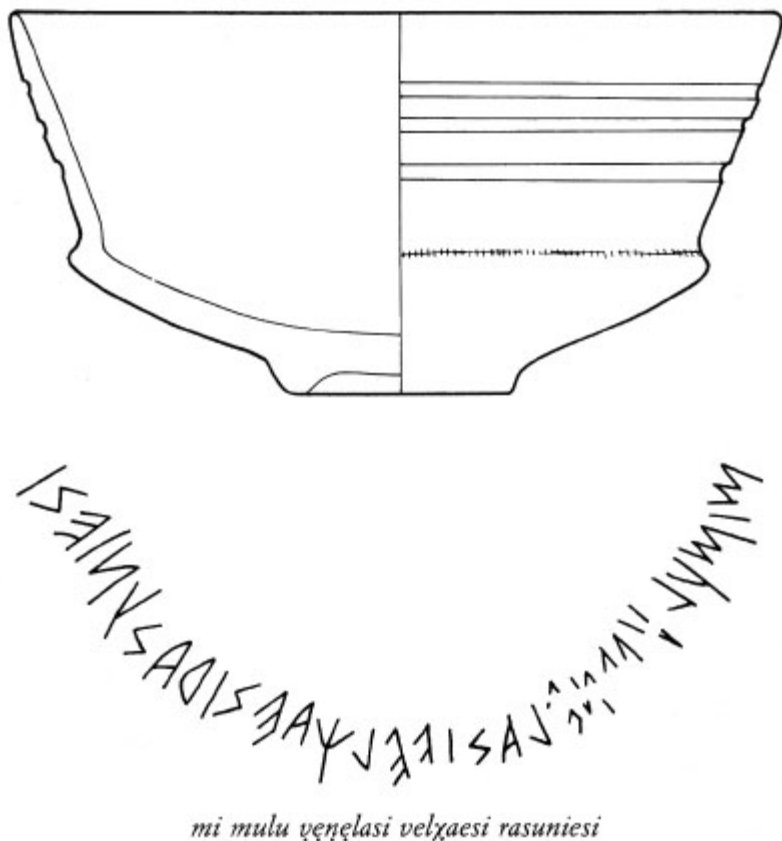


Fig. 73.7: Pontecagnano. Inscribed chalice from Tomb 3509 (after Colonna and Pellegrino 2002)

The woman in Tomb 2465 was clothed in sumptuous garb, the lower half covered by a mesh of bronze ornaments and enriched with a pectoral and diadem in sheet gold; she wore bracelets and earrings of silver, and necklaces of silver or with figural amber pendants. But it is not merely for its sumptuous apparel that the burial is known, but for the exhibition of those signs of power, which in the western necropolis are the prerogative of the *principes*: the carriage, the sacrificial tools and the hearth, wine service, and the large containers for foodstuffs.

An internal dialectic suffuses the ruling elite: in comparison with the aristocratic identities that emerge at the same time in the western necropolis, two elements are to be stressed regarding Tomb 2645 and its group. The first is the significance accorded to the female and infant element of the community; the second is the exhibition, by indicators such as the impasto ceramics imported from Etruria-Latium, of privileged relations with the Etruscan and the southern elite. The pottery indications, like the rest of the grave goods, allow us to trace the various exchange circuits along the routes that put Campania into communication with Etruria, whereas the composition of the grave goods well describes the open character of the Picentine community which, in this decisive phase for its urban transformation, expresses a powerful capacity for social integration.

As a demonstration of the phenomena of mobility that simultaneously also affected the Greek world of the Tyrrhenian coast,³⁶¹² the two main necropolises contain burial plots that can be attributed to a portion of the population assignable to the Hirpinian culture of “Oliveto Citra–Cairano.” This circumstance appears to fit organically into the contemporary structuring, on the inland hills, of small settlements inhabited by families of Hirpinian origin. These families moved from the valleys of the Ofanto and the upper Sele, and settled along the middle valley of the Picentino, at Montecorvino Rovella and Santa Maria a Vico, following a trail already blazed earlier by individuals, as the case of Monte Vetrano seems to show.

Thus the economic supremacy and policy of control of the anchorages, of the agricultural territory of the plain, and of the resources of the wooded hinterland, were the source of the power of the Pontecagnano elite. The attraction exercised by Pontecagnano toward the Tyrrhenian coast mirrors on the one hand the radiation of Etruscan cultural influence over a vast extent of territory, on the other the activation of developmental processes within the native component of the population. In this sphere, in which a decisive role must have been played by the settlement of Eboli, which could not be avoided along the route that connects the Sele Valley to the Ofanto Valley via the saddle of Conza, the presence of “princely” burials at Bisaccia acquires its significance. In Tomb 66, of the second quarter of the seventh century, the deceased woman was clad in a garment embellished with copious bronze decorations and a rich display of ornaments, and was accompanied by indicators of princely prestige, such as a set of bronze vessels from Pontecagnano (a cauldron, two basins, and a *phiale*) and iron spits.³⁶¹³

Far from taking shape as isolated phenomena, therefore, the processes of cultural interaction appear to be a constituent feature of the community of Ponte-cagnano, whose Etruscan character, well represented in the historical tradition, finds its most significant confirmation in the extremely rich inscriptional corpus, which counts over seventy items.³⁶¹⁴ The earliest inscriptions, aside from isolated letters and marks already attested in contexts from the first half of the century, date to the middle and third quarter of the

seventh century. We refer to two inscribed vases recovered from child burials. The first (Tomb 6034) has the beginning of an abecedarium;³⁶¹⁵ the second comes from the burial of a one year old baby (Tomb 3509), for whose funeral a couple—probably the baby’s parents—had given an impasto chalice (Fig. 73.7).³⁶¹⁶ In this inscription, the use of the onomastic formula with two elements—the *praenomen* and the gentilic name (*Rasunie*)—reflects a society in which blood relationships dominate and the hereditary system guarantees the lineage and the transmission of power.

3The urbanization process (last quarter of the seventh to the sixth century)

At the turn of the sixth century in southern Campania there took place a profound reorganization of the settlements’ planning, connected with the process of urbanization that extensively affected mid-Tyrrhenian Italy and Magna Graecia.³⁶¹⁷

In the inhabited area a clearer allocation of space can be recognized. Especially indicative is the definition of the cultic areas, which provides evidence of the public dimension assumed by the sacred in the reorganized urban context.

The system of cities also took over the territorial divisions that had previously been organized according to a system suited to a scattered population. In the Sarno Valley, a huge process of agglomeration led to the abandonment of the villages that went back to the Early Iron Age in favor of Pompeii and the newly founded city of Nuceria, signaled by the opening of necropolises located outside the area that would be enclosed by the walls in a later period.

In the Sorrentine Peninsula, the population was structured into a series of settlements and stopovers. The northern slope was more densely occupied, where the settlement of Stabiae was joined by the major one of Sorrento, in which, as at Nuceria, the necropolises of the beginning of the sixth century were located outside the urban perimeter subsequently defined by the walls. Minor centers also developed at Vico Equense, Piano di Sorrento, and, along a route to the inland, Sant’Agata dei due Golfi.

On the southern slope, the settlement of Vietri sul Mare was placed at the start of the peninsula, in a location sheltered from the winds and currents. In this area of the Gulf of Salerno, the main center consists of the settlement of Fratte, founded at the beginning of the sixth century on the Irno River to control the inland route connecting the Sarno Valley and northern Campania to the Agro Picentino. It is to be identified with the Etruscan *Marcina* registered by Strabo (5.4.13), called *Mamarcina* and believed to be an Ausonian foundation in another tradition probably going back to Hecataeus of

Miletus (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Mamarcina*).³⁶¹⁸

The reorganization of the settlement planning connected with the achievement of the urban system was accompanied by the diffusion of Etruscan culture, which a long-accepted scholarly tradition considers to be the outcome of a “second colonization” (see below). Actually, the “Etruscanization” of the Archaic period does not derive from a migratory movement, nor from a planned form of political hegemony, but constitutes the outcome of a process of integration of the various components of the population under the propulsive and inclusive force of the Etruscan element.³⁶¹⁹

The most obvious sign of the process of “Etruscanization” consists of the diffusion of Etruscan writing into areas of native traditions. Already documented in the first half of the sixth century at Stabiae, it went on to wider diffusion, as is proven by the various attestations that come from centers on the inland plain, Pompeii, and the Sorrentine peninsula. The writing system is the one used in the areas of the earliest Etruscan traditions of the Campanian plain and of the Agro Picentino, which in this early phase followed the scribal usage of Caere and Veii.³⁶²⁰

No less indicative is the spread of bucchero, the typical Etruscan dinnerware, which was being produced throughout the Etruscanized areas of the region with a broadly shared repertoire of forms and types.

“Etruscanization” functioned to integrate the various regional areas, but did not annul earlier distinctions in the population. In southern Campania, the difference remained between the Sarno Valley along with the northern slope of the Sorrentine Peninsula, and the Agro Picentino. As for material culture, it is indicative the pottery made of fine impasto, which was produced consistently until the middle of the sixth century according to typological repertoires characterized by thoroughly local emphases. Also significant is the frequent attestation in the necropolises of Vico Equense and Stabiae of a particular type of “serpentine” fibula with an acorn-shaped projection. The area of distribution of this fibula, which traces the inland route to the north but excludes the Agro Picentino, where it is rarely found, suggests a network of mobility that links the Sorrentine coastal strip and the Sarno Valley with the inland plain and the Campanian area.

A later and still more significant confirmation of the distinction between the two Etruscanized areas of southern Campania is offered by the epigraphic evidence, which at Nuceria, Vico Equense, and Sorrento attests the use of a pre-Samnite Italic dialect written with a local alphabet related to those attested in the central-Italic Sabine and South Picene area and in “Oenotrian” Calabria.³⁶²¹

The “Nucerian” alphabet is documented from the middle of the sixth century. Among the earliest attestations figures the inscription on a bucchero cup from Tomb 107 in Nuceria that bears a notation in which the expression *teu(tik-) pu(terem)*, the “public cup,” has been recognized as referring to the

typically Italic institution of the *touta*, which designates the political community.

The elaboration of its own writing system is the sign of a special cultural and political identity defined in oppositional terms in respect to the Etruscans.

The specificity of this territorial division is registered in the historiographic tradition, which places the Sarrasti in the Sarno Valley and transmits the presence of Pelasgians at Nuceria, Pompeii, and Herculaneum. Pelasgians generally tend to be identified as Etruscans, but in this particular case are more suitably associated with the indigenous urbanized communities that are definitively distinguished by the possession of writing.³⁶²²

At the beginning of the sixth century, the founding of the colony of Poseidonia on the plain of the Sele profoundly changed the population balance in southern Campania. It is with this backdrop that the Sorrentine Peninsula, which separated the Gulf of Cumae from the Gulf of Poseidonia—as the ancient historians called them—acquired importance. The peninsula was an essential navigational reference point and an inevitable area of economic and political competition, as the system of myths and the cults make clear. The ancient cult of the Sirens, situated near the Bay of Ieranto, was introduced by the *polis* of Cumae, which took the mythic model of the voyage of Odysseus to assert control over the passageways needed for the route to the Bay of Naples.³⁶²³ On the promontory opposite that bay, at Punta Campanella, rose the temple of Athena, also attributed by the tradition to Odysseus, which around the middle of the sixth century was faced with architectural terracottas of the Poseidonian type.³⁶²⁴

The cults and the sacred architecture constitute preferential markers for reconstructing the system of relationships between the various components of the population of ancient Campania. Widespread was the “Campanian system” (Fig. 73.8),³⁶²⁵ a system of polychrome terracottas on the face of sacred edifices constructed in the Etruscan manner, with mudbrick walls, and mostly wooden columns and entablatures mostly of wood. This was devised in the first half of the sixth century in northern Campania, at Cumae or Capua—priority cannot yet be attributed to one or the other—but during the last quarter of the century it spread throughout southern Campania, to Pompeii and the Sorrentine Peninsula (the Athenaion of Punta Campanella, Sorrento), Fratte, and Pontecagnano.

It is significant that, alongside the “Campanian system,” some centers also adopted architectural models from Poseidonia, to illustrate the variety of relationships consolidated through public commissions.

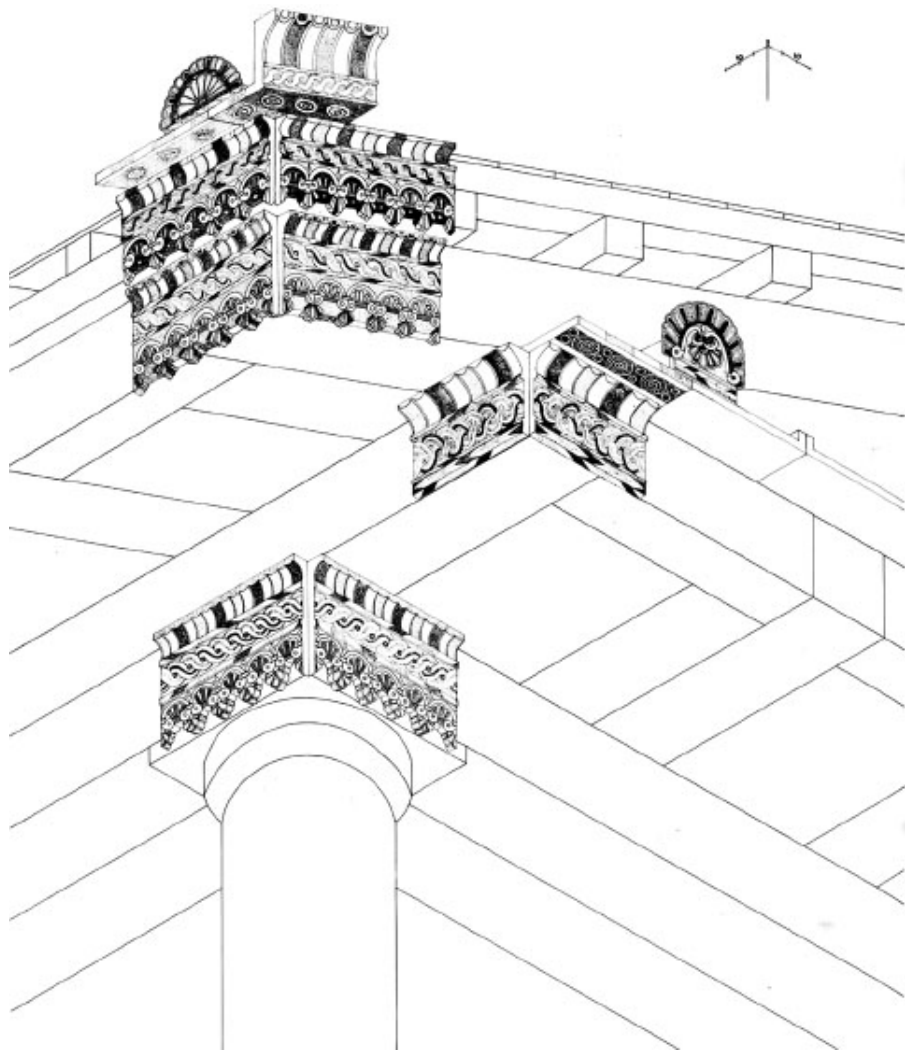


Fig. 73.8: Revetment system of the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii (after De Caro 1986)

Particularly interesting is the process of urbanization at Pompeii (Fig. 73.9).³⁶²⁶ At the beginning of the sixth century the inhabited terrace was surrounded with a fortification wall of blocks of local “pappamonte” tuff, which defined the urban limit maintained in the successive reconstructions of the wall at the beginning of the fifth century and the end of the fourth. The Archaic period finds testify to an extensive—albeit non-homogeneous—occupation of the entire enclosed area, with dwellings alternating with unbuilt spaces. The occupation of the western sector was intense, where evidence of public and sacred character is also concentrated. To the northeast, near the “Casa della Colonna Etrusca” (*regio* 6.5), was a small sanctuary enclosed within the dedicated setting of a beech grove, and for this reason known as the

cult of Jupiter. In the southwest corner of the built-up area rose the political and monumental quarter of the city (the *Altstadt* or Old City). Covering about nine hectares, it dominated from above a bend in the Sarno River, in which the port mentioned in the sources was probably established. The quarter was crossed by the two main avenues of the Archaic street plan, the “via Marina” and the southward continuation of the “via di Mercurio” (“via delle Scuole”), which cross at right angles in correspondence with the plaza revived as the Forum in the Roman period. This part of the city is encircled by a ring road that seems to respect a boundary marked in the previous phase by a wall and maybe a moat, of a still controversial date, which in any case is evidence of the special function carried out by the topography of this sector of the city. Within it was located the plaza of the Forum, which was already meant to be a public space at that time, and faced the sanctuary of Apollo, the political and religious heart of the community.³⁶²⁷ The temple, built around 550–530, is of the Etruscan type, with a high tuff platform and wood elevation (Fig. 73.8). The rich facing returns to the “Campanian system” and was probably made at Cumae. The choice of Apollo as patron of the urban foundation is not surprising when we recall the importance of this god in the Greek colonization in the West and the role of cultural and political mediation between the Greeks and the other peoples that he played in the sanctuary of Delphi.³⁶²⁸ As guarantor of the urban foundation, temple edifices are dedicated to Apollo in the public areas of many Etrurian and Magna Graecian cities, probably beginning in Poseidonia itself. With the temple’s Etruscan architecture, instead, the community of Pompeii claims its own cultural coordinates and its integration into the wider regional system structured under the influence of Cumae and Capua.

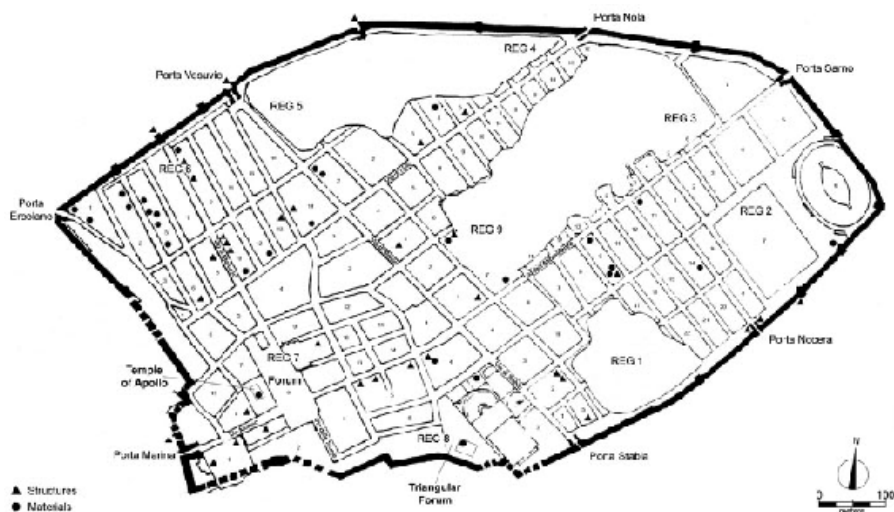


Fig. 73.9: Map of Pompeii with localization of the archaic finds (based on Pesando 2010)

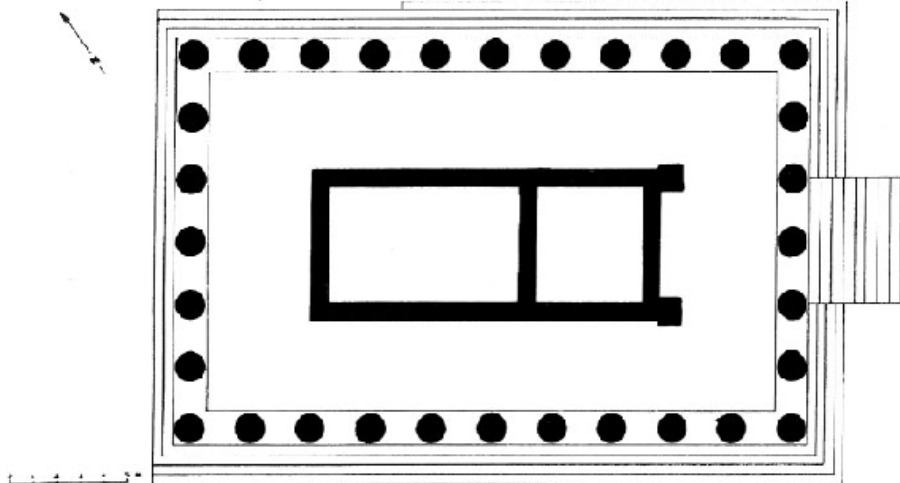


Fig. 73.10: Pompeii. Map of the temple in the “Triangular Forum” (after De Waele 2001)

The second great sanctuary of the city, dedicated to Athena and probably Heracles, rises in the “Triangular Forum,” placed outside the ring road of the *Altstadt*, on a spur on the southeast edge of the terrace of the built-up area overlooking the port. The temple is the same age as Apollo’s temple, but is of the Greek type (Fig. 73.10), with a stepped base and a cella surrounded by a peristyle of Doric columns (seven on the short side, eleven on the long).³⁶²⁹ Not much is preserved of the original facing. The architectural terracottas from a refacing dating to around 500 are better known. Comparison with the sacred architecture of Poseidonia suggests the participation of a workforce from the Greek city. The decorative scheme provides for a cornice decorated with a double-braided motif and eaves (*sima*) with lion-head dripstones on their long sides, a large torus with scales on the short sides, and a series of serpent heads in the middle. It is a representation of the Hydra, which evokes the episode of its slaughter by Heracles, the civilizing hero who in the course of his miraculous labors was received by distant foreign populations following the hospitality laws and giving Heracles the appropriate welcome from a politically structured community. His presence alongside Athena suggests the purpose of the sanctuary, which, in relation to the port, must have developed a function of welcome and acceptance. At the foot of the built-up area, at the edges of the coastal lagoon connected to the mouth of the Sarno, the sacred areas in Sant’Abbondio, Fondo Iozzino, and Bottaro were located. The last of these was connected with Neptune in the Roman period, a god originally linked to springs and flowing waters.



Fig. 73.11: Fratte. Plan of the ancient settlement (courtesy R. Pinto)

At Fratte, on the Gulf of Salerno, the purpose of the spaces is also defined at the moment of the center's foundation at the beginning of the sixth century

(Fig. 73.11).³⁶³⁰ The settlement developed on the upper slopes overlooking the Irno River, bounded on the other two sides by its tributaries, the Grancano and the Pastorano. To this first phase belongs a large apsed shelter at the northern edge of the inhabited area, near the left bank of the Pastorano. The necropolises are located beyond the stream, and probably developed in relation to the accessway that went up the Irno Valley.

The qualitative leap marked by the urbanization process can be followed more easily at Pontecagnano.³⁶³¹ Beginning in the late seventh–early sixth century, the eastern sector of the inhabited area took on a primarily artisanal purpose signaled by the installation of tile and pottery kilns. On the western slope were two sanctuaries.³⁶³² The first was located in the “public” area of Via Bellini-Via Verdi and is dedicated to Apollo, as shown by a series of vase dedications distributed throughout the period from the sixth to the fourth centuries. The dedications are written in Greek, in the Achaeon alphabet of Poseidonia, a recurrence that has led to the hypothesis of attributing their drafting to personnel of the cult who came from the Greek *polis*. To the dedications is added an Etruscan inscription that names *Manth*, an Etruscan god connected with the process of founding a city, assimilated in the Roman scholarly tradition to Apollo himself (see [chapter 18](#) Maras).³⁶³³ The placement of the sanctuary, facing the plaza in the public area of the city, is evidence of the political value of the sacred area, which would have allowed for the function of the cult of Apollo to be defined according to the model already described for Pompeii.

A second sanctuary was founded to the northwest, in the suburb of Pastini, on an outcropping of the plateau cut by torrential gullies. It was dedicated to a chthonic goddess, linked to the sphere of fertility and rites of passage, as transpires from the votive offerings that include shapeless pieces, round “loaves” and bars of bronze, including one with an impression of a dry branch, miniature iron weapons and shackles related to the practice of manumission. The name of the goddess may be recovered from the dedication on a bucchero *kantharos*, where the divine name *Luas* has been recognized, an Etruscan goddess corresponding to the Latin *Lua*, “the verdant (goddess),” according to an etymology that evokes the swampy, untamed countryside in which the sanctuary was sited.³⁶³⁴ The sanctuary also yielded a bucchero cup from the late sixth century with the inscription *amina* [---]s, a gentilic that recalls the name of the legendary population of the Aminei mentioned in the sources.³⁶³⁵ In this regard we should mention the discovery at Poseidonia of a silver disc with a dedication in Greek to Hera by “oligarchs of Amina,”³⁶³⁶ which allows us to relate the term to a territorial designation connected to the area of Pontecagnano or a neighboring district.



Fig. 73.12: Etrusco-corinthian pottery from Pontecagnano: *kotyle* by the Wolf's Head Painter (courtesy L. Cerchiali)

The process of reorganization also beset the necropolises, which expanded into adjacent previously unused areas, anyway in connection with the suburban road network.³⁶³⁷ Relevant above all is the development of the necropolis of Piazza Risorgimento, which became the biggest and most important burial area of the settlement.

The new funeral plots remained available to families for several generations and were sometimes provided with equipment connected to the funerary cult.³⁶³⁸ These groups exhibit the most striking forms of funerary luxury, testimony to the economic and social changes brought about by the process of urbanization. The funerary display sometimes contemplates the adoption of cremation, inspired by ideological references and eschatological beliefs stemming from the Greek world. This was practiced above all in the main version of the *bustum*, but cases do exist in which the cremated remains were gathered in Corinthian kraters, following a markedly Dionysiac ritual that is also documented in the Etruscanized area of northern Campania.

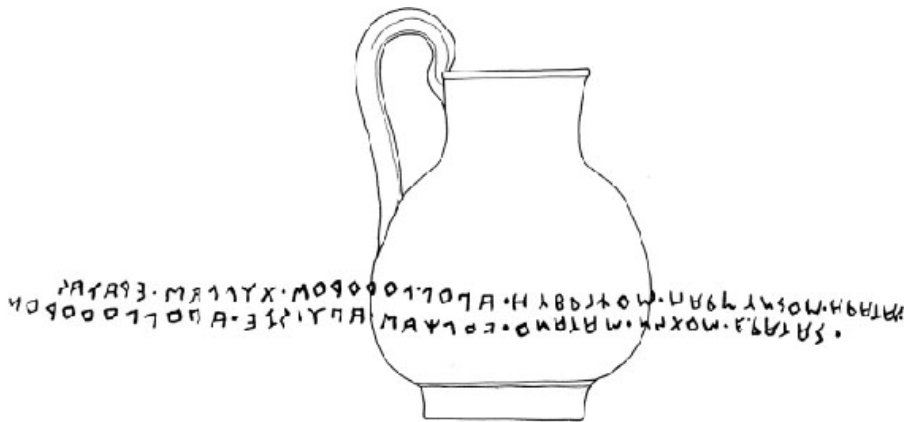


Fig. 73.13: Fratte. Juglet from Tomb 26/1963 with Greek inscription. Translation: Apollodoros loves Xylla, Volcas sodomizes Apollodoros, Onata loves Nixò, Ybrichos have loved Parmynis (after Pontrandolfo 1987, fig. 20)

The grave goods provide an illustrative outline of the productive and economic system of the new urban circumstances, evidencing the development of specialized production such as bucchero or ceramic tableware with geometric decoration, which are associated with more exclusive products with figural decoration that imitate the Corinthian style (Fig. 73.12).³⁶³⁹ The recurrence of luxury items imported from Etruria and Greece confirms the inclusion of Pontecagnano in the course of Tyrrhenian trade, notwithstanding the reorganization of the center following the founding of Poseidonia and Fratte.

The city's consumer system increased the center's force of attraction, exercised as in the earlier phase especially toward the Apennine hinterland, which also acted on a much wider radius, as shown by the integration within the western necropolis of Piazza Sabato of a group that came from the middle Adriatic region.³⁶⁴⁰

Beginning in the second half of the sixth century, the increase in epigraphic evidence offers more widespread confirmation of the arrival of individuals and groups of various origins.³⁶⁴¹ The integration within the citizenry passes through the adoption of the language and the Etruscan onomastic system. The case of the Greek *Meliton*, who may have come from Cumae, which gave rise to the Etruscanized gentile name *Milithuna* is emblematic of this system. Other epigraphic evidence instead informs us of the bonds of friendship that local people maintained with foreigners, woven together in particular with Greeks from the nearby Poseidonia and celebrated in the framework of the symposium. Evidence of this type of relationship comes from Tomb 26/1963 in Fratte, dated to the beginning of the fifth century (Fig. 73.13).³⁶⁴² The Greek inscription on a small black-glazed juglet from Poseidonia celebrates erotic practices among people with Greek, Etruscan, and native names in the framework of a symposium held in the Achaean city. Relationships of

aristocratic hospitality are also revealed by the presence of dedications of vessels in Greek, using the Cumaen alphabet, found in tombs in Nuceria and at Massa Lubrense, on the Sorrentine Peninsula.³⁶⁴³

At Fratte, the vase inscriptions in tombs evidence the multifarious components of a community open to mobility and exchange.³⁶⁴⁴ Etruscans, Greeks, and Italics lived together, using the various languages indifferently, employing the Etruscan alphabet or the Greek alphabet of Poseidonia. The same Etruscan component appears varied within it, given that many Etruscan inscriptions move away from alphabetic practices acquired in Campania, exhibiting instead connections with the scribal traditions of Tarquinia and Vulci.³⁶⁴⁵

The extraordinary development of Fratte at the end of the sixth century derived from the function held by the center in the system of Tyrrhenian traffic, which received a further impulse from the founding of the Phocaeen colony of Elea around 540. Fratte became an important stop along the maritime commercial routes that led toward Etruria, acquiring and sorting toward the inland luxury products such as banquet services from Etruscan bronzes. The commercial bent and economic ability of the community are evidenced by the number of transport amphorae found in the necropolises and by the import of Attic figured ceramics, which also include examples of extraordinary merit such as the black-figure *dinos* attributed to the Antimenes Painter (Fig. 73.14) and the red-figure *hydria* of the Kleophrades Painter.³⁶⁴⁶ The large Attic vases are concentrated in specific sectors of the necropolis that pertain to the elite of the community; they were probably used as cremation urns, following the ritual already encountered at Pontecagnano, which seems here to assume markedly “heroic” connotations, as shown by the selection of figural themes—in particular the predilection for the figure of Heracles.³⁶⁴⁷

The powerful dynamism, favored by the productive mechanism of the urban system, brought about an acceleration of the social processes that led to a general reorganization of the community at the end of the sixth century.

The most obvious archaeological confirmation of these changes consists of the qualitative leap noted in the organization of the urban space.



Fig. 73.14: Fratte. Attic *dinos* from Tomb VI–XV/1927 (after Campanelli 2011)

At Fratte (Fig. 73.11), the built-up area is surrounded by a fortification of ramparts supplemented by a moat. The only extensively explored quarter (the so-called “Acropolis”), in the highest part of the city, is organized by a series of parallel east-west streets, crossed by a nearly perpendicular axis.³⁶⁴⁸ The city blocks have buildings of various typologies and sizes, among which is indicated a large residential complex organized around a central court.³⁶⁴⁹ The quarter is served by a complex water supply system, which, using wells, fountains, underground pipes and surface channels, ensured the provision of water and the drainage and disposal of rainwater. The sacred areas are monumentalized contextually.³⁶⁵⁰ One was in the lower part, near a spring along the Grancano stream; the other was in the upper part, integrated into the planned quarter of the “Acropolis.” An enormous quantity of materials has been recovered from sacred areas—albeit out of context—among them architectural elements that attest to the presence of buildings with stone elements.³⁶⁵¹ These materials evidence the influence exercised by Poseidonia, the source of some stone cornices, a series of lotus-flower antefixes different from the “Campanian” ones, and a male head of clay that may belong to a cult statue. These elements are associated with a tuff Tuscan column and

architectural terracottas of the “Campanian” type, perhaps derived from Capuan prototypes, in a mixture that reveals the complex variety of references which speak to the high level of public patronage of the Campanian centers in this period.



Fig. 73.15: Fratte. Acroterion with *Heracles* and the *Nemean lion* (after Campanelli 2011)

Information about the cults is lacking. The most interesting fact concerns the probable rooting of the cult of Heracles in this period, documented on the acropolis in the following Samnite period by an inscription from the area of the sanctuary and by architectural terracottas, among them an acroterion depicting the hero in combat with the Nemean lion (Fig. 73.15).³⁶⁵² This hypothesis is supported by the discovery in a well in the sacred precinct of a Late Archaic gold ring on whose cornelian bezel is depicted the same feat of the hero.³⁶⁵³ The presence of the cult of Heracles already in the Archaic period can perhaps be framed according to the ideological coordinates evidenced in the case of Pompeii and at the same time leads to a reconsideration of the favor found in the funerary sphere for scenes linked to his labours.

At Pontecagnano, the Late Archaic reorganization of the settlement took on the connotation of a real “refounding” of the city (Fig. 73.2).³⁶⁵⁴ The limits of the built-up area came to be redefined, carving beyond parts of the eastern crafts quarter and including a wide marshy coast to the northeast, drained by means of two large reclamation trenches. The city was surrounded by a fortification wall, perhaps preceded by a moat, attested for certain at the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the fourth. Special finds are connected to the fortifications, that evidence how the boundaries of the city would have been realized following an inauguration ritual, comparable to that reported in the tradition as the *Etrusca Disciplina* (see chapter 18 Maras). At the foot of the wall runs a narrow canal that has been proposed to be identified with the *sulcus primigenius*. Not far away, a well was dug in which a jug connected with a ritual offering was deposited; beyond an empty space, some 37.5 m from the wall, a sort of cippus marks the edge of what is probably the *pomerium*.

The urban space is organized on a rectangular plan *per strigas*, like that of nearby Poseidonia. The plan provides blocks all the same size (ca. 46 × 275 m), which take two rows of residential lots, with rectangular dwellings that occupy a small part of the lot, with the rest serving as courtyards and gardens.

Carrying out the new urban plan through the division into lots required the definition of a new view of property, within the ambit of a program that also included a new organization of agrarian land. An operation of this scope implies a radical renewal of the community’s political equilibrium, carried out in the sphere of an ideological construction that enhances the value of the ethnic paradigm of “Etruscanness.” In addition to the foundation rituals connected with defining the boundaries of the city, is indicative the recovery of the aforementioned dedication to the Etruscan *Manth*—who seems to be substituted for the Greek Apollo at the moment of the settlement’s urban refounding—in the sanctuary of the public area.³⁶⁵⁵ The city name *Tyrseta* may also date to this period. Transmitted by Philistus (*FGrHist* 556, F 42) and formed on the ethnonym of the *Tyrrhenoi/Tyrsenoi*, it is perhaps attributed to the renewed urban entity of Pontecagnano or Fratte, and the notion of *Tyrsenikos Kolpos* included in Sophocles’ *Triptolemos* of 468 (F 598 Radt).³⁶⁵⁶

This was the moment of the greatest diffusion of Etruscan writing, attested in the necropolises of Pontecagnano, especially with epigraphs marking ownership of vases, but also by a vase dedication to *Turan*, the Etruscan goddess assimilated to the Greek Aphrodite.³⁶⁵⁷ The onomastic repertoire documents the widespread use of the gentilic name, which designates the independent family and marks the status of citizen with full rights. This, actually, is the prerogative of adults, while children bear only the individual name.

Etruscan inscriptions of this period also come from Eboli, confirming the cultural and linguistic scene of reference of the southern portion of the Agro

4Samnite Tyrrhenia (fifth–fourth centuries)

The years straddling the sixth and fifth centuries also brought great changes on the southern shores of the Bay of Naples and the inland plain. Vase inscriptions appear in a language similar to Samnite using an Etruscan alphabet; in short time epigraphic evidence written in the earlier Italic dialect in the “Nucerian” alphabet runs out.

This phenomenon has been connected with an early Samnite penetration into the territory, triggered by the great expedition of Etruscans and barbarians against Cumae in 524 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.1).³⁶⁵⁹ Other than in the vase inscriptions, the use of Oscan is well known in the city names Nola³⁶⁶⁰ and Nuceria (*Noukeria*), which mark the two centers as “new cities,” as was also the case for the nearby Greek foundation of Neapolis. The new names mark the qualitative leap with respect to the previous community arrangement, in the case of Nuceria probably based on the institution of the *touta*, evidencing the renewed ethnic connotations of the two cities by means of the language.

In the new context, the role of the Etruscans became marginal, further diminished on the Tyrrhenian backdrop by the defeat of the coastal Etrurian cities in the second battle of Cumae in 474 (Diod. Sic. 11.51). The resulting situation is symbolically reflected in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (*GGM* 1.19–20), which dates to between the late fifth and mid fourth centuries, and which does not register an Etruscan presence on the coasts of Campania. Instead, it calls the people settled between the Lucanians (of Poseidonia) and the Campanians (of Neapolis and Cumae) “Samnites.”

On the southern shores of the Bay of Naples the presence of etruscophones is documented at least until the late fourth century by inscriptions from Pompeii and Vico Equense, but by now the linguistic and cultural context is fully samnitized.

The situation in the Gulf of Salerno is clearer. The collapse of the Archaic period system of exchange produced a gradual reorganization of Fratte, whose center seems to revive only in the mid fourth century, when lavish reconstruction overtook the quarter of the acropolis and the related sanctuary. The cult of Heracles was resurrected as a reference in the construction of the political identity of the samnitized community, hinged on a limited aristocratic group that used chamber tombs below the sanctuary. The presence of the burials on the acropolis marks a discontinuity with respect to the previous settlement plan, which integrated a widespread system of farmsteads into the territory.³⁶⁶¹

At Pontecagnano, the process of “samnitization” affected a still vital community at the end of the fifth century. The most obvious sign of change is

found in the necropolises, where there appear burials of soldiers in the southern Italic custom, featuring the spearhead that is often associated with the bronze belt and, in exceptional cases, featuring the three-disc cuirass. In the last decades of the fifth century, there are limited funerary groups known, many of which are in areas never previously utilized for funerary purposes, but which are still accessible from the suburban road network. Their positioning around the inhabited area evidences the preservation of the previous urban plan, confirmed by the restoration of the fortifications, the continuity of use of the public area and the sanctuaries, and the maintenance of the urban blocks notwithstanding the reconstruction that assailed the individual plots. A significant sign of continuity consists of the preservation of the Etruscan language, documented by many inscriptions until the middle or third quarter of the fourth century, as opposed to the few inscriptions in Greek language or script attributable to the new arrivals.

It may be this continuity that contributed to the preservation of the ethnic name, if the *Tyrrhenoi* came from the Agro Picentino, and who—together with the Lucanians and Brettians—went as a delegation to Alexander in Babylonia in 323 (Arr. *Anab.* 7.15.4), and were responsible, along with the Romans, for the barbarization of Poseidonia in the lament of Aristoxenus (F. 124 Wehrli).³⁶⁶² Referring to a similar context, attributed to Pontecagnano or the Agro Picentino are the Etruscan pirate Postumius, who in 339/338 offered his services to Timoleon (Diod. Sic. 16.82.3), and the mercenaries who in the same period struck bronze coins in Sicily with the legend *Tyrrhe(non)*.³⁶⁶³

The fate of Samnite *Tyrrhenia* was sealed with the arrival of the Romans, which for the Agro Picentino was full of consequences. Beginning at the end of the fourth century to the beginning of the third, the centers of Fratte and Pontecagnano show clear signs of a crisis that culminated with their final destruction around the middle of the third century, indicated in the built-up areas by the choking of the wells with building materials, ceramic fragments, and detritus of daily life.”. The event finds a symbolic representation at Pontecagnano, where the closing of the two sanctuaries involves the demolition of the buildings and the celebration of appropriate rites of expiation.³⁶⁶⁴

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Vincenzo Bellelli

74Northern Campania

Abstract: The northern part of Campania offers the main “body of evidence” about the presence of Etruscan civilization outside Etruria. Literary sources, epigraphic data and archaeological discoveries confirm that the Etruscans in the region developed an advanced urban civilization, and from the late tenth century BCE onward founded several cities around Mount Vesuvius, while never reaching the coast. Capua and Nola were the main centers of Etruscan Campania. The former, according to ancient written sources, was the capital of a *dodecapolis* (a confederation of twelve cities). The results of a deep cultural and ethnic interaction between the Etruscans and the indigenous peoples, the Opikoi and the Ausones, gave birth in northern Campania to a mixed civilization, which included the entire *mesogaia*, the fertile hinterland. In the fifth century BCE, the Etruscan cities of Campania were captured by the Campanians.

Keywords: Etruscans, Italic peoples, Capua, *Fossakultur*, *mesogaia*

1Land and people in northern Campania according to the ancient authors

The great German scholar Julius Beloch opened his famed book on ancient Campania with the following sentence: “Campanien hat nie ein politisches Ganzes gebildet.”³⁶⁶⁵ This introductory remark well summarizes the complex reality of ancient Campania³⁶⁶⁶ and fits perfectly with our purpose of introducing an archaeological synthesis on the presence of the Etruscans in this important region of ancient Italy, and in particular in the northern part of it.

The northern part of this region consists of a large territory encircling from northwest to southeast the so-called crater—that is, the fertile central Campanian plain between Cape Miseno and Cape Ateneo (Fig. 73.1)³⁶⁶⁷. This region is basically flat, but is embraced by some small groups of mountains—the Gauro, the Falerno and the Massico, which give the region natural “protection” without being a barrier. The natural boundaries of the region can be considered the Garigliano River to the north, the Samnite Appennines to the east, the Nocera Mounts and the Sorrentine peninsula to the south, and the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west. The ancient sources also make a clear distinction between the hinterland (*mesogaia*) and the coast (*paralia*) (Polyb. 3.9.2; Strabo 5.4.3). The *mesogaia*, in particular, ties up to the west the area known as the “Phlegraean Fields,” which, together with the islands of Procida and Ischia, forms a geographical unit. From a geographical point of view there is

no clear frontier between Latium and Campania and the two regions can be considered strictly linked to each other by means of an ancient route of connection traced in historical times by the Via Latina.

The region was famed in antiquity for the abundance of natural resources and for the flourishing economic activities.³⁶⁶⁸

As to the population, the written sources (Antiochus *apud* Strabo 5.4.3; Livy 4.37; Polyb. 2.17; Plin. *HN* 3.60) distinguish two different groups of populations in Campania: the “invaders” (the Greeks, Etruscans, Samnites and Romans), and the native populations (the Opikoi and Ausones).³⁶⁶⁹ The Opikoi in particular are described as the native populations settled in the vast area placed around the Vesuvius volcano, up to the coast, where they are installed at the site, Cumae, which was selected for occupation by the Greek colonists from Euboea.³⁶⁷⁰

The Ausones are considered by the classical authors (Ael. *VH* 9.16) the most ancient indigenous population of Campania.³⁶⁷¹ Even though some cities of the *mesogaia*, like Nola, are described by some authorities as Ausonian foundations,³⁶⁷² it is generally accepted that the Ausones had settled in historical times only in the northern part of Campania, close to the Latium vetus while in Roman times the presence of the Aurunci is registered.

Within this interesting ethnic framework depicted by the ancient authors, it is worth noting that at the beginning there is no mention of Tyrrhenians/Etruscans in the northern Campania, since our principle source of information for sixth century Italy—the Milesian Ecatarch’s account, which was based on the information given to him by traders and mariners of Ionia—presents the main site of the region, Capua (corresponding to the modern city of Santa Maria Capua Vetere),³⁶⁷³ as a *polis Italica* instead of a Tyrrhenian foundation.³⁶⁷⁴

Very different is the perspective outlined by the Greek and Roman authors of the third to first centuries BCE and of the Roman Imperial period, who emphasize the Etruscan domination in Campania and focus on the leading role of Capua and Nola, whose foundation by the Etruscans, according to Marcus Velleius Paterculus (1.7), would date back to the age of Hesiod.³⁶⁷⁵

Velleius, however, also registers an opposite hypothesis on the foundation of Capua (and Nola) referring to old Cato’s proposal to date this event 260 years before the Roman conquest of the city. Modern commentators have offered different interpretations of this ancient dispute, speculating about the time and the date of the two alleged Etruscan foundations of the city,³⁶⁷⁶ which have seemed necessary to some scholars not to refute Cato’s authority.³⁶⁷⁷

The Etruscan cities of northern Campania, finally, do not appear in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ account (7.3.1) of the Etruscan expedition against the Greek city of Cumae (524 BCE). He mentions neither Capua nor the other Etruscan cities in the region. The invaders were Etruscans coming from the Adriatic coast, mixed with Italic bands of Piceni and Dauni.³⁶⁷⁸ It is probably

the symptom of a vast process of geographic mobility from north to the south affecting the Italic world.³⁶⁷⁹ What is clear is that after this event, the archaeological record documents the extraordinary flourishing of Capua (phase VI in Werner Johannowsky’s periodization), which will last after a very short time because of the Samnite conquest.³⁶⁸⁰

2Previous research and history of studies

Julius Beloch, Jacques Heurgon and Martin Frederiksen can be considered the forerunners of modern research on the Etruscans in northern Campania, and in particular at Capua.³⁶⁸¹ They have provided large historical synthesis on this matter and have contributed their observations as the foundations for future discussion. More recently, Johannowsky’s contribution to archaeological research in this area has been enormous.³⁶⁸² His periodization of ancient Capua’s cultural development³⁶⁸³ is still in use. He has distinguished six phases and several sub-phases (Table 1):

Table 1: W. Johannowsky’s periodization of Capua

Phase IA	Phase IB	Phase IIA	Phase IIB	Phase IIC	Phase IIIA	Phase IIIB	Phase IVA	Phase IVB	Phase IVC	Phase V	Phase VI
900– 850	850– 800	800– 775	775– 750	750– 725	725– 670	670– 640	640– 625	625– 590	590– 570	570– 525	525– 426

Phase IA	Phase IB	Phase IIA	Phase IIB	Phase IIC	Phase IIIA	Phase IIIB	Phase IVA	Phase IVB	Phase IVC	Phase V	Phase VI
900– 850	850– 800	800– 775	775– 750	750– 725	725– 670	670– 640	640– 625	625– 590	590– 570	570– 525	525– 426

In recent times, many works have been devoted to the Etruscans in Campania.³⁶⁸⁴ Short syntheses on this subject have also been published within works dealing with more general topics, like Etruscan civilization³⁶⁸⁵ or the Etruscan collections in important European Museums.³⁶⁸⁶ The enormous bulk of information from the postwar period can be found within the proceedings of the four conferences devoted to the Campanian region held by the Institute of Etruscan Studies.³⁶⁸⁷ Furthermore, a lot of particular studies have been devoted to different matters: among them we mention the publications on Etrusco-Campanian artistic production, and in particular on the ceramic and terracotta production referable to ancient Capua, which are already available or are being realized in the framework of the Series “Capua preromana.”³⁶⁸⁸ Finally, worthy of mention are the publications on the history of research, which deal mainly with the sites of Capua and Nola.³⁶⁸⁹

3The main center of the region: Capua

3.1The Iron Age (Phases I–II: 900–725 BCE)

Along with Pontecagnano, Capua is the main Etruscan center of Campania.³⁶⁹⁰ According to Strabo (5.4.2) the city was the capital of an Etruscan *dodecapolis* similar to that of proper Etruria described in the written sources, even though there is reason to believe that this information does not exactly correspond to the real political organization of the region during the Archaic period.³⁶⁹¹

Like other Etruscan and Campanian centers, there is virtually no evidence of occupation at Capua prior of the late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age.³⁶⁹² It has been suggested in the past that the site was settled by Etruscan groups coming from the Tiber region around the late tenth century,³⁶⁹³ but the picture emerging both from the literature and the archaeological evidence clearly suggests that since its first appearance, Capua's Etruscan identity is very distinctive and originates from a deep network of contacts between the Etruscan newcomers and the native populations.³⁶⁹⁴

Systematic excavations have been undertaken on several sites and large areas used as cemeteries have been found in Località Cappuccini, Nuovo Mattatoio, Fornaci and Quattordici Ponti³⁶⁹⁵ (Fig. 74.1). A small strip of the Early Iron Age settlement (remnants of huts) attributable to the first phase of Johannowsky's periodization has been unearthed northwest of the modern village of S. Maria Capua Vetere, not far from the Nuovo Mattatoio necropolis.³⁶⁹⁶

The first phase of Capua's history (IA: 900–850 BC) has been for a long time a matter of discussion, known by only the small group of sporadic bronze fibulae kept in the storerooms of Museo Campano and by the exceptional evidence of the tomb 1 of S. Angelo in Formis' necropolis, which contained proto-Villanovan type vases.³⁶⁹⁷ Due to this lack of archaeological evidence, previous debate focused on the few and problematic facts described by the written sources (in particular those containing toponomastic data)³⁶⁹⁸ and speculated on a potentially dangerous *argumentum ex silentio*—that is, the absence within Capua's domestic Iron Age repertoire of the Etruscan “index fossil” of biconical urn.³⁶⁹⁹ Despite the large success encountered by Giovanni Colonna's authoritative proposal to identify ethnic elements coming from the Faliscan center of Capena and from the Etruscan city of Veii among the “Etruscan” conquerors of Terra di Lavoro,³⁷⁰⁰ it has been recently argued that the Villanovan center of Capua would not have differed from the south-Etruscan Villanovan mani festations³⁷⁰¹. At the origins of the settlement there would be the arrival from Etruria of human groups searching for new territories.³⁷⁰² Thanks to Gianluca Melandri's recent book on Capua's Iron Age, our knowledge of this subject is now enormously augmented³⁷⁰³. He has

in order to make room for a hybrid culture.³⁷⁰⁴

Capua's main Iron Age cemeteries are located northwest of the ancient urban area. From phase IB onwards, inhumation became the predominant funerary rite. Weapons are very rare in the male burials of this period, but the social and gender distinctions are always clearly detectable thanks to the presence or absence of some archaeological markers (razors for men; domestic instruments and ornaments for women). In the situation of generalized uniformity, at Capua there are some Iron Age graves that stand out because of their exceptional typology and the quality of their contents. Among these, it is particularly worth mentioning the Nuovo Mattatoio 1 tomb, an exceptional tumulus grave dated to the middle of ninth century containing a set of clay vases (Fig. 74.2), a small group of exotic vessels and luxury goods, and the ashes of an incinerated warrior buried together with his sword.³⁷⁰⁵ Facing such an extraordinary grave and its particular position (it lies near the Volturno River at the core of a cemetery area which is organized around the tumulus itself), it is difficult to avoid the impression that it is the tomb of an eminent member of Capua's Iron Age community, a sort of *oikistes* coming from abroad.³⁷⁰⁶

As happens elsewhere in southern and central Italy, at the turning point of the ninth century (where Johannowsky dates the beginning of the second phase), in the richest graves of Capua appear the first Greek geometric vases in meaningful number.³⁷⁰⁷ They are drinking pots manufactured in the middle geometric style in Euboea, Attica and in the Cyclades, whose large diffusion in the western Mediterranean indicates the efforts of the Greeks to set up a network of permanent contacts with ancient Italy's native populations after the "dark age."³⁷⁰⁸ In the same time, the entire northern Campanian region is affected by a vast phenomenon of the circulation of *orientalia*, *aegyptiaca* and carved amber, which are finally put in the tombs of women and children with the function of amulets.³⁷⁰⁹

Among the tombs dating to the end of the eighth century, perhaps to be assigned already to phase IIIA, special attention is due to tomb 722 at Fornaci.³⁷¹⁰ It is a rich fossa grave dated to the second half of the century, where the rite of cremation is exceptionally applied to a woman whose ashes were put into an impasto "zero" (large jar) dressed at the center of the ditch. The grave goods contain a rich set of personal ornaments, some impasto vases, a drinking-service imported from Pithekoussai and a little sculpture made of bone representing a naked woman, who reminds us of the so-called "Goddess" of Marsiliana d'Albegna. The furniture also includes a rare Phoenician silver hemispherical cup with scale decoration under the rim (Fig. 74.3), similar to those founded at Caere and Praeneste. This context is worth noting because it represents the anticipation of a cultural phenomenon, the princely tombs of the Orientalizing Period, which wasn't attested at Capua so far. According to Johannowsky, tomb 722 at Fornaci was the tomb of a Greek (Pithecan) noblewoman living at Capua.³⁷¹¹



Fig. 74.2: Capua: impasto vases and bronze ornaments from tomb Nuovo Mattatoio I (photo O. Fabozzi, courtesy G. Melandri)

3.2 The Orientalizing Period (phases IIIA–IVC: 725–570 BCE)

The first part of the Orientalizing Period at Capua, according to excavators, is not as rich as elsewhere in central and southern Italy.³⁷¹² Capua's material culture attributable to this period and the level of prosperousness of the community as it is reflected from importations and local productions—suggest indeed a downturn of external trade and commerce and the starting of a phase of “provincialism” and isolation.³⁷¹³

The vessel repertoire in this phase is dominated by the brown Impasto, the local conservative ware representing the continuity of local tradition against the cultural pressure exerted in the sphere of ceramic fashion by the Greek-type ceramics.³⁷¹⁴ It is the “national” ware of the Opikoi, widespread everywhere in northern and inner Campania, representing the more explicit mark of the *Fossakultur koiné*. Nonetheless, we can find in the impasto repertoire of northern Campania a great variety of drinking vessels directly derived from Greek prototypes—in particular oinochoai, kotylai, and skyphoi.³⁷¹⁵ The decorations reveal a “provincial” taste. Besides this impasto tableware, at Capua and elsewhere, the so-called Italo-geometric ware—that is, the interesting Greek-type class of pottery of derivative origin, which imitates the proto-Corinthian sub-geometric style—is well documented during the Orientalizing Period.³⁷¹⁶



Fig. 74.3: Capua: silver cup from tomb Fornaci 722. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Archaeological Museum (after Allegro et al. 1995)

In phase IV of Johannowsky's periodization bucchero ware predominates at Capua. After a short period (phase IV A), during which the supply of this class of pottery is assured by means of importation from southern Etruria, local workshops begin producing bucchero vases, in terms of mass-production, at the beginning of the sixth century³⁷¹⁷. In this period, the whole northern Campanian district adopts bucchero as the main tableware. Although this fact has been considered an "ethnic marker,"³⁷¹⁸ it is actually important to say that the fortune of the bucchero outside Etruria is a feature that affects several regions of central Italy involved in a vast process of acculturation that led to the adoption of this category of Etruscan-type tableware.³⁷¹⁹ An interesting small group of Campanian bucheri has also come to light also at Cumae.³⁷²⁰

As to corinthianizing pottery, workshops working in the tradition of southern Etruria are established at Capua and perhaps elsewhere (Suessula, Calatia and Nola) in order to supply the growing local demand. According to Johannowsky,³⁷²¹ Capua's Etrusco-(proto)Corinthian production included small containers of perfumed oil produced *in loco*, which were exported both to the Greek colonies of the coast (Cumae, Pithekoussai and Parthenope),³⁷²² and to the indigenous Sarno Valley district.³⁷²³ On the other hand, this Etrusco-Corinthian production of northern Campania doesn't include any figural vases. This feature indicates that as far as corinthianizing pottery is concerned, Capua's case study differs greatly from that of Pontecagnano. At the Etruscan colony at the Picentino River's mouth there was an interesting local production of figure-vases imitating Corinthian models.³⁷²⁴

Also attested at Capua are small quantities of east-Greek vases³⁷²⁵ and large numbers of Corinthian figure-vases, oinochoai, olpai, kotylai and perfume-flasks,³⁷²⁶ which reached the region *en masse* beginning at the end of the seventh century. The most spectacular items of this series of importations find themselves inside some rich late-Orientalizing *cubo*-type graves,³⁷²⁷ tufa

block tombs shaped like stone cubes holding cremation materials. These exceptional complexes, as tombs 1504 and 1505 at Fornaci, along with the Corinthian clay imports, also contain elaborate Greek bronze vases ended up at Capua from the coasts of northern Campania probably via Cumae. That Greek colony seems to have been the terminal of a commercial network that linked the Ionian coast of southern Italy to the coasts of Campania (the Sorrentine Peninsula).³⁷²⁸

These Greek bronze vases of Peloponnesian (often Laconian) craftsmanship were particularly appreciated by Capua's elite.³⁷²⁹ They include sets of wine vases, including both large liquid containers (kraters and hydriae) and pouring vases (oinochoai/pitchers), which sometimes occur at Capua along with large basins with decorated handles of a type now also documented in northern Basilicata.³⁷³⁰

The most spectacular concentration of these exotic goods in Capua is to be found in a princely tomb known as the Dutuit Tomb or Quattordici Ponti Tomb, which is yet to be dated at the dawn of the Archaic Period (phase IVC).³⁷³¹

It is a pseudo-chamber grave that was excavated in 1873 in the Quattordici Ponti necropolis. The extraordinary contents of the tomb were sold worldwide through the intermediation of the German scholar Wolfgang Helbig, whose intense activity in the contemporary art market has been recently reconstructed in detail.³⁷³² The tomb contained astonishing funerary furnishings: an iron axe, some east-Greek plastic vases, Corinthian *alabastra* of the so called *Luxus-group*, a rich set of Greek and Etruscan bronzes including a rare *infundibulum*, some basins with plastic human heads, a large basin with handles decorated with horse heads manufactured in a southern Etruscan workshop—perhaps Vulci—and a masterpiece of the contemporary Etruscan bronze industry, the revetment plaques of a chariot decorated *au repoussé* with chimaera figures.³⁷³³ Some of these objects are missing;³⁷³⁴ other items are on display at various archaeological museums where they ended up at the time of the discovery through the complex net of the art market.³⁷³⁵ Because of the emphasis placed on the status symbols that the tomb contained—as for instance the *currus* and the axe—the Quattordici Ponti complex has been interpreted as the tomb of a local chiefdom controlling the stream of “international” traffic, which reached the Campanian coasts via Cuma.³⁷³⁶

3.3The Archaic Period (570–470 BCE)

We know very little of Capua in the Archaic Period.³⁷³⁷ Recent excavations have revealed the existence of the remains of stone and mud brick houses in the eastern part of the city, in the Siepone area, close to the “Furnace” area (Fig. 74.4).³⁷³⁸ They display regular plans and are equipped with architectural

roof decorations. Not far from this site, not many years ago, the Superintendency had explored another small part of the archaic settlement in the Alveo Marotta area, near the San Prisco bridge, which has been interpreted by excavators as a *pagus* inhabited since the beginnings of sixth century and abandoned around 470.³⁷³⁹ Among the buildings explored, besides stone and mud brick houses, there is also an interesting kiln with a rectangular plan for the production of pan tiles.³⁷⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that a small group of inscribed pot sherds come from this area that enlarge our knowledge of the diffusion of Etruscan literacy at Capua during the late archaic period.³⁷⁴¹

In this period—phase VI of Johannowsky’s periodization—we note an interesting cultural phenomenon at Capua, the marked Hellenization of the customs of the urban elite.³⁷⁴² After a period of relative “indifference” for the Capuan market, the flourishing commerce of Athenian figure-vases along the Tyrrhenian coasts reached the Etrusco-Campanian city and the other urban centers of the hinterland (in particular Nola). The massive importation of Attic red-figure vases reflects the tastes and the active choices of the purchasers, which is particularly evident in the selection of the shape vases and the request of particular images.³⁷⁴³

Our principal source of information for this period is the Fornaci necropolis,³⁷⁴⁴ but a lot of cemeteries dating to this period have been discovered both to the north and to the south of the ancient settlement.

Two tombs crucial to Capua’s history that are dated to this period are the Lebate Barone’s Tomb and the Brygos Tomb. The latter was unearthed in 1870s by Simmaco Doria in the Quattro Santi necropolis, along the road leading from Santa Maria Capua Vetere to the Tifata Mount.³⁷⁴⁵ It included half a dozen of exceptional Attic red-figured vases, among which stand out a skyphos signed by the potter Hieron and attributed to the painter Makron. It also included a kylix attributed to Brygos.³⁷⁴⁶ The complex has been interpreted by Dyfri Williams as the tomb of an Athenian buried at Capua,³⁷⁴⁷ but Luca Cerchiali is probably right in arguing that the tomb reflects an ideological system of the local aristocracy, which seems proper.³⁷⁴⁸ Recently, Sabrina Batino speculated about the social identity of the deceased and tried to demonstrate that he was a young Capuan *hippeus* dead before reaching adulthood.³⁷⁴⁹

The tomb containing the famed Lebate Barone was unearthed in 1847 in the village of Sant’Erasmo. Associated with the bronze vase were at least two Attic figure-vases, a red-figure kylix attributed to Euergides, and a black-figure Panathenaic type amphora painted by the Diosphos Painter. It has been argued that this association of the bronze lebes and the Attic black-figure amphora of the (pseudo-)Panathenaic type occurs frequently at Capua and is particularly meaningful, because it refers to the values of the athletics.³⁷⁵⁰

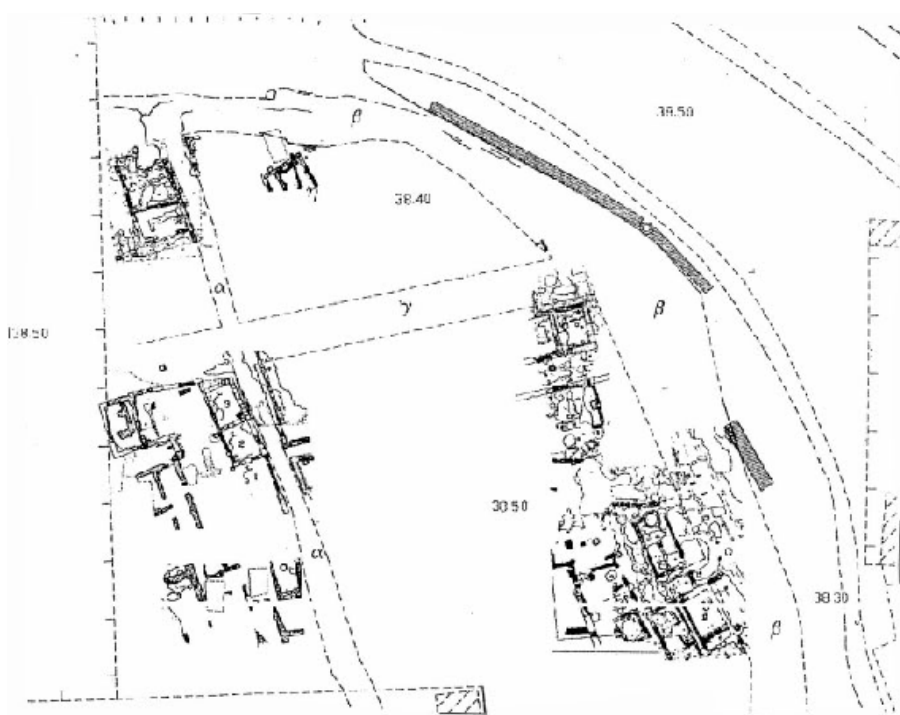


Fig. 74.4: Capua: plan of the archaic buildings found in the 'Siepone' area (courtesy V. Sampaolo)

As for monumental art, it is worth mentioning the only Archaic painted tomb ever found at Capua. The painting, which depicts a scene of table-game (draughts), is dated to around 470.³⁷⁵¹ The rare iconographic subject might refer to the urban reorganization of Capua, which is alluded by the old Cato's sentence reported by Velleius (1.7). It is probably at this time that the city's oligarchic elite selected a new city name—Volsturnum—to reinforce and legitimize the political order.³⁷⁵²

4Sanctuaries: the Fondo Patturelli

Although the sanctuary of Diana Tifatina, on the slopes of Tifata Mount, seems to have been the most important sanctuary of ancient Capua according to ancient authors,³⁷⁵³ there is not the slightest doubt that our knowledge of Archaic Capua's sanctuaries is essentially based on the overwhelming archaeological evidence from the Fondo Patturelli area.³⁷⁵⁴ This sacred area, located on the east side of the ancient settlement, in the modern village of Curti, has yielded a huge quantity of architectural and votive terracottas. Besides the votive materials,³⁷⁵⁵ the so-called *matres matutae*, massive statues carved in the local tufa representing seated women with children on their laps

stand out from the other anonymous *ex-votos* (Fig. 74.5).³⁷⁵⁶ The iconography raises the question of whether the women are goddesses or humans. Whatever the case, their characterization as *kourothrophoi* suggests that the cult was devoted to a goddess protecting women and the sphere of birth. A possible candidate would be Uni, an important goddess of the Etruscan *pantheon* corresponding to Iuno/Hera, mentioned also in the so called *Tabula Capuana* (Fig. 35.6),³⁷⁵⁷ a ritual calendar inscribed on a terracotta tile that was discovered in the nineteenth century (see Section 5). Some scholars think that due to the proximity of the sanctuary to a cemetery, a goddess like a funerary Aphrodite is more appropriate.³⁷⁵⁸ Recent excavations have, however, demonstrated that there was no close relationship between the sanctuary and the cemetery before Roman times.³⁷⁵⁹ Moreover, there is no proof that the *Tabula Capuana* was found in the area of Fondo Patturelli. On the contrary, the contemporary archival documents studied by Mauro Cristofani³⁷⁶⁰ suggest that it was discovered at Quattordici Ponti.

In order to determine the cult—or, to a lesser degree, the cult typology—in addition to the *matres matutae*, we must rely mainly on the thousands of terracotta *ex-votos* scattered in the area, on the later Italic (Oscan) inscriptions known as *iovilai*³⁷⁶¹ and the *defictiones* written in the same language coming from the sanctuary area.³⁷⁶²



Fig. 74.5: Capua: Stone statue of seated woman. Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano (after *Italia omnium terrarum alumna*, Milan 1989)

Alessia Ventriglia has recently stressed the importance of Vei, the Etruscan Demeter, within the *pantheon* of the Fondo Patturelli, which probably also includes other goddesses, like Uni.³⁷⁶³

In addition to this evidence, of great importance for determining the Fondo Patturelli cult are also particular objects coming from the *favissae* of the sanctuary, like the terracotta relief recently published by Barbara Grassi,³⁷⁶⁴ and the “magic” clay disk displaying various symbols in low relief on the recto studied by Lidia Falcone,³⁷⁶⁵ which shows signs of syncretistic tendencies.

It seems likely that throughout its life, the sanctuary hosted different shrines and several sacred buildings decorated with architectural terracottas of different style and size, which suggest that the sacred area included a sort of *lucus* scattered with small aedicules which were, perhaps, managed by different families.³⁷⁶⁶ The huge quantity of decorative terracottas discovered in the Fondo Patturelli needs a brief supplementary comment. In the sanctuary have been brought to light hundreds of architectural Campanian-type terracottas. They form an unique data-set which allows us to identify the revetment system adopted by the habitants of Capua for the roofs of their main temples.³⁷⁶⁷ The standard Campanian system includes a characteristic type of head-antefixes encircled by a shell of tongues with molded edges (*nimbus*) (Fig. 74.6). The origin of this roofing system has been long disputed, and an east-Greek influence via Velia has been argued by different scholars³⁷⁶⁸ to explain the regional distribution of the Campanian-type antefix. However, as has been demonstrated,³⁷⁶⁹ it is more likely that the system was created in the western Greek *milieu* of the Bay of Naples, from where it later spread to the Etruscan *mesogaia* (Capua), and where it was further developed and transmitted both to the north and the south.³⁷⁷⁰ Capua might indeed be considered the center of diffusion of a system that was originally elaborated in the Cumae/Pithekoussai district. It gives birth to an interesting phenomenon of cultural and artistic *koiné*, which, according to some scholars, even affects the politic sphere.³⁷⁷¹ Capua's influence would have reached Minturno to the north and Fratte to the south, drawing the boundaries of a sphere of influence that would greatly overpass the limits of the alleged Etrusco-Campanian league mentioned by Strabo in Roman times (see Introduction).



Fig. 74.6: Capua: Antefix decorated with female head. Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano (after Johannowsky 1989)

5Campanian black-figure vases, bronze dinoi and terracotta appliques

According to Johannowsky, the Archaic Period is the most original period of Capua's history in terms of its artistic production.³⁷⁷² Scholars have identified several local workshops operating in the tradition of Attic and Etruscan black-figure vases.³⁷⁷³ The massive output of these workshops includes mainly tableware, including small neck-amphorae (Fig. 74.7), hydriae and colonnette-kraters, and open Greek-type shapes (stem and stemless kylikes, and mastoid cups). As for iconography, recent studies have demonstrated that the images depicted on these vases can be divided into two different groups: one that refers to the male sphere, the other to the female.³⁷⁷⁴ Some items, furthermore, seem to give a lot of importance to cult scenes where play an important role the representations of rites that happen near altars and altar-like buildings.³⁷⁷⁵

Campanian workshops were also famed in the Archaic Period for the selected production of a class of elegant bronze vases equipped with lids and

decorated with small sculptures cast in the round (Fig. 74.8).³⁷⁷⁶ They are large *lebetes* (or, according to another denomination, *dinoi*), which were exclusively used as ash-urns in the *cubo* tombs, attested in Etruscanized Campania since the seventh century.³⁷⁷⁷ Outside Capua, specimens are recorded from Cumae, Calatia and Suessula, but surprisingly, two items seem to have reached also central Italy³⁷⁷⁸ and perhaps the remote modern-day Germany.³⁷⁷⁹



Fig. 74.7: Campanian black-figure amphora. Siena, Archaeological Museum (Photo SAT)



Fig. 74.8: Campanian bronze dinos. Berlin, Antikensammlung (after Kästner 2010)

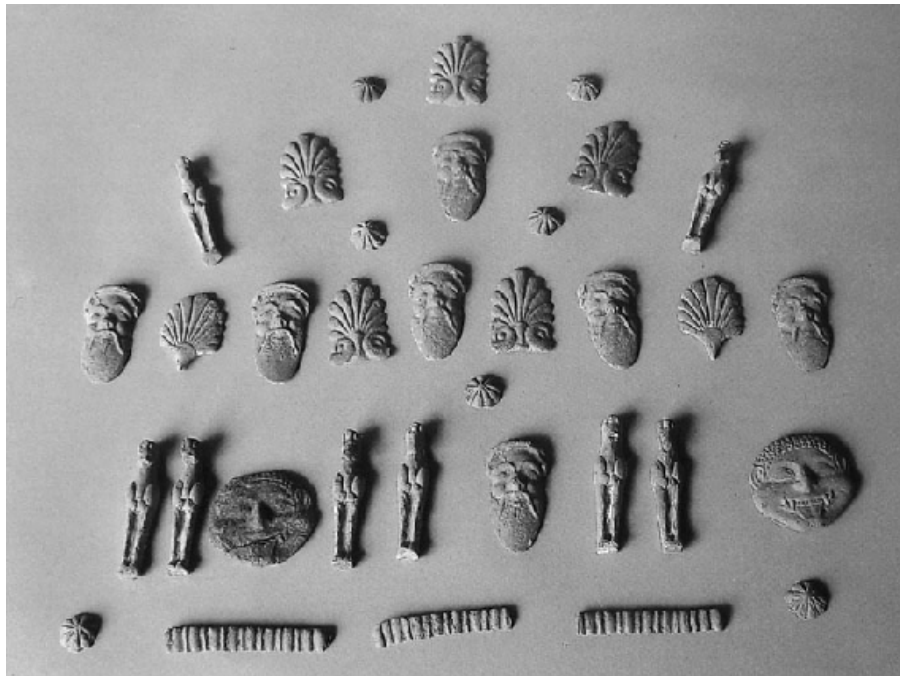


Fig. 74.9: Capua: terracotta appliqués. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Archaeological Museum (after Allegro et al. 1995)

The decoration of these elegant vases was generally confined to the lid, but there is one relevant exception: the “Lebete Barone”, dating to the late sixth century, which displays an interesting incised frieze focusing on Herakles’ *dodekathlon* on its belly.³⁷⁸⁰

Finally, we mention the interesting series of Capuan terracotta appliques (Fig.74.9), which complete the picture of late Archaic local production. According to Fernando Gilotta, they are the result of a strong Greek influence coming from Peloponnese and East Greece via Magna Graecia.³⁷⁸¹

6Written documents and the language

Hundreds of Etruscan inscriptions have been found throughout northern Campania suggesting that Etruscan was largely spoken by the native populations.³⁷⁸² The bulk of the *corpus* is represented by short texts incised in the bottom of Attic imports (mostly stemless cups)³⁷⁸³ found at Capua, Suessula, Calatia, Nola and Avella. As a rule, these texts are brief sentences simply mentioning the owner’s name and sometimes the name of the vase-shape.³⁷⁸⁴ The *onomasticon* includes a lot of Italic names, as is to be expected in a frontier area like northern Campania,³⁷⁸⁵ a region in which—according to the picture drawn in the ancient written sources—different peoples lived

together side by side since protohistory (see Introduction). Within the *corpus* one can also find abecedaries, like the painted one on a Nolan *situla* dating to the first half of the fifth century;³⁷⁸⁶ other rare examples are datable to the sixth. A recent study has drawn attention to a class of stamnoid *ollae* with painted decorations dating to the sixth century that were probably manufactured at Capua and which sometimes carry short Etruscan painted inscriptions.³⁷⁸⁷

The *Tabula Capuana* is one of the major extant Etruscan texts (Fig. 35.5).³⁷⁸⁸ It is an archival document originally hosted in a sanctuary. The long text is incised on the surface of a pan tile that is almost entirely preserved. The text is divided into ten sections with religious prescriptions that mention several gods of the Etruscan pantheon. Particular importance is accorded to Lethams, a god also mentioned in the Piacenza liver. The monument is to be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century.

The Etruscan inscriptions from northern Campania show some original features from the epigraphic point of view, such as the use of a butterfly to mark the palato-alveolar sibilant. The Etruscan *corpus* of Nola also shows some interesting relationships with the Faliscan *milieu* regarding the rendering of the sound “F” by means of an “arrow” sign.³⁷⁸⁹

It is worth noting the late chronology of these Etruscan inscriptions from northern Campania, and comparing them to those from Pontecagnano, which date to the mid seventh century.³⁷⁹⁰ One wonders whether this discrepancy depends upon a real difference in the acquaintance with the Etruscan writing-system between northern and southern Campania, or on an accidental pattern of chronological distribution of the evidence. The lack of evidence in northern Campania had in the recent past seemed an inexplicable phenomenon due to the proximity of Greek Cumae, the city which taught the Etruscans of Etruria writing at the beginning of the seventh century.³⁷⁹¹

The late and anomalous spread of Etruscan writing system throughout northern Campania is a phenomenon that calls for an explanation. The late chronology of the *corpus* of Etruscan inscriptions found in the area under Capua’s cultural influence has been claimed in the recent past³⁷⁹² as an explanation for the so-called “second Etruscan colonization”—that is, the alleged migration that would have taken place after the first battle at Cumae. According to this point of view, new groups of Etruscan people coming from southern Etruria would have reached the Terra di Lavoro in the second part of sixth century, giving birth to a new foundation of the capital of the region, Capua. The inscriptions would represent one of the effects of their arrival, and the sign of a political and cultural prominence throughout the whole region.³⁷⁹³ This hypothesis adequately explained two related facts without forcing the archaeological evidence: the late chronology of these epigraphic documents, and the absence of similar evidence from previous periods, namely the Orientalizing Period.

In addition to this, it is worth noting the high number of abecedaries among

the Etruscan *corpus* of northern Campania and the systematic adoption—even in shorter texts—of the so-called syllabic punctuation (see [chapter 17](#) Benelli). It is generally accepted that the occurrence of these two related facts usually marks the start of the cultural phenomenon of the spread of writing.³⁷⁹⁴

On the other hand, according to some scholars, the sudden and large diffusion of Etruscan inscriptions throughout northern Campania in the late Archaic Period would only be a sign of the ripening of the ethnic self-consciousness of the region's Etruscan elite in the age of Cumae's tyrant Aristodemos.³⁷⁹⁵ Therefore, there wouldn't have been a second Etruscan colonization in Campania,³⁷⁹⁶ but a phenomenon of rediscovery of their own ethnic identity by the Etruscans of Campania. From this perspective, it would just be a coincidence that the large Etruscan-speaking population of northern Campania hadn't written anything remarkable for such a long time.

While the former interpretation is based on an *argumentum ex silentio*, the latter emphasizes the fortuitousness of discovery. Neither of the two explanations is fully convincing and it seems therefore wiser to postpone judgment and wait for new discoveries.

Whatever kind of explanatory model we adopt for this phenomenon, we can be certain that northern Campania was a frontier world where two peoples—Etruscans and Opikoi—lived together in the same settlements. A group of written texts classified as Paleo-Italic³⁷⁹⁷ suggest that the Italic component of the population used the writing in a competitive manner as to Etruscan.³⁷⁹⁸ One of these Paleo-Italic inscriptions is incised on the mouth of a Vulcian bronze *stamnos*, which shows that among Capua's urban community, since the beginning of the fifth century, there was a Sabellic-speaking elite.³⁷⁹⁹

7The final chapter of Etruscan Capua's history

According to Livy (4.37.1–2) and Diodorus Siculus (12.31), Capua was captured by the Campanians in 423. The conquest would have preceded by only two years the victorious entry of the Campanians to Cumae, and Neaples would have been the only city of this northern Campanian district not to be conquered by force. Livy, our main ancient source for these historical events,³⁸⁰⁰ describes the seizure of the Etruscan Capua as a phenomenon of social contrast between the urban population and the country people, which resulted in the rebellion of the latter against the former.³⁸⁰¹ This event also led to the replacement of the Etruscan city name, *Volturnum*, with the Italic name, Capua.³⁸⁰² When considered in relation to recent archaeological discoveries, Livy's account seems a little imprecise, for it has been convincingly argued by Valeria Sampaolo that the "Samnitization" of the region was a phenomenon starting as early as the beginning of the fifth century.³⁸⁰³ Thus the abandonment of the site of Alveo Marotta, to the east of the ancient city, wouldn't be the result of an ongoing process of urbanization leading to the fusion of various *pagi*³⁸⁰⁴ but the upshot of the Campanian military advance from east to west.

During the fifth and fourth centuries, Capua continued to be the center of the region's cultural development and expressed its originality by developing an important artistic tradition in vase and wall painting.³⁸⁰⁵ In 338, it was finally romanized and obtained the *civitas sine suffragio*.

8The northern part of “Terra di Lavoro”: Cales and Teano

As noted in the Introduction, the ancient sources distinguish an Ausonian district in northern Campania, the main centers of which were probably Cales and Teano.³⁸⁰⁶ As Johannowsky suggested, the local communities living in this area shared the use of characteristic tableware with the people of the Liri Valley. This was the so-called red bucchero, a ware coated with a red slip vaguely resembling the Etruscan black bucchero.

Thanks to recent research, it is now possible to trace the history of this vast region crossed both longitudinally and transversally by important axes of communication that linked Latium to the northern part of Campania directly.³⁸⁰⁷ Furthermore, three important rivers flowing from east to west—the Garigliano, the Savone and the Volturno—represent important regional landmarks. Not by chance did local people found two important sanctuaries in this frontier area, one at the mouth of the Garigliano River and another at the mouth of the Savone. The former had a temple with a roof decorated in the Campanian “manner.”³⁸⁰⁸ Of the latter only a small part of the votive deposits are known.³⁸⁰⁹

From the Garigliano sanctuary came also the famed Paleo-Italic inscription published by M. Cristofani, which clearly indicates that the cultural identity of this compound referred to the Ausones/Aurunci mentioned in the literary sources.³⁸¹⁰

Teano was the main urban center of the upper part of the Terra di Lavoro. The settlement was probably occupied since the Iron Age, as is suggested by a group of clay vases without specific provenance, which show interesting elements of comparison with the Tiber Valley region and southern Italy, particularly the Daunia.³⁸¹¹ During the Archaic age, the community invested a lot of resources building sanctuaries equipped with monumental buildings. In two of them, in Loreto and Fondo Ruozzo, important evidence of the *anathemata* and the cult statues dating at the earliest to the end of the sixth century have come to light.³⁸¹² Among them one can find clay statues representing *kourophoroi*, women carrying children on their shoulders, and cult statues of the goddess worshipped Popluna wearing a tall *polos a busta* (Fig. 74.20).³⁸¹³

Cales was an indigenous settlement to the north of Capua. Archaeological excavations undertaken in the Migliaro necropolis have revealed a rich archaeological *facies* corresponding to the Orientalizing Period³⁸¹⁴ that offers several elements of comparison, not only with the Opician hinterland of northern and central Campania, but also with the Latial and Etruscan cultures on the one hand, and the Sarno Valley *Fossakultur* on the other. In the choice

of vase-shapes, the local ceramic repertoire is indeed a hybrid; especially in the case of the table-amphorae we find side by side both shapes attested in the Hernic area and in the Sarno Valley.³⁸¹⁵

A rather exceptional context dating to the late Orientalizing Period is tomb 1.³⁸¹⁶ It is a male inhumation with very rich equipment, comprising a set of Etruscan buccheri and Etrusco-Corinthian vases imported from Caere, which compelled M. Frederiksen to propose that the owner of the tomb was an Etruscan warrior buried with all his weapons and vessels.³⁸¹⁷

The *corredo* of tomb 1 also includes an Etruscan transport amphora and an oinochoe of local craftsmanship decorated with painted circles on the body,³⁸¹⁸ which belongs to a class of Greek-type vases whose origin is still disputed.³⁸¹⁹ The high concentration of the vases of this production in the area around the centers of Suessula and Capua³⁸²⁰ indicates perhaps that we are facing a production enhanced *in loco*.

9The sites of the mesogaia: Suessula, Calatia, Nola, Avella

Apart from Capua, which was the main center of the Campanian *dodecapolis* (Polyb. 2.17; Strabo 5.4.3), almost all the urban centers encircling the Mount Vesuvius can be considered Etruscan foundations or Etruscanized indigenous cities. From both the former and the latter have come to light vases equipped with Etruscan inscriptions, which suggest that the entire hinterland was under strong political and cultural Etruscan domination.³⁸²¹

Calatia, a small city in the Campanian hinterland, today in province of Caserta, southeast of Capua, shows a strong Etruscan influence. We know very little about the ancient center, which corresponds to the modern town of Maddaloni. The ancient settlement appears encircled by walls built in the Republican period; it is flanked both to the east and the west by two large cemeteries in use from the ancient Orientalizing period onward.³⁸²²

One of the most important Orientalizing graves of the Calatia necropolis is Tomb 201. Besides the local impasto vases, it contained a group of Greek vases of Proto-Corinthian type and a ribbed bronze bowl.³⁸²³

The rich documentation dating to the seventh century and in particular to the late Orientalizing period (630/20–580) allows us to draw the picture of a flourishing small community of the Campanian *mesogaia*—highly representative of the local *Fossakultur*—as it progressively entered into the orbit of the cultural influence of Etruscan Capua.³⁸²⁴ The predominant rite is the inhumation in big “fossa;” cremation is very rare. The corpse of the dead is surrounded by a huge quantity of clay vases (drinking- and storage-vessels), placed around the head and along the sides of the body. As a rule, a large impasto container is placed at the foot of the dead, to indicate the clan’s

prosperity. The most representative contexts in this period include imported vases of Corinthian fabric,³⁸²⁵ which appear in the tombs along with local Corinthian-style imitations. Tomb 296 (Fig. 74.10) is a rare fossa-grave equipped with a small repository made out beneath the plan of the fossa. This rare grave typology has forerunners dating to the Iron Age, both in the local repertoire and in the Capua *milieu*.³⁸²⁶

Calatia's tombs have so far yielded a huge number of genuine Etrusco-Corinthian vases, both drinking-vessels and perfume-flasks, which date to the first half of the sixth century. Among these, one can find products of the workshops of Caere and Vulci, including kylikes of the Human Mask Group and alabastra of the confronted cocks group.³⁸²⁷ The most ancient Etrusco-Corinthian vases found at Calatia are a rare couple of aryballoi in black-polychrome style, attributable to the workshop of the Castellani painter. They have been considered the introductory gift of an Etruscan trader to a local aristocrat.³⁸²⁸

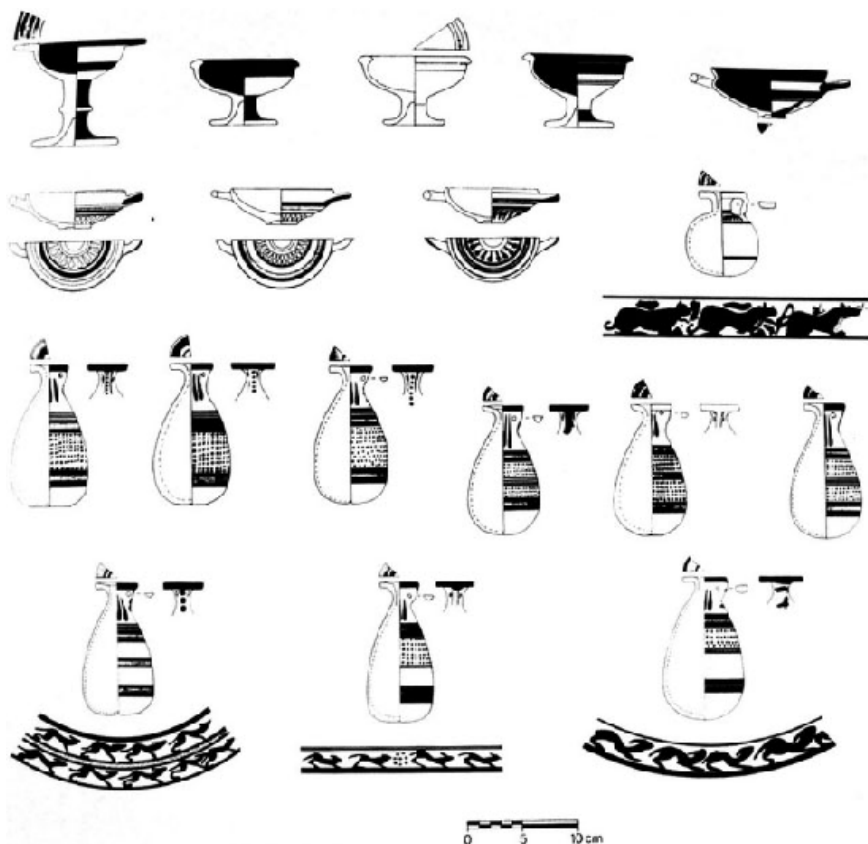


Fig. 74.10: Calatia: vases from tomb 296. Calatia, Archaeological Museum (after Laforgia 1996a)

Suessula is one of the main indigenous settlements of northern Campania.

The site was extensively excavated in the eighteenth century, and the majority of objects recovered in that time now form the rich Spinelli collection housed in the Archaeological Museum of Naples.³⁸²⁹ It includes hundreds of locally-crafted impasto and Italo-Corinthian vases.³⁸³⁰ A necropolis has recently been excavated in Piazza Vecchia by Elena Laforgia.³⁸³¹ From Suessula and Capua also come several giant bronze fibulae with exuberant plastic decorations applied to the disk, which date to the middle of the eighth century (Fig. 74.11).³⁸³² Even though a recent hypothesis³⁸³³ claims a possible Cumaean origin for this class of fibulae, it is more likely that these products were manufactured locally.

Nola was located at the core of Campanian *mesogaia*, along the “Etruscan” belt of settlements behind Mount Vesuvius.³⁸³⁴ The city is described as Etruscan in the late literary sources (Velleius 1.7), but Hecataeus of Miletus mentions it as a *polis Ausonon* (FGrH 1 F 61 = 69 Nenci). According to Strabo (5.4.8), the whole Campanian hinterland, including Nola, Nocera and Acerrae, had its *epineion* at Pompeii. The Etruscan ethnic noun Nulathe³⁸³⁵ indicates that the name of the city during the Etruscan domination was probably Nula. The most ancient archaeological record from Nola dates to the second half of the eighth century.³⁸³⁶

The predominant funerary rite is inhumation. The richest tombs of the Orientalizing period—112, 308 and 98—from the Torricelle necropolis (third quarter of the eighth–mid seventh centuries) were rich in amber ornaments.³⁸³⁷ The Orientalizing and Archaic cemeteries of the city³⁸³⁸ show that the material culture of Nola belongs to the *Fossakultur*. Some tombs contained remarkable importations of Corinthian, Attic and Etrusco-Corinthian styles.³⁸³⁹ Recent studies have shown that the aristocratic rite of incineration inside the krater is also attested at Nola.³⁸⁴⁰

Some of the most remarkable Campanian Etruscan inscriptions have been found at Nola.³⁸⁴¹ The texts seem not to be from earlier than the second half of the sixth century, which shows a strong parallel with the Capuan situation. The vase-shapes more often inscribed at Nola are stemless Attic kylikes; some inscriptions are to be interpreted as Paleo-Italic texts denoting the existence of a mixed population.³⁸⁴²

We have very little information about the ancient settlement of Nola.³⁸⁴³ Although there is no evidence regarding the Archaic architecture, we know about the existence of architectural terracottas of the so-called Campanian type.³⁸⁴⁴



Fig. 74.11: Capua: Bronze fibula with appliqués, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Archaeological Museum (after Bonghi Jovino 2000)

Avella is an important Opician settlement on the left side of the Clanis River, at the foot of the hills that encircle the Campanian plain.³⁸⁴⁵ The urban center was set up at the end of the eighth century, and was surrounded by two large cemetery areas in the villages of S. Nazzaro to the west and S. Paolino to the east. During the first half of the seventh century, the community of Avella showed no signs of frequent external contacts, and the only imports found in the tombs of this period are some Italo-Geometric vases of colonial production. It is likely that the Greek colony of Cumae was also the intermediate source of the rare *Kreis- und Wellenband* aryballos found in a tomb.³⁸⁴⁶ The tombs of the late Orientalizing and Archaic periods show a greater quantity of imports. Some rich funerary complexes that date to the sixth century include, for instance, both clay and bronze vases imported from Greece and Etruria. Tomb nr. 1/1995B contained a bronze *Löwenkanne*, similar to those discovered at Capua, and a bronze *infundibulum* of Etruscan craftsmanship.³⁸⁴⁷

Besides Capua, Gricignano, Suessula, Calatia and Nola, short Etruscan inscriptions have recently been found at Avella.³⁸⁴⁸ The most important inscription is incised on an Attic black-glazed kylix with concave lip, which dates to the second quarter of the fifth century. It recalls the name of the Campanian gens of the *Calavii*.³⁸⁴⁹

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VI. Etruscans outside Etruria

Central and Northern Italy

Luigi Malnati

75Emilia

Abstract: Unlike in Etruria proper during the centuries commonly referred to as the Late Bronze Age, in Emilia, there has been no success in gathering sure signs of the presence of protovillanovan culture. At the beginning of the Iron Age, the area of the high plateau between the Idice and the Reno was occupied, and later even beyond the Panaro to the west and the Santerno to the east. There were villages—some of them as large as several hectares—with necropolises of cremations in the characteristic biconical vases assignable to the Villanovan culture (for Villanova di Castenaso, near Bologna, where they were first excavated). The founding of Felsina (present-day Bologna) dates to the beginning of the eighth century BCE, and is documented especially in necropolises, which especially in the last quarter of the eighth century took on a monumental character, when Felsina assumed political control over a wide territory from Panaro in the west to Santerno in the east and ruled the plain as far as the Po. The beginning of the sixth century saw a major break at Bologna/Felsina and in Emilia, where new settlements were founded, such as Marzabotto and Spina, which flourished particularly in the fifth century. The invasions of the Celts in the fourth century disrupted this arrangement of the population.

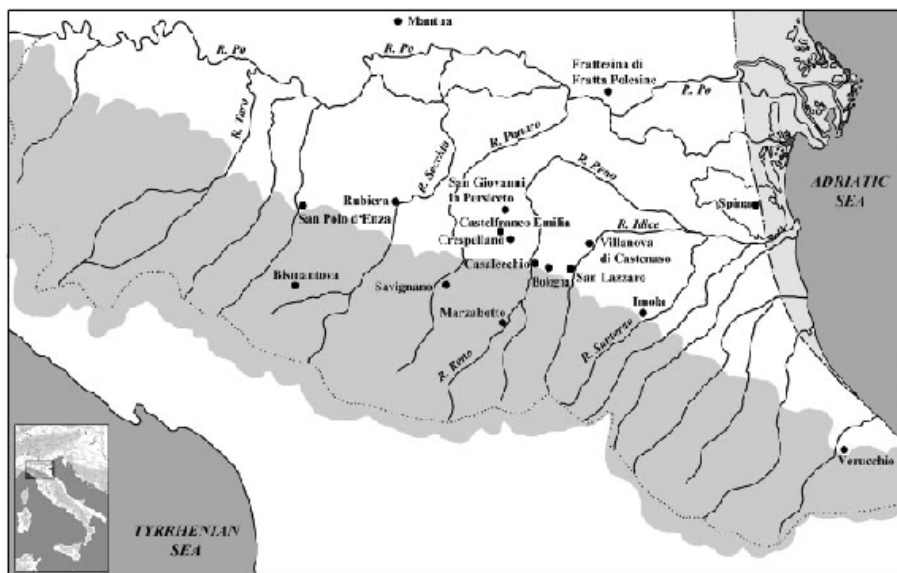
Keywords: Etruria padana, Felsina, Marzabotto, Spina, Celts

1The origins

Unlike in Etruria proper during the centuries commonly referred to as the Late Bronze Age, in Emilia, there has been no success in gathering sure signs of the presence of protovillanovan culture, with the exception of the necropolis brought to light at various times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries at Campo Pianelli di Bismantova, on the Appennino Reggiano. The topographic positioning of this discovery—in a strategic position below a cliff of the same name, astride the two valleys of the Secchia and the Panaro—indicates that during this period and at least as late as the tenth century BCE, the lines of communication that linked the Tyrrhenian region and the maritime district of upper Tuscany and the Po (where the protourban level center of Frattesina di Fratta Polesine was active, with its district that extended at least as far as the area of Mantua) were considered crucial. A second route is attested by a few unsystematic finds along the valley of the Reno, while much farther to the west the road that led from Lunigiana to Piacentino and on to the Po was certainly well traveled.

With the beginning of the ninth century, there was a systematic occupation of the entire upper lowland between the Idice and the Reno, and by the end of the century it had quickly spread beyond the Panaro to the west and the

Santeramo to the east. This involved villages that covered several hectares, with necropolises for cremations in characteristic biconical vessels that are easily assigned to the Villanovan culture (typical of Villanova di Castenaso, near Bologna, where they were first excavated) – that is, in the earliest period of Etruscan civilization.



The excavation of the hamlet of Fiera, which was already unsystematically explored in the 1970s, has been resumed several times in the last few years. It can thus be said that the village covered about a hectare, surrounded by a rampart and a moat. It was rectangular and oriented strictly north-south. The northern necropolis has also been investigated, although not completely, with more than 1,300 burials. It can, however, be concluded that this village, like others (ramparts and moats are also featured at San Vitale and Castelfranco Emilia), responds to political and religious planning and thus to an organizational scheme that necessitated a strong central power (Fig. 75.1).

promoted from Etruria proper. In particular, the instigator of these new foundations was supposed to be Tarchon, son or brother (in different versions of the story) of Tyrrhenus, the eponymous mythic hero, who was supposed to have led the Etruscans into Italy from Lydia.

The necropolises, which are by now very well documented, were for the earliest period used almost exclusively for cremations with very simple grave goods. The biconical urn, which follows the traditional typology of the Villanovan culture, was created specifically for burials. It has a single handle, or else it was rendered useless by having had one of the two handles broken off; it was decorated with engravings or with the technique of “falsa cordicella” with geometric motifs for the most part in wavy or serrated lines, or metope-like squares. They were covered with a one-handled lid and occasionally accompanied by a cluster of ceramics; bronze clothing accessories and personal ornaments were deposited either in the urn, often deformed by the heat of the pyre, or outside it. In general, the funerary evidence that has survived reveals a social landscape displaying little differentiation, based on family structures that were not yet organized into real *gentes*.

Some burials, however, differ from the others especially because they contain certain highly symbolic objects, such as scepters, which were found in at least two men’s tombs—182 in San Vitale, and 382 in Fiera. In all probability, these are burials of community leaders, while other signs of prestige in men’s tombs—such as arms, which are very rare in Emilia, not only in this period—indicate the heads of the principal family clans who are distinguished by valor in war. Besides, the distinction between male and female burials is assured for males by the presence of razors and pins for fastening clothes, and for females by spindle whorls and bow-shaped fibulae with a slight swell.

At the same time as the Villanovan culture was developing, the settlement of Frattesina was being abandoned, which was certainly not a coincidence; it seems likely that the Etruscan penetration north of the Apennines and the assertion of the Venetic civilization on the Adige stressed and subsequently destroyed the political center of the Polesine that had prevailed during the Late Bronze Age.³⁸⁵⁰

2The founding of Felsina

At the beginning of the eighth century, the opening of the necropolis in the Benacci land—just west of the Ravone stream in the historic heart of present-day Bologna—indicates that a village was established nearby, probably alongside an early core whose remains have been identified at Villa Cassarini, on the last hillside overlooking the city on the south. The first burials in the

Benacci necropolis, from the first half of the eighth century, do not seem to differ greatly from those of the contemporaneous necropolises of the region. In the middle of the eighth century, a transformation began that involved all the villages around Bologna and led to the founding of Felsina in a few decades. This foundation took place by a process of synoecism on the part of the inhabitants of the villages including Reno in the west, Idice in the east, the outlying hillsides in the south, and a line of villages in the north that runs between Fiera and the present locale of Castenaso. This was a highly deliberate activity on the part of a centralized political power that enfolded all the gentile elites who had meanwhile asserted themselves into a single community.

In fact, all the villages known in the area appear to have gone out of existence toward the end of the eighth century, based on information from the necropolises, and from excavations in settled areas. This holds for the villages near the gate of San Vitale, near Fiera, and those recently identified near the northeast gate of Bologna, at the Battistini barracks, and other settlements to the northwest, near the new university district and at Borgo Panigale. That the inhabitants of these villages streamed into the newly founded city is confirmed by the fact that, at least in the cases of San Vitale and Fiera, a fairly small group of burials including some prominent tombs, is still attested in the necropolises of the two villages through the end of the century. It is possible that these burials belonged to more prominent gentile families in the community, who maintained their own funerary traditions in accordance with their ancestral location, and from the religious point of view as well.

The foundation of the city has been proven archeologically by the recent excavations—in Piazza Azzarita and Piazza VIII Agosto—of structures that can be attributed to impressive fortifications of the northern boundary of Felsina, which was not determined by natural features and was exposed to attacks from potential external enemies.

It was a defensive system comprising palisades, earthen ramparts, and moats. In connection with the foundation of the ramparts, a four-handled vase for ritual use has been found and dated to the second half of the eighth century. In the same period, the western necropolis, on the Benacci and Benacci-Caprara land, was enriched with some of the most remarkable burials, such as Benacci-Caprara No. 39. This yielded a bronze cinerary urn with a rich set of warrior's equipment, including a sword and horse bits. Other burial grounds were arrayed to the north (houses of Fabbri, Arena del Sole) and east (Piazza della Mercanzia, Pepoli Palace). The burial grounds were thus arranged in a circle around the city and according to a variety of calculations, delimit it at between 150 and 200 ha. In the area between the southern hills, a line placed slightly south of Piazza VIII Agosto, west of the Aposa, and east of the Vallescura (or Ravone) stream, the inhabitants of the villages, who had settled nearby during the Early Iron Age, would gather according to a careful political plan. Presumably in the early phase, the urban

organization was not yet highly structured, with groups of buildings constructed on stakes with unbaked clay walls interspersed with free areas used for growing vegetables or keeping domestic animals. Each tribal group probably maintained its own identity and burial ground. The presence of raised burials, in the middle of a group of tombs on a lower level, seems to identify gentile groups. To this period can also be attributed the first funerary stelae—one at the Benacci-Caprara burial ground and another at the Pepoli Palace's. Both stelae appear to depict the deceased as a warrior associated with solar symbols, on a two-wheeled chariot with a pair of horses and a four-wheeled chariot respectively. It remains, then, to identify the gender of the deceased according to the associated articles of clothing, and to characterize the military activities of the men and the spinning or weaving by the women. The deposition of banquet tableware and funerary offerings characterizes the richest burials.

While Felsina was making its name in the territory, sufficiently distant from the proto-urban center smaller settlements emerged, which did not surpass the level of the village, from Casalecchio to Savignano, Castelfranco, San Giovanni in Persiceto, Castenaso, San Lazzaro, and Imola.

3The Orientalizing at Felsina

The birth of the city of Felsina also marks the achievement of a strong aristocratic class, which was already emerging in the middle of the eighth century. Around 730–720, during the period defined as Early Orientalizing in Etruria, it also appears predominant in the archaeological record.

Excavations of inhabited areas have recently proven that as early as the seventh century, an urban organization that presented characteristics of standardization must have already been active. In particular, it is possible that a north-south axis road, perpendicular to the northern fortification wall, divided the city down the middle, following the religious precepts that in Etruria were in charge of the foundation rituals. Moreover, it might foreshadow a specialization of the various urban quarters, with the southern part, against the hills, used mostly for residences, and the northern part for workshops and open space. A recently excavated building on the Via D'Azeglio shows a complicated elongated (albeit partial) plan with side-by-side rooms and a central span, approaching the gentile domicile known from Etruria proper; in the courtyard was a monumental well made with large cylinders of terracotta.

From the necropolises of this period, we have a clearer image of the great prosperity of the city, which took on a strategic role with respect to the entire Po Valley, in relations not only with Etruria, but also with the Adriatic coast, where the Villanovan center of Verucchio had taken on the function that had

been Frattesina's.

The necropolises are clearly arrayed as spokes of wheel, probably corresponding to the access roads from the city. In the western part, where the Benacci necropolis was, the topographic continuity is also especially clear in the sense that the Orientalizing period burials tend to grow farther away toward the western Arnoaldi lands. Similar indications are also clear to the east and north. Nonetheless, other necropolises originated in this period, such as the Arsenale Militare burial ground in the southeast, and those recently identified in the Via Belle Arti and the Piazza Azzarita to the north. Other burial grounds, with smaller numbers of burials, are placed in secluded, more marginal areas from the beginning (Via Tofane, Manifattura Tabacchi, Via Saffi, Via Monte Sabotino). This situation clearly corresponds to an articulated social structure with old traditional aristocratic families and *nouveaux riches*. Between the end of the eighth century and the year 600, the hierarchical composition of Felsinian society on the funerary level is evidenced by the typology of the burials, which are arranged in groups, in some cases in tumuli or circles, with the tombs of the progenitors in the center. The elevated burials are by a huge majority still cremations, although the percentage of burials increased over time. The urns in the richest tombs are in large pits with wooden cases sometimes filled with pebbles or covered by individual tumuli. During the seventh century, the method of inserting the urn with its appurtenances within a large terracotta jar came into use. The most important burials were signaled outside by *cippi* and stelae of stone, but probably also of wood. The entire display was thought of as a powerful exterior representation directed toward the world of the living. The most remarkable stone stelae, certainly belonging to very important people, are of a type peculiar to Felsina, a rectangle showing the body surmounted by a disc, perhaps to represent the head, although the decoration of the discs, when it is present, is not anthropomorphic in character, but symbolic.

The funerary equipment completes the picture, and reveals the extent of the relationships that the Felsinian aristocratic class maintained. The nature of the appurtenances displays a gender distinction, with the women always associated with weaving and spinning tools and some elements of clothing and ornament (fibulae, pendants, "*tintinnabuli*"—a sort of large axe- or bell-shaped pendant provided with a small clapper), the men with weapons and pins for fastening the cloak. In terms of social and economic stratification, there is a large variety of deposits, not only in the selectness and value of the objects included, but with the passing of time also in the quantity of ornaments, tableware, and furnishings that were "sacrificed" in the funerals. Especially that which relates to the funerary banquet anticipates the deposit of ever richer items, and with the greater power and social rank of the family, bronze objects were also often deposited, whose significance was merely to display their economic resources, keeping in mind that this metal was considered a means of payment by weight.

Objects in gold and silver (armbands, fibulae, ornaments), ivory (combs, pendants), amber (elements of necklaces, pendants), impasto (beads), locally made and imported bronze tableware (bean-decorated goblets, cups, *situlae*, *cistae*, large tablets It. *Presentatoi*, censers), fine ceramics made in Etruria or Greece (Corinthian or Etrusco-Corinthian goblets and perfume flasks; bucchero cups, jugs, and bowls) have all been found in the richest tombs. Among the locally made ceramics, those that are wheel-made, decorated with stamps and feature geometric motifs of Oriental inspiration stand out. They are widespread not only on the funerary level, and characterize the whole period.

The presence of specialized craftsmen indicates a rather advanced degree of social articulation that is typical of a developed urban center. Archaeology shows us only what concerns smiths and potters, but we can certainly imagine many other categories as well, from carpenters and woodworkers to merchants and scribes. These diverse conditions also make themselves known on the funerary level. With the seventh century, some burials, often identified as male by armaments, rather than being included in a gentilic-style grouping, are arranged separately, in rows.

This was thus by now an advanced society with an aristocracy that ruled thanks to its possession of land and livestock and its control of the commercial routes across the territory, and with emerging urban classes that that making itself known independently. This situation must have corresponded to quite a strong political power, probably a monarchy. In particular, two funerary stelae—one found by chance more than a century ago (the Zannoni stela), and one recovered more recently in the Via Tofane—seem to have belonged to two people who must have held considerable political power. Both are missing their upper part; assuming one ever existed, they would have represented the deceased on a cart drawn by a pair of horses, probably representing the journey to the hereafter, but following a pattern that clearly recalls the royal depictions that are widespread among Oriental sovereigns. It is worth noting that the Zannoni stela turns out to have used a reworked earlier gravestone depicting the Tree of Life, and to have in turn been reused as the lid of a pit grave from the end of the seventh century.

Other Orientalizing monuments from Felsina show clear Near-Eastern influence, which suggests on-the-spot activity by immigrant Syrian artists, in addition to content that is public in character with considerable symbolic significance. The “Malvasia stone” is a large monument with a heraldic composition of two bovines rampantly flanking a Tree of Life, perhaps originally mounted above an entrance (to the city?), in such a way that it could be seen from both sides. The Gozzadini head, part of a sphinx, recalls an element typical of an imposing funerary monument or a royal standard intended to be placed on a base. Two large cylindrical monoliths, originally embedded in the ground, offer moldings and symbolic decorations very obviously of Oriental derivation that were found deposited intentionally

during a ritual act within a votive pit. They have been interpreted as altars or as bases for a monumental gateway to the city or to the eastern necropolis.

Among the many signs of the social evolution of Felsina is the introduction of writing, which appears at its earliest as alphabetic marks or numerals used on serial bronze or ceramic products. Later it was used to record gifts and votive offerings on clay vessels. The innovation of writing corresponded either to the needs of the artisan and merchant classes to fill the obvious need to record and verify their own activities, or to the desire for public display of the political elite.³⁸⁵¹

4Emilia in the Orientalizing period

Between the end of the eighth century and the year 600, it seems clear that Felsina took political control of a wide territory stretching from the Panaro on the west to the Santerno on the east and ruled the plain as far as the Po, penetrating into the main Apennine valleys that communicate with Etruria proper. The organization of the territory was entrusted to gentilic families of local origin in close cooperation with those who ruled in Felsina. The rich funerary equipment of the territory (at Marzabotto–pian di Venola, Casalecchio, Savignano, Crespellano, San Giovanni in Persiceto, Castenaso, Bentivoglio, Granarolo, San Lazzaro, and Imola) suggests a desire of these groups to adopt the Felsinian model and viewpoint of external representation. Funerary stelae of the Bologna type come from all these sites. In their funerary interments stand out the sheet bronzes, the stamped pottery, and the decorations that came from Felsina. There was probably a matrimonial exchange among the various communities, where the wife moved to the husband's family with her own equipment. Women's tombs are certainly the richest of those of the ruling elite. Among the male equipment, however, the characterization as a warrior and "knight" often appear, in which possession of a horse or a war chariot, usually indicated symbolically by horse bits, is a typical aristocratic sign, as in many contemporary Italic and Greek societies.

The local aristocracies are also identified with more obvious manifestations of power, such as some stelae from Marano di Castenaso (the stele "of the sword") or Bentivoglio (the stele with a sphinx on the disc), the tumuli of Casalecchio, and the central Italic-style manor house found at Imola.

This is probably the period, then, to which the reputation as *princeps Etruriae* (attributed to Felsina by Pliny the Elder) should be assigned. Nevertheless, Etruscan presence north of the Apennines was probably not exhausted with Felsina; even without considering Verucchio, the forerunner of Rimini, other states of affairs should be clarified in Romagna, where at San Varano di Forlì, a funerary stela has been found—unfortunately by accident—entirely different from those from Bologna, with the Tree of Life.

In the west too, the archaeological evidence, which is constantly growing, presents a variety of situations. Two funerary *cippi* from Rubiera, dating to the end of the seventh century, stand out, one with a series of sphinxes and griffins, the other with winged lions. Both *cippi* bear inscriptions, the oldest on monumental supports, using an alphabet different from that used in Felsina. The inscriptions name a person with a binomial name, *avile amthura*, and a *zilath*—in this period a king or military leader. They also reveal the presence of groups of aristocrats who probably came from northern Etruria on the banks of the Secchia, as shown by the alphabet that was used in the area of Chiusi and the typology of the funerary symbolism, which have parallels in Volterrano and the Pisan region. Similar connections with northern Etruria can be followed on the basis of occasional finds along the Apennine rivers as far as the Po, between Taro and Secchia. These are the first signs of colonization processes, which—apart from Felsina—overtook the Po Valley in an area probably originally populated by Ligurians.

5The Archaic period

With the beginning of the sixth century, we observe signs of major change in the archaeological evidence from Bologna and the surrounding area, if not exactly a complete break with the previous picture. Edoardo Brizio, with Pericle Ducati in his wake, maintain that this change was due to ethnic turnover from the Umbrians/Villanovans to the Etruscans. Further research, rendering it ever more evident that the Villanovan culture was none other than the earliest phase of Etruscan civilization, has definitively thrown this interpretation into crisis, but not the bases on which it is founded. Actually, at Bologna/Felsina, the beginning of the sixth century marks a major discontinuity. On the plane of urbanism, the northern fortifications came to be abandoned and the inhabited region was located and organized in the southern sector, following a plan on the basis of recent finds (Via D’Azeglio, Via Capramozza, Viale Aldini), which appears to follow a regular plan of perpendicular axial roads.

In the Felsinian necropolises, contrasting lines of progression appear. The necropolises of the Orientalizing period seem almost abandoned in the southwest and southeast, while others came into use in nearby locations (Giardini Margherita compared to the Arsenale Militare) or are physically separated by built structures (a canal divides the Orientalizing Arnoaldi necropolis from the Archaic and Classical one). In other circumstances, to the north, there was instead continuity of location (Manifattura Tabacchi, Via Belle Arti), but often with the new burials distinct from the older group (Via Saffi, Piazza VIII Agosto) or alteration of the organization of the necropolis (Piazza Azzarita, laid out in rows rather than in groups). In the typology of

interments and their equipment the same variety of solutions. The burials are much more clearly apparent, while among the cremations, nearly always in jars, some primarily female tombs again stand out by the richness of their equipment and adherence to local traditions. Some burials that feature armaments seem clearly to relate to foreigners (Venetic merchants?), while others relate to people of Celtic origin.

The funerary stela from Via Augusto Righi, though it has no context, is traditional in type but features a fight scene between foot soldiers armed with shields and spears, and might offer a clue to a new interpretative hypothesis. It is possible that the gentilic system, probably monarchic in character, was called into question during the Archaic period, with the political ascendancy within Felsina of new classes not linked to the gentilic system, but organized into an army with weapons of the hoplite infantry, following a development that was found simultaneously in both the Greek model and in other Etrurian cities (Tarquinia) and in Rome (the reforms of Servius). There are some additional archaeological indications that serve as further evidence of this new situation, such as the abandonment and reuse of Orientalizing stelae (significant is the use of the stele of Via Tofane as the cover for a pot burial), the ritual burial of the *cippi* of the Via Fondazza, and finally, the exceptional figural repertory of the “*situla della Certosa*,” a bronze vase preserved in a later tomb. The work of a Venetic craftsman working in Felsina that dates to the sixth century, it shows a military parade with the army divided into several ranks of variously armed hoplites led by horsemen. This revolution in the organization of the army was probably the outcome of the changing political situation, including the advance of the Umbrians into Romagna. The Umbrians also occupied the Imolese, and cut Felsina off from Verucchio. The change also saw the renewed presence of the Ligurians in western Emilia, where burial grounds spread out with cremations right next to pots and a few burials. The Ligurians were probably flanked by Etruscan colonists from northern Etruria, who were stationed especially between Taro and Panaro. These new Etruscan colonists may be the initial founders of the city of Marzabotto (*Misa*?) in the Reno Valley during the sixth century. Around 600, furthermore, a new expedition of the Insubres, led by Bellovesus, had defeated the Etruscans of the Po region at Ticinus and occupied the region beyond the Po.

Felsina reacted to this situation with an internal political reorganization, which soon extended to the territory, with the founding of a new port at the mouth of the Po in the Adriatic, at Spina, in 530, and with the occupation and reestablishment of Marzabotto, the new city (*Kainua*) around the year 500.

6The Classical period

In the fifth century, the picture appears to have stabilized. Felsina appears completely reorganized on the urban plane, with new buildings with foundations of cobbles and squared stones, raised in mud brick or burnt brick, with several rooms, probably in regular blocks. The new political stability was sanctioned by the sanctuary complex on the Villa Cassarini hill, on the southern flank of the city, dedicated to *Hercle* and *Aplu*, as it were in the position of a small acropolis. Other minor sanctuaries encircle the city, and craftsmen's installations for the production of ceramics and metals were located in the periphery.

The necropolises, found along the entry roads to the city (from the southwest, Certosa; from the northwest, Via Saffi; from the southeast, Giardini Margherita; and from the north, Piazza Azzarita and Manifattura Tabacchi) were now for the most part arranged in regular rows, taking on an "egalitarian" tendency, but some tombs were distinguished by monumental aspects addressed to the outside, with decorated stelae, *cippi*, and funerary monuments.

The typology of interments, whether burials or cremations, presents a great variety (cremations in pots, in large vases including imported Attic figural ones or bronze vases; burials in wood caskets in simple trenches, or sarcophagi made of blocks of stone), and so does the composition of the grave goods, in testimony to a highly varied and articulated social composition. The richest male and female burials are distinguished by complete sets of banqueting equipment, with bronze tableware imported from Etruria or of local manufacture, and figural ceramics imported from Attica, as well as dining tables, candelabra, lampstands, and torches; arms are rare, but not entirely absent. Social and political prestige is affirmed by the presence of the *diphros*—a magistrate's footstool—and by the display of the typical "horseshoe" stele on the outside, which was hitherto attested only at Felsina and extremely rarely in the surroundings (Casalecchio, Crespellano). There is a variety of depictions, which tend to represent the voyage of the deceased to the beyond, and include mythological and symbolic displays and indications of gender and status (soldiers, female figures). The presence of inscriptions on some of these confirm the presence of certain great ruling families, such as the *Kaikna* (Lat. *Caecina*) and the *Kathle*, *nomen* in three cases of the *zilath*. In this political situation, it is very likely that these were indeed supreme magistrates of what by then was a republican government, albeit ruled by the gentile aristocracy, just as in Rome. This confirms the hypothesis that Felsina had still retained supremacy among the cities of Po-region Etruria in the fifth century. No other city offers such a concentration of signs of power (monumental stelae, funerary display of international prestige, presence of *zilath*, and sanctuary for the tutelary god, an ancient tradition going back to the eighth century).

Around the city, the territory took on a functional organization with the renewed role of Felsina. Lesser centers are known, whether big villages

surrounded by fortifications on the ramparts-and-moat model (Castelfranco Emilia) or organized according to more advanced urban planning, with regular streets and houses with masonry foundations (Casalecchio). The contemporary necropolises of the area around Felsina confirm the impression that there were small centers ruled by families linked to the city (Casalecchio, Sasso Marconi, Riccardina) or else with ties to the Celtic world (Crespellano, Castelvetro). The recent discovery of a manor house just outside Bologna on the Via A. Costa, to which the monumental necropolis of the Stadio may have been related, confirms that the power of the Felsinian elite was still based on the control of territory and probably on its military function. This power is also often evident in the depictions on the funerary stelae, with cavalry and hoplites in arms, as well as with the depiction of the commander of a warship on the stele of *Vel Kaikna* (Fig. 61.1).

7Spina, Marzabotto, and western Emilia

Spina was founded around 530 on the southern branch of the Po known specifically as the Spinete, very close to the mouth, in a marshy (It. *perilagunare*) area on sandy mounds surrounded by water. The main settlement, discovered in the Mezzano Valley in the 1960s, was on a sort of six-hectare island between the course of the Po and a southern tributary. It was surrounded by a system of canals, defended by ramparts and palisades, with a neighborhood of workshops outside it and a ship's landing farther east, at the point where the Po flows into the Adriatic; a sanctuary outside the town lay to the north in Cavallara.

The urban plan consisted of rectangular blocks around a main north-south axis in the form of a broad canal. The houses of this period have not been extensively excavated, but they comprise several rooms with walls of lightweight materials (wood and burnt brick).

Again, most of our information about Spina comes from the necropolises. Some 4000 tombs have been excavated in the two eastern necropolises (in Valle Trebba and Valle Pega) since the 1920s. They date from 500 to the middle of the third century. At Spina, as at Felsina, the variety in interments is considerable, whether cremations or burials; two burials in sarcophagi made from imported Greek marble stand out. The funerary equipment is highly varied at Spina. A constant feature is the great abundance of ceramics imported from Greece, which is only to be expected in what must have been the Adriatic port. Spina supplied all of Po-region Etruria—and, indirectly, northern Italy and Central Europe—with the finished products from Greece and the Near East. This is where exchange with Greek merchants took place, whose presence at Spina is proven by many inscriptions on ceramics; they had come in search of raw materials, grain, slaves, and livestock.

The richness of some of the funerary appurtenances of the fifth century, such as at Tomb 128 of Valle Trebba, shows that in terms of economic resources, the local ruling class did not have anything to envy with respect to the Felsinian aristocracy, and adopted the same funerary customs, including exotic banquet furnishings. Decorated funerary stelae lack, however, and thus the level of external representation entrusted to stone and wooden markers was less important. It seems that at Spina, the commercial bent of the city favored the ascendancy of social groups that were distinguished more by private material wealth, reflected in their equipment, if not in the public ostentation of their rank. At Spina, alongside the Etruscans, a group of resident Greeks were identified as well as populations likely from other stocks, such as the nearby Venetics.

Since the eighteenth century, another Etruscan city has been known at Marzabotto, on the Misano Plain in the Reno Valley. As has been said, it is possible that in the sixth century, the city was called *Misa/Misala*, a name found on the *cippi* from Rubiera. At the beginning of the fifth century, the city was refounded, which required construction work on a vast scale, leveling of the landscape and laying out an urban plan based on a great north-south street crossed by three east-west perpendicular streets. *Cippi* marked with the *decussis*—the cross—which were needed for laying out the street axes according to Etruscan surveying practice, were found at the intersections.

There are thus eight distinct “regions” that are in turn divided into regular blocks, with one or a few spacious dwellings in each, usually with a central courtyard. The foundations were of burnt brick, the walls almost certainly of wood, and the roof of terra-cotta tiles. An efficient water supply system ran throughout the city at the sides of the streets, which were lined by shops and workshops (foundries and potters). Northwest of the city on a little rise stood the acropolis, with three temples and two monumental altars, one dedicated to the gods of the underworld and the other to those of the heavens. Another large tripartite temple was found in the lower city, in the northern sector, dedicated to Tinia, the chief god of the Etruscans. The new city, a real example of planned construction, was certainly called Kainua (“new city”?), the name found on a sherd of bucchero near the temple. It seems clear that this city rebuilding in Felsina took place in the context of a policy of controlling the paths of communication with Etruria proper.

The boundaries of the city are not entirely clear, although at least one gate has been found in the east, which probably led to a necropolis, snugly inserted into a natural rampart consisting of a discontinuity on the plain, which drops off toward the Reno River Valley. Another rampart has recently been found to the north, and there were two sanctuaries, one of which is dedicated to the waters, and the other of which is dedicated to a goddess—perhaps Turan, the Etruscan Aphrodite—of whom a large bronze votive statue has been found.

Two necropolises have also been excavated at Marzabotto—one to the north and one to the east—laid out in groups, with cremations in stone boxes

and burials in graves edged by stones. The grave goods repeat the patterns of Felsina and Spina, at a medium level, adapted to a city of merchants and manufactures.

The mutual role of Felsina, Spina, Marzabotto/Kainua, and the other cities that constituted the dodecapolis of Po-region Etruria, mentioned in the sources, such as Mantua or Adria, is controversial. It is likely that in a framework of mutual autonomy, Felsina retained the role of political capital of a sort of confederation, in which each of the other urban centers played a specific role.

In the fifth century, greater control was exercised by Etruscans in western Emilia as well, where especially in the Modena area, but at least as far as the territory of Fidenza and the Po, agricultural settlements came into existence, from Mirandola (Misericordia Vecchia) to Reggio Emilia (Casale di Villa Rivalta) to Fidenza (Siccomonte) to Cortemaggiore, and genuine farms (for example at Baggiovara di Modena). The agricultural organization of the territory, based in this case as well on considerable reclamation and deforesting efforts on the plain, built on a system of regular canals that anticipated the Roman centuriation, furnished the economic base for exchange with the Greek world by way of the Adriatic and with Etruria via the Apennine valleys.³⁸⁵²

8The aftermath

At the beginning of the fourth century—or maybe even earlier, because it must have been a gradual process—the Boian Celts penetrated into Emilia, after crossing the Po and occupying the territory. The archaeological evidence shows that the western centers fell first, perhaps already in the fifth century, while Felsina and Marzabotto must have been occupied in the first half of the fourth century, perhaps Felsina first and the Apennine center afterward. They were to have different fates. Felsina continued to be occupied and the Boii made it their capital, changing the name to *Bononia*. Marzabotto was destroyed and occupied by small groups of military character.

Spina survived another century, inhabited mostly by Etruscans, but nonetheless politically controlled by Celts (Boii and Lingones), who were unfamiliar with maritime commerce and warships. The Etruscans of Spina thus turned to piracy, but at the same time provided the Adriatic port through which the Celtic elite provisioned themselves with valuable merchandise. The goods from fourth-century Spina and the dwellings excavated in recent years confirm the situation. The piracy and commercial activity of Spina were still accompanied by major craftwork manufacture like ceramics. Nonetheless at the beginning of the third century, after the battle of Sentinum and the ensuing extermination of the Senones by the Romans, the Celts—probably Boii—freed themselves from a center that may have formed a natural ally of Rome

and a bridge to the Venetians (who had always been faithful allies of Rome itself in anti-Celtic matters). They besieged Spina and compelled the residents to abandon the city.

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Patrizia von Eles, Gabriele Baldelli

76–77Romagna and the Marches

Introduction

At the end of the Bronze Age the same archaeological *facies* still seems to unite, together with Umbria, the two bordering regions to which these chapters are dedicated.³⁸⁵³ In the Early Iron Age, however, their history begins to divide, as is shown both by the difference of the *facies* between Villanovan Verucchio and Picene³⁸⁵⁴ Novilara, although geographically close to each other (Figs. 76.1 and 77.1), and by the noticeable distance (ca. 200 Km) that separates Fermo from Verucchio, both true Villanovan ‘bridgeheads’³⁸⁵⁵ in the Adriatic. In spite of the strength of the reciprocal relationships that were always to continue to link the two regions, it is not arbitrary to treat them separately.

Patrizia von Eles

76Romagna

Abstract: Romagna includes a large region from the southern boundary with Marches to the Province of Forlì. Traditionally and culturally though the area southeast of Bologna including Imola is seen as being part of Romagna and it will therefore be considered here. The focus being relation between Romagna and Etruria, the outlook is necessarily different between Early Iron Age, with main point of attention on the southern Adriatic and Verucchio, and the later period when the whole territory sees a different panorama.

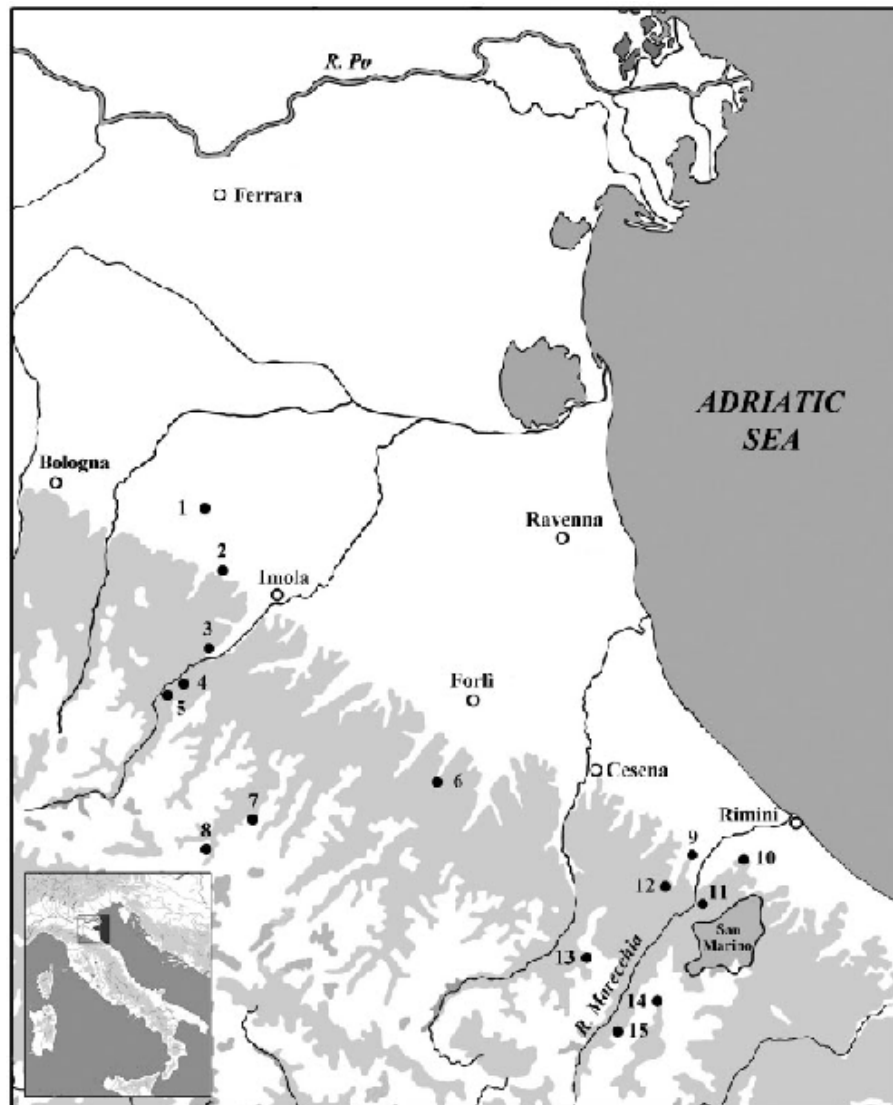
Keywords: Verucchio, Fermo, Adriatic sea, Early Iron Age

Introduction

Current definition of Romagna (Fig. 76.1) includes a large region from the southern boundary with Marche to the Province of Forlì. Traditionally and

culturally though the area southeast of Bologna, including Imola, is seen as being part of Romagna and it will therefore be considered here. As will be shown, the focus being relation between Romagna and Etruria, the outlook is necessarily different between Early Iron Age, with the main point of attention on the southern Adriatic and Verucchio, and the later period when the whole territory sees a different cultural panorama.³⁸⁵⁶

The area around Imola during Early Iron Age and up to the first half of the seventh cent. BCE is strictly connected to Villanovan Bologna. As documented by well-known old finds and by recent excavations in Orto Granara, Pontesanto and Ca' Borghese it can be assumed that relations of this area with Etruria directly depended on Bologna. This territory was essential to the economic survival and the urban development of Bologna; new excavations in Imola clearly show that the relation was based on the direct establishment of aristocratic groups with important settlement structures and reserved small but prestigious and rich burial grounds (Fig. 76.2) where distinction symbols, such as thrones, were used in male and female graves. These elite families organized and controlled an intensively occupied area, certainly extremely important for agricultural activities³⁸⁵⁷ and probably had some kind of role in handling routes and commercial links between Bologna, the Adriatic and possibly also partly Etruria. Iron Age settlements in the Appennine valleys and a possible direct connection between northern Romagna and Etruria are documented, already in the eighth and early seventh centuries. BCE, by the Borgo Tossignano, Gaggio, Fontanelice and Montericco graves in the Santerno Valley. Between Imola and Cesena there are no known Early Iron Age settlements, but a lozenge belt buckle (It. *cinturone a losanga*) found near Marradi in the Lamone Valley is a likely testimony of direct connection with Tuscany, along a route later to be followed during the Second Iron Age.³⁸⁵⁸



- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Medicina | 9. Poggio Berni |
| 2. Orto Granara | 10. Covignano |
| 3. Borgo Tossignano | 11. Verucchio |
| 4. Gaggio | 12. Ripa Calbana |
| 5. Fontanelice | 13. Perticara |
| 6. Castrocaro | 14. Monte Copiolo |
| 7. San Martino in Gallara | 15. Pennabilli |
| 8. Marradi | |

Fig. 76.1: Romagna and sites mentioned in text

1**2****3****4****5**

Fig. 76.2: Bronze items from Imola, Pontesanto, grave 7 (from von Eles 2007)

1The Final Bronze Age

With regard to the Adriatic regions, the essential question of relations with Etruria needs to be approached starting from the Final Bronze Age situation, when in the Marecchia Valley, a territorial system is recognizable with hill

settlements in San Marino, Ripa Calbana, Monte Copiolo, Monte Perticara, and probably San Leo. There are different opinions about the cultural definition and the significance of this area in the general frame of Italian Final Bronze Age, but it is quite clear that it had an important role in relations with Northern Oriental Italy, Northern Internal Etruria and Marche.

Information is not quite sufficient for a detailed chronology of the various Bronze Age sites. It has been suggested that settlements in Calbana, San Marino and Verucchio as well as bronze deposits from Casalecchio di Verucchio and Poggio Berni can be dated to the early or middle stages of the Final Bronze Age not to the end of this period. On the hilltop of Verucchio, in Pian del Monte, recent explorations have brought to light remains that prove the existence of a Final Bronze Age settlement³⁸⁵⁹ with definite comparisons to the Pianello facies, whose relations with northern inner Etruria are generally acknowledged.³⁸⁶⁰ Due to our still incomplete knowledge of this phase in Romagna continuity with the Early Iron Age settlement it is not clear. It can be underlined though that the choice of the site in the Early Iron Age seems to follow an earlier territorial pattern.

If the most important Early Iron Age necropoleis, Verucchio and Fermo were, as generally regarded, proof of the early settlement on the Adriatic coast of Etruscans coming from southern Etruria,³⁸⁶¹ this would indicate a quite conspicuous change in the direction of contacts between the two sides of the Apennines from the Final Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. However contacts with northern Etruria and Chiusi in the first half of the eighth cent. BCE should also be taken into consideration.³⁸⁶² At present, taking into account the territorial system, is difficult to consider the development of the Villanovan expressions in Romagna only as directly emanating from Etruria or even as a real colonial phenomenon. However, the emergence of Villanovan culture in Romagna shows a disruption with the past and the beginning of a new historical cycle which developed through a complex system of relations (parental, tribal, ethno-linguistic, religious and cultural). Within this scheme large new structured settlements likely began with the arrival of new groups, as well as with a reorganization of local communities whose inhabitants, upon becoming part of a new system, created their own identity adopting new cultural codes in a consciously selective way.

2Verucchio

In the ninth cent. BCE Verucchio became the leading center in Romagna, part of a well structured network of Villanovan sites in a territory that extended from San Marino to Cesena.³⁸⁶³ It maintained its role as the leading Villanovan center until the second half of the seventh cent. BCE.

The choice of Verucchio as the basis of Romagna territorial system in the

Iron Age is obviously a strategic one, aiming at control of the Adriatic Sea and functional to an early inclusion in commercial exchanges with northern and central Europe. From the eighth cent. BCE, amber was a primary factor in the economic development of Verucchio that certainly had a central role in controlling this commerce on the Adriatic and through the Apennines toward central and southern Italy. Other items, like tin, were probably also very significant in the connections between the Mediterranean world and Central Europe.³⁸⁶⁴

Relations between Etruria, Romagna and Bologna from Early Iron Age have long been discussed.³⁸⁶⁵ Within the Etruscan “system” each center had its peculiarities in social and economic organization, which were reflected in cultural identity features. This is easy to see in Verucchio which clearly fits a general scheme where during the first phase (ninth cent. BCE) a more homogeneous appearance is shared by all Villanovan territorial aspects. As early as the ninth cent. BCE, differences can be seen between the various areas, to be considered as marks of cultural identity but it was really during phase II (early eighth cent. BCE) that each large center developed its own peculiar features. A process of identity building that can be fully understood only in a diachronic and integrated perspective paying attention in some instances to typological attributes, in others to rituals or perhaps also to the dressing codes.³⁸⁶⁶

From Early Iron Age onward site occupation strategies continued along lines already established in earlier periods, allowing for control over the Marecchia valley and the coast.³⁸⁶⁷ This is clearly demonstrated by the location of both settlements sites and necropoleis. Based on our present knowledge, in the ninth cent. BCE two separate cemeteries faced the Adriatic (Lippi)³⁸⁶⁸ and the Marecchia Valley (Lavatoio); only later, sometime before the middle of the eighth cent. BCE, other groups used necropoleis (Moroni and Le Pegge) situated on the east side towards the Ausa Valley and San Marino (Fig. 76.3). The greatest part of modern research is due to Gino Vinicio Gentili whose suggestion that the different burial grounds correspond to groups having separate settlements is probably correct, although it is difficult to know exactly how the settlement structures were distributed.

Early Iron Age pottery had been found by Gentili on the southern border of the Pian del Monte plateau (Cappuccini), in a position directly overlooking the Lavatoio necropolis, a strategic location for control of the Marecchia Valley. On the opposite side, on a terrace overlooking the Adriatic Sea and the Lippi Necropolis, excavations conducted in 2009³⁸⁶⁹ demonstrated occupation and working activities starting in the Early Iron Age. Other undocumented finds attributed to settlement remains under the medieval castle were reported by Renato Scarani.³⁸⁷⁰ On Pian Del Monte, the hilltop having an extension of approximately 26 ha, Gentili³⁸⁷¹ mentions several structures (“*capanne*”) found in the central area which he dates to the Villanovan period. Unfortunately no systematic explorations have been conducted and published:

it is therefore difficult to understand their real significance and chronology; occupation certainly continued after the Final Bronze Age, but it is difficult to evaluate and interpret the finds.³⁸⁷² It is possible that the area was not all in contemporary use, and changes in the destination are also likely. For the earlier phase, the large pit close to the center of the area³⁸⁷³, contained what seems to be only practical use pottery, while finds relating to the eighth cent. BCE³⁸⁷⁴ and later, are connected to a sacred area and ritual activities that continued after the collapse of the Villanovan social and economic system during the second half of the seventh cent. BCE.

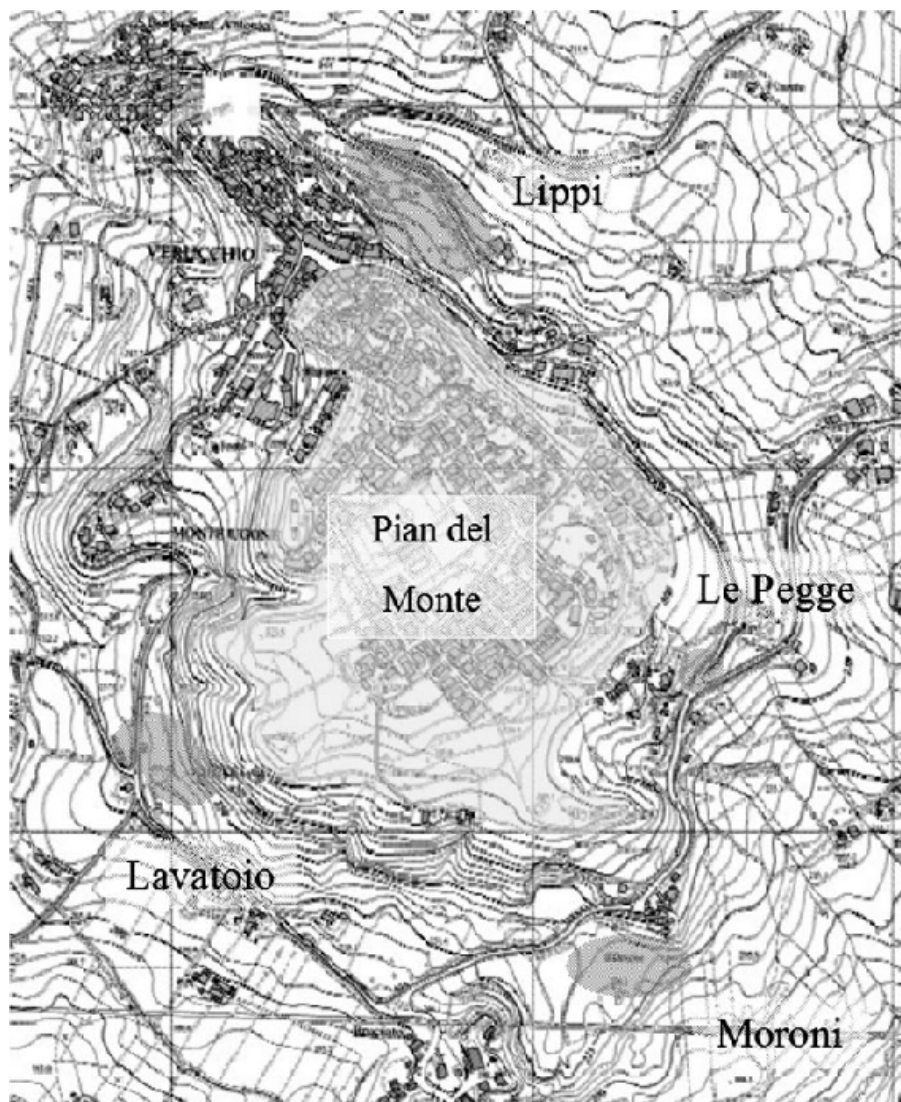


Fig. 76.3: Verucchio, settlement area in Pian del Monte and necropoleis (from von Eles 2014)

We do not know how the Iron Age center was called: a name from which probably derived *Ariminum* (the later Roman colony); a name that – as that of the river Marecchia (*Ariminus*) – has been connected to that of Ἀριμνήστος, “king of the Tyrrhenians the first of the foreigners to present an offering to the Olympic Zeus at Olympia”³⁸⁷⁵, whose *gens* might have had a role in the Etruscan presence in Verucchio.³⁸⁷⁶

Our knowledge of Verucchio is mainly based on funerary data. The four known necropoleis have only partially been explored. In the most extensive, Lippi necropolis, located at the foot of the hill, overlooking the Adriatic, over 400 graves have been identified; in other cemeteries (Lavatoio, Le Pegge and Moroni) even more limited explorations have taken place for a total of less than 200 graves.

All are cremation graves, except for very few dating to the final period³⁸⁷⁷, burial structures vary from simple pits to quite elaborate settings, in exceptional cases similar to chamber tombs, a variety which is certainly not only due to chronological development.

In all known necropoleis characteristics of graves structures and grave goods correspond to what Adriano Maggiani³⁸⁷⁸ synthetically defines as the archaeological markers of an established aristocratic system: exhibited richness, social differences and consciousness of family ties. Although the total number of graves can only be approximately estimated, the necropoleis seem to have been used in each generation only by elite groups consistently increasing the number of their members toward the end of the eighth cent. BCE.

Based on present knowledge, there are differences among groups as to the period of use of the necropoleis and adoption of partly different rituals, which could be another way of stressing identity, the same attitude shown by the whole community toward the “external world”.

During its entire development Verucchio villanovan and orientalising *facies* seems to be characterized by three main factors dynamically related.

1. Accepting and including cultural elements from different areas: Bologna, Piceno and Etruria;
2. Capacity to start new technologies and/or elaborate new types particularly in amber craftsmanship as well as in metallurgy;
3. Choosing to preserve objects or types which, without clear changes, continued to be included in funeral deposits for several decades.

Without going into a detailed analysis, with regard to the first issue, in the earliest phase attention is drawn towards southern Etruria and Umbria;³⁸⁷⁹ in the first half of the eighth cent. BCE³⁸⁸⁰ contacts with Bologna were manifestly quite strong; at the end of the eighth and early seventh centuries BCE direct contacts with Etruria are well demonstrated, not only in lifestyle and prestige symbols, most of which (i.e. thrones, fans, belt clasps *It. affibbiagli*)³⁸⁸¹ shared by other Late Iron Age and early orientalizing

communities in Italy. Almost exclusive persistence of cremation rite corresponds to what happens in internal northern Etruria. It is impossible to establish whether or not this similarity is due to something more than similar cultural developments. Comparisons with Chiusi and Volterra can be found in particular pottery finds³⁸⁸² and many types of fibulas.³⁸⁸³ The presence of wooden thrones in Verucchio seems to have served different purposes in funerary rites than the later bronze and terracotta thrones in Chiusi;³⁸⁸⁴ in Verucchio they were not used as a “seat” for the urn,³⁸⁸⁵ even if these are personalized and dressed up. Close connections of Verucchio with Marsiliana and Vetulonia have been frequently underlined. The existence in Verucchio of workshops active in the production of bronze (helmets, cups with high openwork handles, *ciste a cordoni*) and iron objects (long curved knives and daggers) suggests trade with sites of metal ore production likely on the Tyrrhenian coast. Iron ore could reach Verucchio via Chiusi through the Marecchia Valley, while amber, as well as probably tin and copper, arriving to Verucchio from central Europe could then reach the Etruscan centers on the Tyrrhenian coast.³⁸⁸⁶ It is significant that amber craftsmanship in Verucchio and Vetulonia seem to follow completely different models.³⁸⁸⁷ Proof of a mediation role of Verucchio in contacts between central Europe and Etruria (Tarquinia and Vetulonia) can be found in particular kinds of vessels or horse harnessing equipment.³⁸⁸⁸

A preliminary analysis of topographical organization is possible only for Lippi necropolis. It shows that already in the first phase a large part of the burial ground was already in use and that later grave groups developed mostly around the early ones.³⁸⁸⁹ In addition to topographic distribution of graves other factors clearly indicate that elite families were already established and well conscious of family ties from the ninth cent. BCE: the frequency of several depositions within single or closely connects pits, anthropological examination of the human remains showing mixed composition of grave goods as to gender and age and a consistent percentage of urns containing more than one individual.³⁸⁹⁰

Equally clear is the intentional stressing of specific self-representation and identity marks,³⁸⁹¹ as demonstrated by the development of very complex funerary rites as regards the choice of objects as well as the ways to manipulate and place them in the grave. It cannot be without meaning that the most impressive differences from other Villanovan contexts concern objects connected to ritual functions.³⁸⁹² Almost completely absent are objects typical of Bologna: ritual trays (It. *presentatoi*), bronze small footless one-handled cups (It. *capeduncole*), globular closed containers (It. *incensieri*), small bronze shovels (It. *palette*)³⁸⁹³, *tintinnabula*³⁸⁹⁴, pottery cylindric supports (It. *vasi a diaframma*) or double vases (It. *vasi gemini*), brown and red painted ware. Other items have their symbolic or ritual equivalent in objects with a different shape or decoration: the fan-shaped axes (It. *asce a flabello*) are replaced by heavy axes, made useless by small chains attached to the cutting edge;³⁸⁹⁵ the

bronze cup with high openwork handle has a recurring decorative scheme on the handle³⁸⁹⁶ typical of Verucchio and in some cases a human figure supporting it (Fig. 76.4).

At the end of the eighth and in the first decades of the seventh cent. BCE Lippi necropolis shows several high rank groups that include both male and female graves; a similar situation is also shown in Moroni and Le Pegge necropoleis. This could mean a certain amount of conflicts in power-sharing between leading high-ranking personalities, a conflict which could represent one of the weak points of the “Verucchio system” probably responsible for its sudden collapse.³⁸⁹⁷

The most famous grave is Lippi 89/1972 with a rich and exceptional set of gravegoods deposited in a deep pit.³⁸⁹⁸ Above a large wooden chest a decorated wooden throne had been placed (Figs. 48.4 and 76.5); inside the chest a large bronze *situla* was found, which served as the cinerary urn. It was “dressed” with textiles, weapons, gold, amber and bronze ornament; in the chest were also found other wooden objects, ornaments, weapons, bronze and pottery vessels, chariots and harnessing equipment. This grave has connections ranging from Central Europe to Tarquinia and Vetulonia and can be dated to the end of the eighth or early seventh cent. BCE.

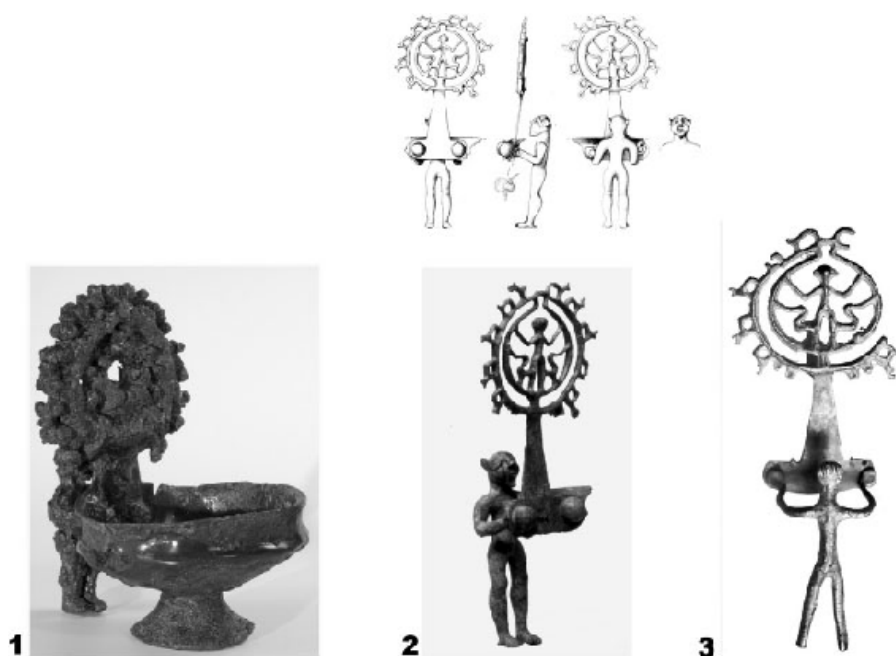


Fig. 76.4: Bronze cups with openwork handle (1. Verucchio Grave Lippi 32/2006 from von Eles ed. 2007 2. Verucchio, Grave Le Pegge 3/1970, from Gentili 2003; 3. Spadarolo, Museo Civico di Rimini)

Some of the female graves contained not only very rich and complex sets of grave goods which indicate that the women had high social status and

significant roles.³⁸⁹⁹ Among the richest graves are Lippi 47/1972, 32/2006 and 40BIS/2006, all including exceptional amber fibulas (Fig. 76.6), one of the highly specialized productions of Verucchio.

In the matter of technologies and craftsmanship, Verucchio offers the most surprising data. The leading groups provided social stability, through control of the territory demonstrated by the importance of warriors, and the continuous and consistent importation of minerals and amber. Specialized artisans produced, for specific clients, – in different materials like amber, bronze, iron and glass – very particular objects that can be considered strong signals of cultural identity. Innovative techniques were used in specialized workshops where artisans of different fields worked together. Although it might be suggested that the amount of amber found is only due to exceptional preservation conditions, it must be stressed that Verucchio developed highly specialised craftsmanship using amber not only in ornaments but also in many different classes of objects, which do not seem to have comparisons in other Iron Age sites. In other instances Verucchio artisans produced objects that, although perfectly similar to items found elsewhere are not functional, demonstrating the importance of some pieces from the exclusive point of view of social communication.³⁹⁰⁰



Fig. 76.5: Throne from Verucchio, grave Lippi 89/1972 (from von Eles 2002)

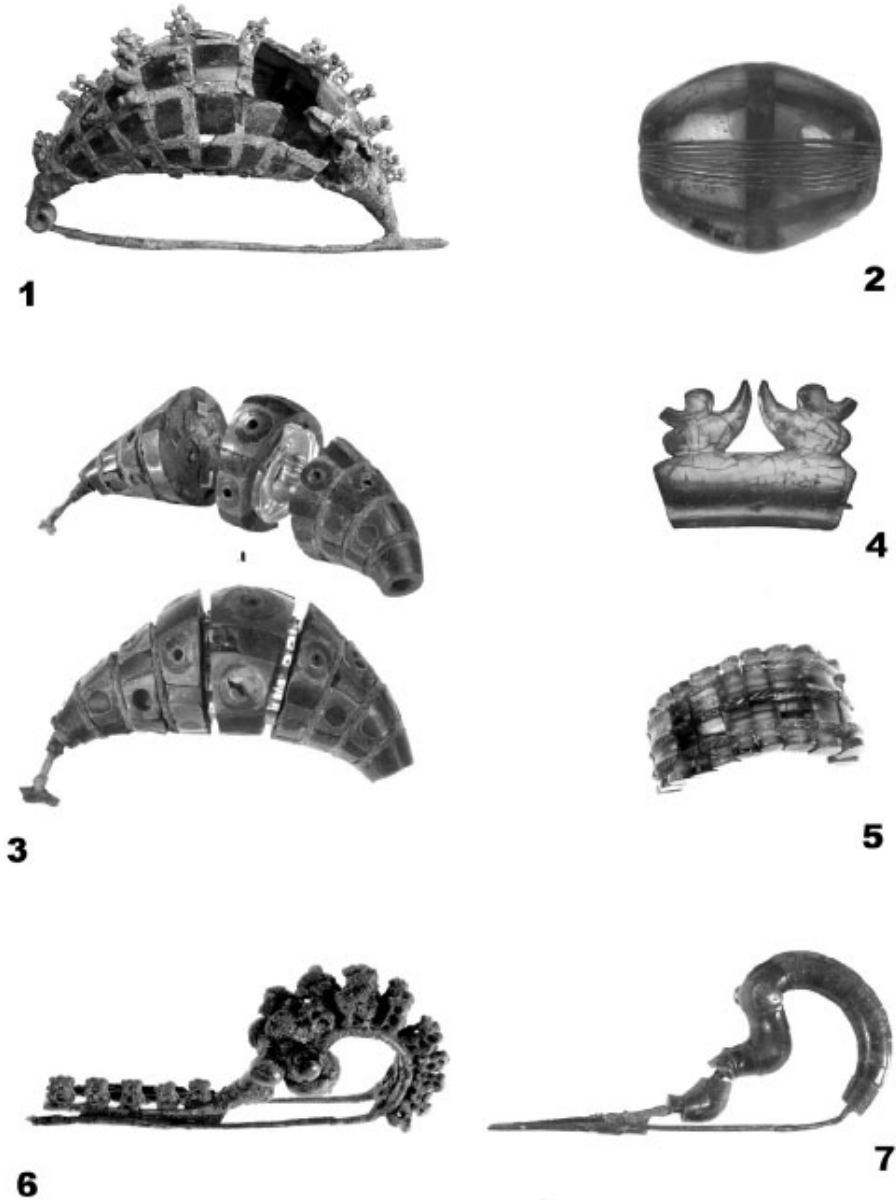


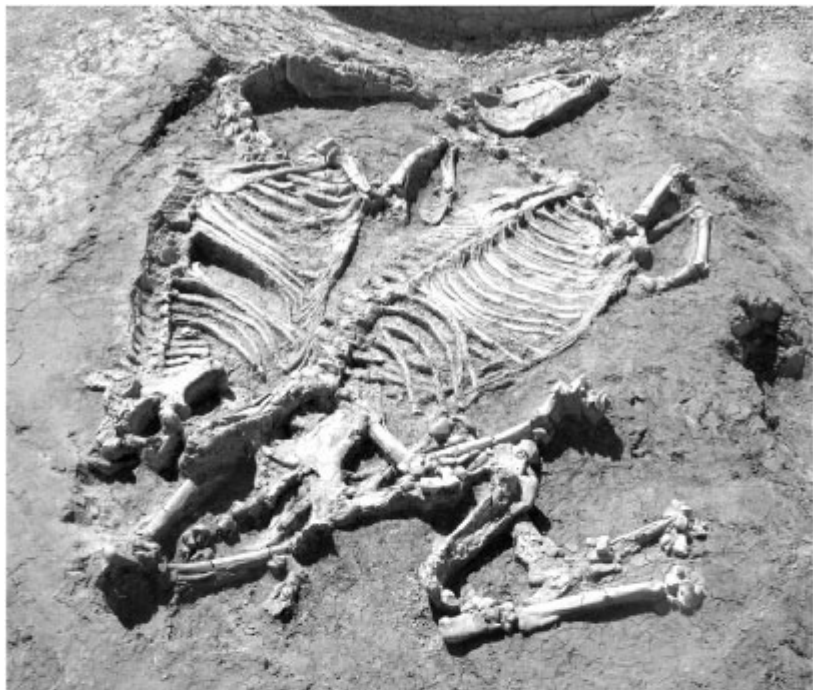
Fig. 76.6: Amber fibulae from Verucchio (from von Eles 2015b)

The most elaborate fibulas were never produced in greater numbers than necessary for the costume of one lady. On the contrary, there is proof of “serial” production of metal weapons,³⁹⁰¹ like strong long iron knives, present in more than fifty pieces, or the conical crested helmets,³⁹⁰² both once considered of Picene origin. This means that distribution of some products went far beyond the local area and reached what we would now call “external markets”, certainly Bologna, Piceno and possibly Etruria.

Control by the elites over the artisans and limitations in the use of the burial grounds imposed by the aristocratic families can also be inferred by the absence of artisans' burials.³⁹⁰³ The economic system seems similar to that presently acknowledged only in the Archaic period at Murlo. The social and economic system was apparently guaranteed in Verucchio by the warriors, whose role increased during the eighth and early seventh centuries BCE, but lost some of its importance in the final phase, apparently a sign of the beginning crisis. It was a situation full of contradictions with a very strong role of specialized craftsmanship that would naturally tend to an urban social and political structure: a trend toward which did not occur in Verucchio aristocratic society.

During the final phase of the evolution of the Villanovan society of Verucchio, which came to an end not much later than the middle of the seventh cent. BCE³⁹⁰⁴, the local community contracted consistently but continued to produce or accept innovation in rituals and artefacts. New objects were pottery with stamped decoration, some types of weapons and horse harnessing equipment, amber objects. There were no changes in the social structure: warriors continued to have an extremely important role, though new weapons assemblages might indicate some internal reorganization. Cremation continued to be the only adopted funerary rite; only a small number of inhumation graves, with very simple sets of grave goods – similar to those present in Bologna around the middle of the seventh cent. BCE were placed in a central area of Lippi necropolis, apparently not previously used, where two ritual depositions of horses were found in 2008. The sacrificed horses were not related to any specific grave, so it is likely that their deposition might be connected to collective rituals as seems to be the case for a similar situation recently recovered in Bologna, in the necropolis of Via Belle Arti (Fig. 76.7).

Date and meaning of the end of the social and economic system documented at Verucchio in the Late Iron Age are still under discussion.³⁹⁰⁵ Some scholars have in the past underlined the interruption existing in the necropoleis,³⁹⁰⁶ while others believed in continuity apparently shown by the settlement structures in Pian del Monte.³⁹⁰⁷ What cannot be doubted at present is the abrupt end of the economic and social system expressed in the Villanovan necropoleis and in the settlement structures as now documented by new excavations in Pian del Monte.



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Fig. 76.7: Horses burials: 1. Verucchio, Lippi Necropolis; 2. Bologna, Belle Arti Necropolis (from von Eles, P., M. Mazzoli and C. Negrini forthcoming)

An indirect signal of changes pertaining to the economic basis of Verucchio can be seen in the changes in amber trade and working traditions: before the

end of the seventh cent. BCE Verucchio no longer played the central role in amber trade. Instead amber had a highly increased diffusion in Piceno, but object types and techniques follow totally different patterns.³⁹⁰⁸

Several reasons can be suggested for Villanovan Verucchio crisis:

- 1.the limited extension of the settlement site and difficult access to it, although certainly strategically favorable during Early Iron Age, were factors that probably became severe impediments to change and development;
- 2.the significant activity in the Adriatic region of Umbrian groups whose widespread presence has been recently confirmed by a number of new finds in several sites in Romagna, Imola and Bologna;
- 3.the inability of the hegemonic groups (who continued to express their role and identity in fundamentally unchanged ways) to cope with new dynamics in a time when fully urban centers developed in central Italy and the Adriatic region, meaning that the power these dominant groups acquired in the preceding centuries became their weak point and no longer a strength;
- 4.the existence of internal contradictions among different groups within the community.

3Archaic and late archaic periods

Gentili dates to the sixth cent. BCE his phase IV³⁹⁰⁹ suggesting that the cultural change could be partly due to the appearance in the area of umbrian groups. Malnati as already mentioned³⁹¹⁰ accepts a discontinuity with respect to the end of the villanovan necropoleis, in his opinion to be placed at the end of the seventh cent. BCE.³⁹¹¹ He also observes that there is lack of documentation between the later graves in the Villanovan necropoleis and the Pian del Monte structures that cannot be dated earlier than the last quarter of the sixth cent. BCE.³⁹¹² Recent excavations by Pavia University in the area and under the so called “umbrian or etruscan house”³⁹¹³ confirm a definite iatus between the latest villanovan structure (first half of the seventh cent. BCE) and the building of the “Casa Umbra (ovvero Etrusca che dir si voglia)” in an advanced moment of the IV cent. BCE³⁹¹⁴.

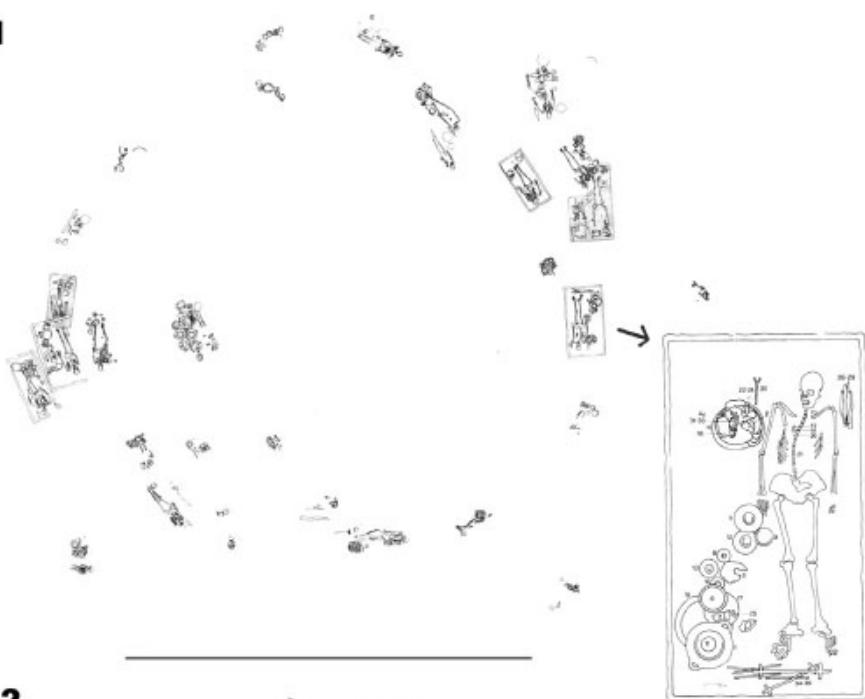
After the seventh cent. BCE finds in Verucchio are concentrated in Pian del Monte but only ritual activities show some kind of continuity. The end of the eighth cent. BCE sees the already mentioned ritual deposition of bronze shields near pre-existing pit filled in the fourth cent. BCE with selected potteries, bronze statuettes and many bronze fragments presumably originally located in a nearby cult area open to presences from distant region: Etruria, Piceno, Veneto and for the first time also Lombardy, as demonstrated by objects recovered from the pit.³⁹¹⁵

From the sixth cent. BCE a general change is quite definite both with regard to of cultural panorama and territorial setting in Romagna.

Cultural differences are evident in the burial grounds: cremation disappears, inhumations (frequently multiple deposition) are disposed in circles (Fig. 76.8); pottery shapes and ornaments types change and also show marked differences from those attested in Etruscan Felsina. In the largest explored necropolis, Montericco in Imola, combined analysis of archaeological and anthropological data shows changes in the social structures and roles during the period of use. In the central phase individual role is particularly underlined by the importance of weapons³⁹¹⁶ in young warriors graves, and by the marginal location of children depositions, in the later period family ties seem to prevail, with children graves placed inside the circles stressing their being full members of the family groups.³⁹¹⁷

Attribution of this cultural *facies* to Umbrians has been generally acknowledged since Giovanni Colonna and Mario Zuffa studies³⁹¹⁸ mainly based on the finds from San Martino in Gattara.³⁹¹⁹ Recent doubts advanced by Giuseppe Sassatelli³⁹²⁰ have been rejected with adequate answers and updated information by Colonna to which nothing need be added.³⁹²¹ New data, due to territorial researches and excavation by Monica Miari³⁹²² and the present author indicate that, Umbrian settlements are well documented in the plain between the Apennines and the Adriatic coast, reaching Ravenna.³⁹²³ Presence near Medicina (south east of Bologna) of Umbrian settlement structures and graves overlaying a small earlier Villanovan necropolis indicates a possible contraction of Bologna territory.³⁹²⁴ A similar situation had already been documented in Imola where orientalising graves were found in the area of Montericco Necropolis.³⁹²⁵

1



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Fig. 76.8: Burial circles. 1. Montericco Necropolis (from von Eles 1981) 2. San Martino in Gattara (from Bermond Montanari 2005)

Interaction, suggested by Colonna on the basis of the bronze breast-plate from Rio Carpena and of a particular type of bronze belt-buckles, which he believes made in Bologna and from there diffused to Romagna (Castrocaro, Forlì),³⁹²⁶ has been recently confirmed by “Umbrian” fibulas (Casalfiumanese type) in Bologna Belle Arti graves dated to Bologna IV C phase.³⁹²⁷

Presence of the Umbrians in Romagna certainly did not interrupt contacts

with Etruria also through the Apennine valleys as proved by the San Varano gravestone, found at a crossway of the roads coming down from Tuscany with the plain road connecting Bologna to the Adriatic coast, which shows direct influences from Tuscany.³⁹²⁸

From the end of the seventh cent. BCE in southern Romagna organization of the territory changes, with control moving to the hills nearer to the coast; pressure from Umbrian groups is well documented and could also explain the already mentioned lack of documentation in Pian del Monte settlement in the first part of the sixth cent. BCE. It has long since been established, on the basis of both archeological and epigraphic data,³⁹²⁹ that Etruscans continued to have in the area a very significant role as shown by Etruscan inscriptions found in Verucchio and Convignano:³⁹³⁰ direction of contacts were new and point mainly at Tyrrhenian Etruria (Volsinii) through the Ausa valley; continued Etruscan presence in the higher Marecchia valley has been recently indicated by the discovery at Ponte Messa, near Pennabilli, of a large stone with an etrusco-corinthian bas-relief connected to a kind of monuments well-known in Chiusi and in Val d'Elsa in the first half of the sixth cent. BCE.³⁹³¹ Contacts through the Marecchia valley have also been documented in recent excavations near San Sepolcro³⁹³² by the In the lower Marecchia valley Covignano substitutes Verucchio as the most important center: but the two cult areas documented at San Lorenzo in Monte³⁹³³ and Villa Ruffi probably also attracted external contacts.³⁹³⁴ The sanctuaries in Covignano as well as in Pian del Monte continued to be in use probably deriving their importance and significance from being “places of tradition and memories”.³⁹³⁵

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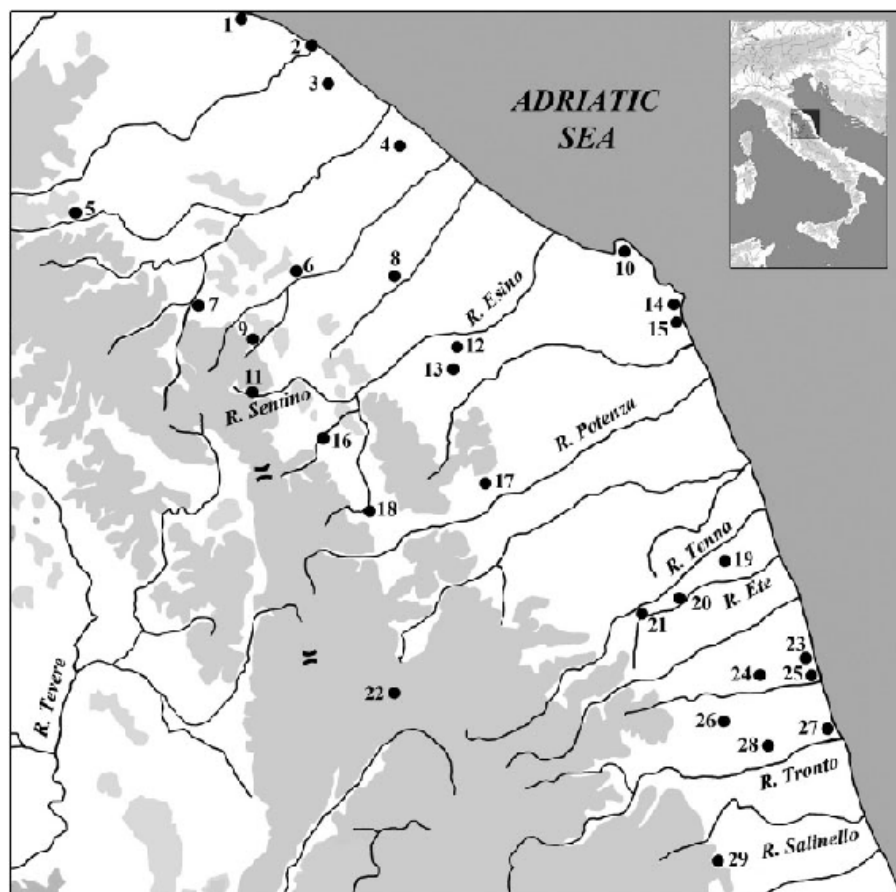
77The Marches

Abstract: The Marches stretch along the eastern slopes of the Apennines to the south of Romagna on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. This region is crossed by parallel river valleys, like the teeth of a comb, but those of the Esino and Potenza, amongst the most important rivers of the central area, are connected at the base of the mountain, where Fabriano and Matelica are found, by an easily crossed geological depression. It was, therefore, the mountain passes, the maritime routes, and the coastal and lower valley plains that allowed the penetration of the Etruscans, whom ancient literary sources and archaeological evidence attest as both a sporadic physical presence and more generally as agents of a cultural influence.

Keywords: Picene civilization, Cupra, Fermo, Matelica, Orientalizing

1Early Iron Age Fermo in its regional context

As the theme of the Etruscan presence in Romagna centers on Verucchio, at the beginning of the Early Iron Age and throughout the almost two centuries of its duration, so in the Marches it essentially centers upon the weight given to the Villanovan nucleus of Fermo,³⁹³⁶ whose very existence, in contrast to the contemporary, but not uniform, spread of Picene civilization³⁹³⁷ throughout the rest of the region, is amazing in its isolation.³⁹³⁸ (Fig. 77.1) To the south of the promontory of Conero and twice the distance of Verucchio from the Apennine ridge, Fermo is, in fact, much further also from the basin of the Tiber and so, compared to the other regions of the peninsula where the Villanovan culture spread, truly isolated by land.³⁹³⁹ Here, in any case, unlike Verucchio, the Villanovan settlement seems always to have remained within the limits of a single site, which archaeology continues to show us as being devoid of appendages of similar *facies* in the surrounding territory,³⁹⁴⁰ and almost without any reflection in the following period,³⁹⁴¹ when, from the seventh century BCE, it takes on the characteristics of one of many centers of the zone belonging to the Picene civilization.³⁹⁴² This change— though the funerary grave goods of the seventh century BCE remain completely unpublished, but are anyway devoid of startling signs of orientalizing character³⁹⁴³ — is yet to be clarified in its unwinding and causes; but as for its effects, it does not seem to have left or indeed filtered the slightest legacy of mythical-historical accounts or secure enough traces in the toponymy.³⁹⁴⁴



- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Bondio | 11. Sassoferrato | 21. Belmonte |
| 2. Pesaro | 12. Castelbellino | 22. Rasenna |
| 3. Novilara | 13. Cupramontana | 23. Cupramarittima |
| 4. San Costanzo | 14. Sirolo | 24. Ripatransone |
| 5. Sant'Angelo in Vado | 15. Numana | 25. Grottammare |
| 6. Monterolo | 16. Fabriano | 26. Offida |
| 7. Cagli | 17. San Severino Marche | 27. Acquaviva Picena |
| 8. Ostra | 18. Matelica | 28. Spinetoli |
| 9. Serra Sant'Abbondio | 19. Fermo | 29. Campovalano |
| 10. Ancona | 20. Grottazzolina | |

Fig. 77.1: The Marche and sites mentioned in text

In a territory perhaps only apparently uninhabited³⁹⁴⁵ at the end of the Bronze Age, scarcely seven kilometers from the sea, and dominating from on high all the expanse of low and perhaps then marshy beach between the mouths of the rivers Tenna and Ete Vivo, Fermo is already easily recognizable as Villanovan in the 9th century BCE. (Fig. 77.2) The two necropoleis of Misericordia and Mossa, explored several times over during the work of the expansion of the modern city, actually began with tombs belonging to the older period of the Early Iron Age and already typically Villanovan, with

elements which — apart from those less indicative in such a sense and common to the areas of Umbria and the Marches — recall both southern and inland Etruria, especially through the pottery³⁹⁴⁶ and prestige objects, and to a lesser extent Bologna, particularly through small bronze objects such as fibulae and others. In this first period the funeral rite is exclusively incineratory; the biconical urns, decorated in the canonic forms and closed by a bowl, turned upside down, with the edge curving inwards, or, more rarely, with a truncated cone and only blocked at the mouth thanks to the brimmed edge, are found inside simple pits. These have burnt earth at the base, which in several cases³⁹⁴⁷ goes as high as the stone covering. Funerary objects are rare, often consumed by fire and almost solely of personal apparel; there are no weapons, but often in male burials we find the crescent-shaped razor and in female almost always the addition of the spindle. As regards the relatively early beginning of the necropolis of Misericordia, which has also provided us with two urns of a form still echoing Protovillanovan models, the later date for the necropolis of Mossa³⁹⁴⁸, — actually far less known because of the serious delay in the restoration of almost all the finds — could be more apparent than real.



Fig. 77.2: Fermo: the hill (in the middle) and the necropoleis (on both sides) (after Baldelli 2000c, 57)

It is only close to the passage to the second phase of the First Iron Age (when observation of the incineratory rite also becomes less rigid, with, for example, an end to the rigorous practice of filling the pit to the brim with burnt earth) that there begin to appear at Misericordia, perhaps significantly in

female burials, the first trench tombs for individual interment: in one case,³⁹⁴⁹ already on a wooden plank — as will be seen more frequently later on³⁹⁵⁰ — and with the addition, also for the first time,³⁹⁵¹ of some supplementary small jars beside the biconical urn, not used for incineration; in a second case,³⁹⁵² with a little gold parure³⁹⁵³ as a first isolated supplement of objects of great prestige.

It is more prudent,³⁹⁵⁴ instead, to date the Misericordia tomb 8/1911 to the second phase, largely corresponding to the 8th century BCE, because of the quantity of grave goods³⁹⁵⁵ and in spite of the presence among them of at least one arched fibula with a whole curve apparently twisted.³⁹⁵⁶ Consequently, this tomb's bronze crested helmet,³⁹⁵⁷ a true status symbol of a war leader, loses every primacy on being deposited, conforming to more general use, just as others like it, documented at Verucchio and also in Etruria itself, where so many helmets are put in the tombs sooner or later after their use.³⁹⁵⁸ Equally attested in the same burial is the stratum of pebbles on the base of the burial trench and covering the interment, which, like the use of burying more than one body inside the same trench,³⁹⁵⁹ appears on other occasions in the necropoleis of Fermo only from the second phase.³⁹⁶⁰

In the course of this phase, then — following the evolution which, elsewhere as well, is in any case mostly Villanovan — interment continues to spread until it in its turn becomes the sole method. We also see, in both interment and incineration, the continuance and indeed enrichment and progressive increase in numbers of the new combinations of grave goods presented in the earlier context of the passage from one phase to the other. In a number of cases these succeed in giving us a hint — but only a hint — with the first clear signs of belonging to a high social group,³⁹⁶¹ of a more ample provision of true panoplies and sets of dishes. Examples of these are, respectively, the grave goods of the male tomb Misericordia 78S/1957, with an *antenna* sword of the Fermo type inside a sheath and a breastplate, probably of the Latium model, both of bronze (Fig. 77.3), and the female grave goods of Misericordia tomb 63Q/1957, with an amphora with crested handles, also of the Latium type, and a small cup with stamped decoration, both clay and placed one inside the other.³⁹⁶² The grave goods of two other tombs are each marked by a larger vase of thin bronze and inside a small clay cup for drawing out the contents: the male tomb Misericordia 2B/1956³⁹⁶³ has a situla with moveable handles with cruciform attachment, of a central-European type but most probably of northern-Etruscan manufacture; and the female tomb Misericordia 121S/1957³⁹⁶⁴ has a ribbed pail. Finally, in this last burial a lozenge belt buckle seems worthy of note, made of bronze and already repaired in antiquity, which can be placed alongside three others found in the same necropolis and a fifth kept in the Museum of Fermo, also of plausible local provenance.³⁹⁶⁵

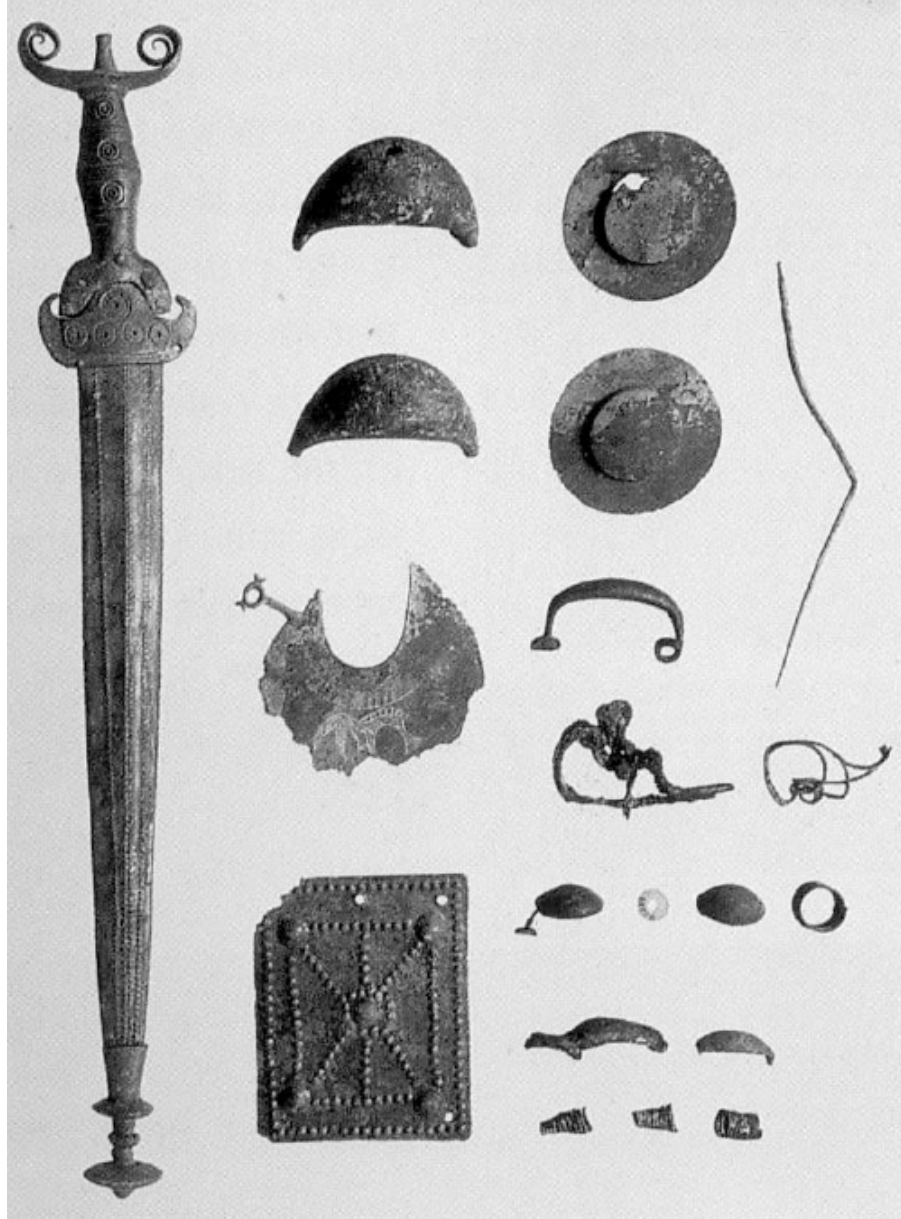


Fig. 77.3: Fermo, grave goods of the warrior tomb Misericordia 78S/1957 Ancona, Arch. Mus. (photo courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologia delle Marche)

2Fermo, Cupra, and the Etruscans

Fermo's isolation in the First Iron Age is, however, not only detectable from

the type of cultural material recovered from the burials and from the ideological and social reality which can be inferred on its basis, but also from the exceptional nature, compared to all the surrounding territory, of the inhabited proto-urban dimensions that can be deduced from the whole topographical situation, as was first seen by Renato Peroni.³⁹⁶⁶ The necropolis of Misericordia probably developed at the beginning along the course of the ridge leading directly inland, and the other necropolis, of Mossa, from the other side, at the beginning of the slope that descends towards the Adriatic Sea, leaving the mid-ground on the higher part of the hill for habitation, a large empty space of around 100 hectares. Such a general settlement scheme, like its relation to the geo-hydraulic situation,³⁹⁶⁷ is actually no different from that of the Picene centers further south³⁹⁶⁸ and of other known centers in the rest of the same civilization;³⁹⁶⁹ but it is the spaciousness of the central area that is not found in these centers, and makes us turn to the comparison, yet again, with the contemporary great protourban centers of Villanovan Etruria.³⁹⁷⁰ Yet it is true that at Fermo the gentle and hilly landscape is completely different from that of the bounded tufa plains of southern Etruria and the rock of Verucchio;³⁹⁷¹ and so we should not imagine that sparse areas of habitation uniformly covered the whole surface, from time to time steep and rugged,³⁹⁷² on which the mediaeval city then spread itself.³⁹⁷³ Indeed, in view of the general lack of sure evidence, this cannot be said even for Verucchio:³⁹⁷⁴ the Roman Picene cities themselves, characterized by intensive urbanization, rarely exceeded 20 hectares. On this, most recently and with reference to prominent situations in Etruria, Giovannangelo Camporeale has written of the organization of the inhabited areas by ‘quarters’, close to the necropoleis.³⁹⁷⁵ The suspicion could also arise that the huge resources (demographic and economic) required for whole inhabited occupation of the wide intermediate space never existed, so determining at Fermo the impossibility of passing to a more advanced phase of urban formation,³⁹⁷⁶ and thus establishing the premises for the final absorption of the Villanovan enclave into a different local context.

Massimo Pallottino³⁹⁷⁷ suggested the hypothesis of a link between Villanovan Fermo and the important coastal sanctuary, 20 kilometers further south, of Cupra, still not identified in the territory of the Roman city of *Cupra maritima*.³⁹⁷⁸ The suggestion was possibly made to avoid admitting an exception to the rule of the substantial coincidence between the areas of Villanovan spread and, in the historical period, of definite Etruscan occupation — an exception which was, however, then made explicit by Delia Lollini.³⁹⁷⁹ Pallottino, who continued to develop and support his hypothesis until the end, added the idea of an early penetration from the north ‘by a maritime route... perhaps. .. from Romagna’. According to Strabo (5.4.2. C 241) *Cupra maritima* was a known foundation of the ‘Tyrrhenians’, who absorbed the cult there, lending to it the cult of *Hera* (or *Uni*).³⁹⁸⁰ After Pallottino came those³⁹⁸¹ who wished to see in the Villanovan nature of

Fermo the outcome of a true colonial episode in the context of the so-called 'first Etruscan colonialization', which, however, could not be followed, over the passage of time, with all the necessary continuous support from the mother country.³⁹⁸² The theme remains a subject of discussion,³⁹⁸³ both through the claim to a local root of the 'Villanovan revolution' at Fermo (and in the other parts of Italy) due to the work of Peroni,³⁹⁸⁴ and through the more recent (and converging) critique of the concept itself of 'double colonization' and of 'first' and 'second' Etruscan colonization on the part of Giuseppe Sassatelli.³⁹⁸⁵ In the meantime, while with this last question the view of integration between various ethnic components, and of different provenance, has gained some way,³⁹⁸⁶ Giovanni Colonna, lending perhaps excessive weight to the modest though important territorial discontinuity between the districts of Fermo and Cupra, has preferred to defer few centuries later the Etruscan presence³⁹⁸⁷ at the trading sanctuary recorded by Strabo and has framed it in the historical circumstances of the 'long march' of the Etruscans from the Po valley in the direction of Cumae in 524 BCE. In this way he did not notice the contradiction with the sample of significant Etruscan imports of the first half of the 7th century BCE, which he himself immediately before illustrates for the same territory of Cupra³⁹⁸⁸ and which, by way of contrast, reinforce Pallottino's conjectural link, suitably supported by Camporeale and most recently quoted by Simone Sisani.³⁹⁸⁹

3The Marches from the seventh to the fifth cent. BCE

Independently from Fermo, above all from the orientalizing phase, cultural influences and exchanges of objects, ideas, and people between the Etruscan and Picene civilizations were always strong and penetrating,³⁹⁹⁰ sometimes not clearly distinguishable from the similar relations with the Latium³⁹⁹¹ and Falisco-Capenate territory;³⁹⁹² apart from Fermo, on the other hand, these relations began for no other reason than through geographical proximity and easy communications already between Novilara and the Villanova culture of Verucchio and Bologna.³⁹⁹³ The recent discoveries at Matelica³⁹⁹⁴ have simply confirmed and significantly increased the evidence of orientalization and, in a startling and unexpected way, have extended a little southward what was already known from the necropolis of Fabriano,³⁹⁹⁵ always along the same inland valley which, parallel to the Appennines, descends from Sassoferrato³⁹⁹⁶ down towards San Severino (Fig. 77.4). Greater light is thereby thrown on the rise of the new social organization in the Picene communities of this geographical sector,³⁹⁹⁷ the nearest to the mountain passes of communication with Umbria:³⁹⁹⁸ an organization dominated by powerful local elites, who are characterized by the prompt adoption of many

of the innovations then drawn from the life style and funerary rituals of the Etruscan and Latin elites, perhaps excluding only writing and the first architectural and town-planning forms.³⁹⁹⁹ The innovations extended from the banquet and symposium, with the serving dishes and equipment necessary for this use, to the two-wheeled chariot for war leaders and women of rank; to furniture, ornaments and weapons of prestige, sometimes enriched with images echoing the mythological world, the epic poems and figurative art spread to Italy from Greece; to the more than probable circulation of master specialists as gifts of friendship between leaders; and to the great dissipation of wealth itself, finally gathered into the tombs together with the sacrifice of the first fruits laid down to propitiate the interments. Two aspects of this important development, well localized and so decisive for the subsequent growth of the whole Picene civilization, should be taken account of here, over and above the individual and indeed numerous imports and imitations of objects that are known by the material evidence: on one side the great adherence of social behavior and rituals highlighted from the burials to those that can be found in the mid-Tyrrhenian coastal strip; on the other side, the absence (until proved otherwise) of similar funerary assemblages, of an equal level and equally widespread, in the corresponding strip of submontane Umbria, to the west of the Appennine ridge.⁴⁰⁰⁰ This can only mean that relations between the peoples of Matelica and Fabriano with the princely orientalizing courts of the southern-Etruscan (and Faliscan and Latin) centers was to a large part direct and of a type definitely not precarious and occasional; much less the product of slow territorial penetration and of reciprocal linked relationships for a more or less commercial purpose. To understand the nature of this better, we could perhaps refer to the massive seasonal migration towards the countryside near Rome and to coastal Lazio, documented for the 16th to 20th centuries CE, but a phenomenon of long standing that has structurally characterized the entire mountain economy of the Marches.⁴⁰⁰¹ The drain, to the final advantage of the Tyrrhenian centers, was not only of human resources — men as mercenaries and women as matrimonial exchanges⁴⁰⁰² — but also of all the products which the princes of Fabriano, Matelica, and, probably, San Severino, exploiting their military force and the strategic geographic position of their respective seats at the center of the region, succeeded in channeling from a good part of the present-day territory of the Marches, as indicated by the now generalized spread of substantially the same orientalizing models of composition of grave goods into the whole Picene civilization from the beginning of the archaic age.⁴⁰⁰³ It is only from the middle of the sixth century BCE and for a further two centuries thereafter that the progressive substitution of figured Attic vases in the symposium services placed in the tombs constitutes a further important cultural innovation, due to the discovery of the landfalls in the Marches, and in particular to that of Numana, on the part of the Greek merchants who sailed up the Adriatic. But this penetration, commercial and cultural, that spread

anew to the entire region of the Marches, even if with less intensity in the district of Ascoli, did not happen independently from that similar and more traditional from Etruria, which continues to suggest ‘the Etruscan material insight of the dead in the tomb’⁴⁰⁰⁴ and to ensure — both from the Tiber area (with Orvieto at the head⁴⁰⁰⁵) and later, also through maritime routes, from the area of the Po — that the more prominent families of the Picene communities (as also the Greeks) retained the valuable provision of bronze dishes and furnishings necessary for the symposium and banquet and that the devotees frequenting the numerous local cult places had the equally precious bronze votive statuettes (Fig. 77.5).⁴⁰⁰⁶ The principle, however, that ‘the (copy of) imported objects does not imply a cultural attribute and even less an ethnic one of the human group to which it belongs’⁴⁰⁰⁷ remains firm.



Fig. 77.4: San Severino, necropolis of Pitino: 1. Oinochoe 2. Ivory pyxis, around 600 BCE. Ancona, Arch. Mus. (photo courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologia delle Marche)



Fig. 77.5: Bronze head from Cagli. First half of the 4th cent. Ancona, Arch. Mus.
(photo courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologia delle Marche)

4The Marches from the fourth to the first cent. BCE

Inasmuch as Pliny's explicit record of the Etruscans, who replaced the Umbrians and were hunted by the Gauls, along the coast to the north of Ancona (Plin. *HN* 3.14.112) has no certain archaeological verification in the stretch of the Marches,⁴⁰⁰⁸ until the Roman period the two problematic cases of Fermo and the maritime sanctuary of Cupra remain the only cases from which we can infer, with some certainty or plausibility and on the basis of precise archaeological documentation and historical evidence,⁴⁰⁰⁹ the real and more or less stable presence of Etruscans in the Marches.

In the treacherous field of toponymy, in fact, the names *Rasenna*⁴⁰¹⁰ and *Rasenanus*⁴⁰¹¹, respectively of a lost locality near Visso and of a late-mediaeval *fundus* in the hinterland of Numana, undoubtedly constitute the trace of the ethnic naming of the Etruscans, but remain locally undatable as to origin and devoid of a known context of reference, having in any case both passed through a process of ‘Umbrianization’, like the greater part of the similar names in *-ēno* / *-ēna* / *-enna*⁴⁰¹² of the Italian peninsula.

We need, therefore, to go to the middle of the first century BCE to find an Etruscan, in the Etruscan-Latin funeral inscription of Pesaro:⁴⁰¹³ *Laris Cafates*, perhaps a Tarquinian or a Perugian, was a soothsayer, who was therefore able to exercise his profession even without a minority of his own ethnic group in the city where he died (Fig. 77.6).⁴⁰¹⁴



Fig. 77.6: Etruscan-Latin funeral inscription from Pesaro. First cent. BCE. Pesaro, Musei Oliveriani (photo courtesy Biblioteca-Musei Oliveriani, Pesaro)

Instead, problems of interpretation remains unanswered for the previous period of the Romanization of the *ager Gallicus*:

- the participation of Etruscans at the battle of Sentino as allied with Galli and Samnites, which, while attested by a number of sources (Duris, *FGrH* II A, F 56, 151; Tzetz., *ad Lycophr. Alex.* 1318) and remaining plausible from the quantity of their goldwork,⁴⁰¹⁵ bronzes and pottery⁴⁰¹⁶ in the tombs of the Senoni, has come to be denied by many historians;⁴⁰¹⁷
- the ethnic belonging of the wearer, in the sepulcher of Monte Rolo, of the helmet of Montefortino type with the inscription *mi spural*⁴⁰¹⁸, indicating for Sisani only the public provision on the part of an Etruscan city to one of the *soci* of the Roman army of Manius Curius Dentatus;⁴⁰¹⁹
- the presence in a *villa rustica*, in the surroundings of *Ostra*, of individuals coming from Chiusi, responsible for the Etruscan graffiti *θve* on the edge of a dolium of scattered provenance;⁴⁰²⁰
- finally the very recent identification of an Etruscan by now romanized, also probably originary from the countryside of Chiusi, in the inscription on a

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Raffaele Carlo de Marinis

78Lombardy

Abstract: During the Final Bronze and Early Iron Ages present-day Lombardy was divided into three distinct cultural entities. In western Lombardy, from Serio and Adda to Ticino, was the Golasecca culture, which also spanned eastern Piedmont and southern Switzerland (geographically, an Italian region). Como and Golasecca-Sesto Calende-Castelletto Ticino were the two main centers of this area. Pre-Alpine and Alpine valleys of the provinces of Brescia and Sondrio belonged to a cultural context which can only be adequately defined starting from the sixth century BCE with the facies Breno-Dos dell'Arca. The rock art of Valcamonica and Valtellina is the main source of knowledge for this area. Finally, the plain crossed by the Oglio, Chiese and Mincio rivers was affected by a succession of peoples and cultures. In the Final Bronze Age a cultural group closely related to the so-called Proto-Venetian is documented, as shown by the finds of Casalmoro along the Chiese and Sacca di Goito along the Mincio. In the ninth and eighth centuries, Paleo-venetian cultural aspects are present at Castellazzo della Garolda, Castiglione Mantovano and Valeggio sul Mincio, but they are also attested by stray finds scattered all over the area. During the seventh century an initial spreading of Etruscan cultural aspects along the Oglio river can be detected, while from the mid-sixth century a broader phenomenon of Etruscan colonization took place along the Mincio river, with the foundation of Forcello of Bagnolo S. Vito and other smaller settlements. The fifth century represents the most flourishing period of this part of Padan Etruria to the north of the Po. Following the Gaulish invasion of 388 BCE, the Cenomani occupied the plain from Brescia to Verona and the town of Forcello was abandoned, but the Etruscans maintained control over the lower course of the Mincio and founded Mantua.

Keywords: Golasecca, Valcamonica, Valtellina, Forcello, Mantua

Introduction

During the Final Bronze and Early Iron Ages present-day Lombardy was divided into three distinct cultural entities. In western Lombardy, from Serio and Adda to Ticino, was the Golasecca culture, which also spanned eastern Piedmont and southern Switzerland (geographically, an Italian region). Como and Golasecca-Sesto Calende-Castelletto Ticino were the two main centers of this area. Pre-Alpine and Alpine valleys of the provinces of Brescia and Sondrio belonged to a cultural context which can only be adequately defined starting from the sixth century BCE with the facies Breno-Dos dell'Arca. The rock art of Valcamonica and Valtellina is the main source of knowledge for this area. Finally, the plain crossed by the Oglio, Chiese and Mincio Rivers was affected by a succession of peoples and cultures (Fig. 78.1). In the Final Bronze Age a cultural group closely related to the so-called Proto-Venetian is documented, as shown by the finds of Casalmoro along the Chiese and Sacca

di Goito along the Mincio. In the ninth and eighth centuries, Paleovenetian cultural aspects are present at Castellazzo della Garolda, Castiglione Mantovano and Valeggio sul Mincio, but they are also attested by stray finds scattered all over the area. During the seventh century an initial spreading of Etruscan cultural aspects along the Oglio River can be detected, while from the mid-sixth century a broader phenomenon of Etruscan colonization took place along the Mincio River, with the foundation of Forcello of Bagnolo S. Vito and other smaller settlements. The fifth century represents the most flourishing period of this part of Etruria to the north of the Po. Following the Gaulish invasion of 388 BCE, the Cenomani occupied the plain from Brescia to Verona and the town of Forcello was abandoned, but the Etruscans maintained control over the lower course of the Mincio and founded Mantua.

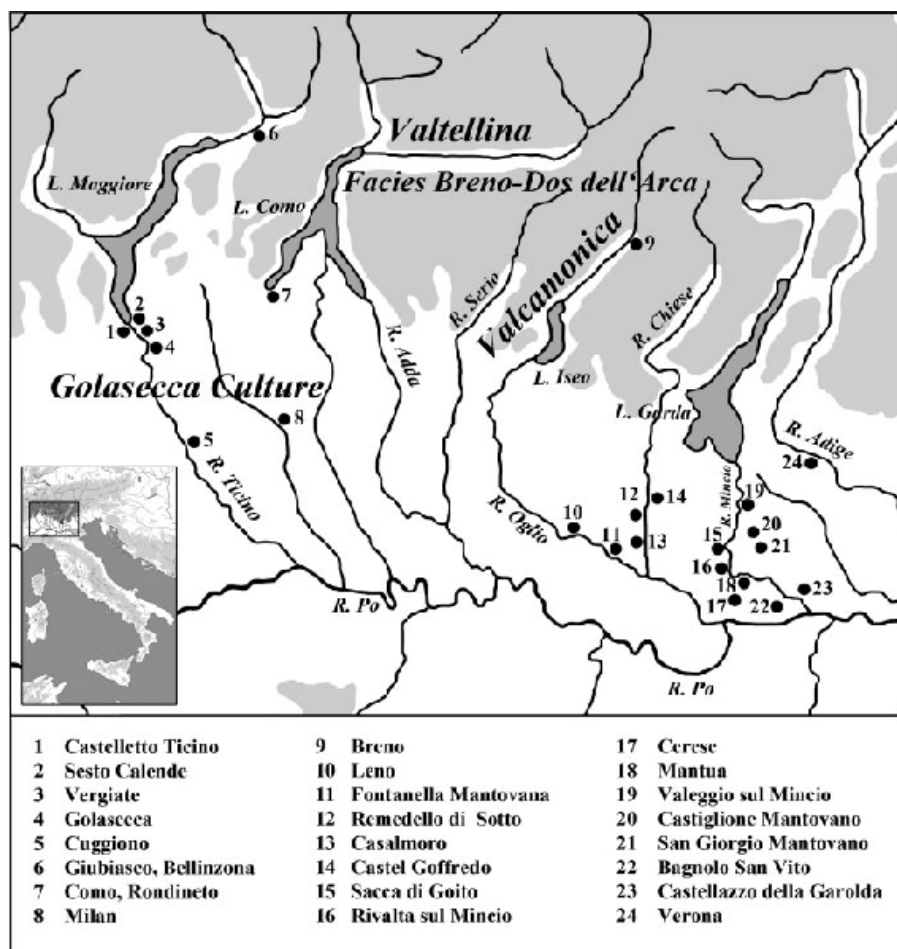


Fig. 78.1: Lombardy: map of the sites cited in the text (drawing A. Blackner)

1From the ninth to the early seventh century

From the ninth and particularly from the eighth century Villanovan artifacts are found in the territories to the north of the Po river, including crested helmets, antennae swords of the Tarquinia type or its variants, Veio type horse bits, razors, Bambolo type end-winged axes, San Francesco and Cortona type socketed axes, thickened bow fibulae with large catch-plate, small fibulae with a lowered bow of the San Vitale type, leech fibulae with large catch-plate, and elliptical bronze-sheet belt plaques. In some cases they are probably local productions that closely recall the Villanovan models. Villanovan (or Villanovan type) artifacts spread over a wide area, encompassing all the territories to the north of the Po, even if a greater concentration is discernible in the Alpine sector of the Adige valley.⁴⁰²² These finds demonstrate the interest Villanovan Etruscans had in establishing relations with the northern and Alpine territories. Soon after, however, with the rise of the first protourban center in the district of Como,⁴⁰²³ trade and contacts, which originated in Bologna, were directed towards this area. Thanks to its geographical position, Bologna played a central role in trade towards the north.

Some finds provide evidence of the relationships between Bologna and Como in the eighth century. From the settlement on the outskirts of Como comes a fragment of an elliptical Villanovan belt plaque. In the tomb of the Vigna di Mezzo at Rondineto, whose grave goods have scarcely survived, there were two twisted horse bits, a pin with a conical head similar to the Melenzani type, the fragment of a sheet-bronze amphora decorated with rows of large and very small bosses – probably attributable to the Veii-Gevelinghausen group (Figs. 44.1 and 44.2) –, and a bronze bident that Giovanni Colonna has connected with the Etruscan world.⁴⁰²⁴ In the grave-goods of a tomb discovered in 1871 in the area in front of the Villa Giovio at Breccia (Como) a small boot-shaped vase of the Bologna-Vetulonia-Veii type was found.⁴⁰²⁵ The wagon burial discovered in 1950 at the Ca' Morta is dated to the Early Orientalizing period (late eighth – early seventh century). The bronze cast angle-sockets of the two-wheeled chariot comes from beyond the Apennines, the bronze socketed axe belongs to the San Francesco type, the dipper with lever handle is attributable to a Villanovan type of Bologna, the bronze-sheet amphora belongs to the Veii-Gevelinghausen group, two bronze flat-ribbed bowls – one mounted on a *Kesselwagen* – certainly come from Vetulonia.⁴⁰²⁶ The same type of Etruscan bowl has been discovered to the north of the Alps in the tombs of Frankfurt Stadtwald, Poiseul-la-Ville and Appenwihr (Fig. 44.1).⁴⁰²⁷ Thus, the Golasecca culture began to act as intermediary between Bologna and the Etruscan world on one side and the western Hallstatt area on the other. For this period, it is not yet possible to precisely reconstruct trade routes because of the scarcity and scattered nature of the finds.

2From the seventh to the mid-sixth century

The relationship between the Etruscans and the Golasecca culture people intensified from the second quarter of the seventh century. The main role was no longer played by Como, but by the “proto-urban” area of Golasecca-Sesto Calende-Castelletto Ticino. The oldest object that documents direct contact with Bologna is an Arnoaldi type bronze knife, characteristic of the Villanovan IV B1 period⁴⁰²⁸, unfortunately now without context.⁴⁰²⁹ Later, with the mid and late seventh century, the materials become more abundant. We can mention a situla with crescent-shaped attachment-plates and a “light” bucchero *kylix* of Tom Rasmussen’s 1-c type from Golasecca,⁴⁰³⁰ the greaves of Archaic Greek type from the “First Warrior” tomb of Sesto Calende,⁴⁰³¹ the large bucceroid impasto *kyathos* decorated with Orientalizing animalistic friezes from Sesto Calende (San Giorgio area) of Vetulonian manufacture,⁴⁰³² the double sheet-bronze basin decorated with lions with wide open jaws and winged sphinxes from the tomb of Castelletto Ticino-Motto Fontanile, also of Vetulonian manufacture (Fig. 81.4). Some grave goods of the latter tomb survived, including a bronze ribbed cylindrical bucket (It. *cista a cordoni*) of local manufacture and a clay beaker with a globular body decorated with helical grooves, while the fragment of an iron multi-head pin (Ger. *Mehrkopfnadel*, It. *spillone a globetti*), now lost, assures us it was a male burial.⁴⁰³³

Nothing similar can be documented for the Golasecca I C tombs of the cemeteries located around Como, in particular at the Ca’ Morta. Therefore, it seems that the new “proto-urban” center of Golasecca-Sesto Calende-Castelletto Ticino had assumed a leading role in the management of trade and relations with the Etruscan world. Direct contact with Bologna is evident, but other considerations suggest that another route was active, leading from northern Etruria to the Golasecca area without the mediation of Bologna, and thus passing through the Ligurian territory. During phase Golasecca I C at Golasecca – but not at Como – the first epigraphic records appeared. The cup of Sesto Calende (Presualdo area) was discovered in 1937,⁴⁰³⁴ an inscription is on the interior of a bowl from the Bellini collection,⁴⁰³⁵ and an inscription carved on stone was discovered in the settlement of Castelletto Ticino, Belvedere area.⁴⁰³⁶ To this we can add the inscription of Montmorot (Jura), inscribed on a Hallstatt ceramic fragment, while its palaeographic Lepontic characters must be considered as made by a person from the area of Golasecca.⁴⁰³⁷ In the subsequent Golasecca II phase, the presence of Lepontic epigraphic documents is still restricted to the Golasecca-Sesto Calende-Castelletto Ticino area. Among the most important is an inscription on the beaker from tomb no.12/1993 at Presualdo, which dates to the G. II A,⁴⁰³⁸ an inscription on the beaker of tomb no. 5 of via Aronco at Castelletto Ticino, and the stele of Vergiate, a stray find and therefore without context, but hardly dating to a period later than the end of the sixth century.⁴⁰³⁹ As Colonna

pointed out long ago, writing did not reach Golasecca via northern Etruria – Bologna – Ticino, but followed a more western route, Southern Etruria – Northern Etruria – Ligurian territory – Golasecca, as shown by the concurrent presence in the most ancient Lepontic epigraphy of the circular dotted theta and of the sigma with four or six strokes, as well as by the inscription of Vergiate, written within two horseshoe-shaped lines, which recalls patterns of the Sienese-Volterranean area.⁴⁰⁴⁰

Concurrently with the increase in Etruscan imports at the center of Castelletto Ticino, in the plain between Brescia and the Oglio River tombs and settlements related to a new cultural facies appeared. This facies is not yet well-known, but its appearance seems to be a direct consequence of the expansion of the Etruscans of Bologna in the direction of the Panaro and Enza and towards the Po during the Villanovan IV B1 and IV B2. The finds – unfortunately all recovered in the nineteenth century, when the scientific excavations were not yet the norm, or gathered from surface ground during archaeological surveys – cluster between Chiese and Oglio Rivers, and seem to attest to an Etruscan penetration to the north of the Po along the course of the Oglio, probably because the Mincio territory was still firmly controlled by Palaeo-Venetian people.

In the municipality of Leno traces of settlements have been discovered in two nearby locations, Madonna della Stalla and Cascina Fornasetta⁴⁰⁴¹. From Quinzano d'Oglio come a few fragments of a large amphora decorated with fish scales (“Anforoni Squamati Group”) of Caeretan manufacture dating to the late seventh century,⁴⁰⁴² and from Castel Goffredo comes a bucchero *kylix* of Rasmussen's type 3b (late seventh– early sixth century).⁴⁰⁴³ The most significant discoveries – but also the most problematic – were made at Remedello Sotto in November 1885 during the excavations carried out by Giovanni Bandieri.⁴⁰⁴⁴ According to his unpublished report, in the area between the Gaulish necropolis to the north and the Eneolithic necropolis to the south two rectangular pit-graves were discovered, oriented east-west, with a bench placed along the two short sides and the deceased buried in the supine position. A few meters further west, on the bottom of a large north-south oriented pit, three heaps of broken pottery were found at a distance of approximately 4 m from each other. The pottery is characterized by a light gray impasto and a smooth black surface similar to that of bucchero; forms include *oinochoai* with a burnished decoration on the shoulder, *olpai*, *kantharoi* with high strap handles of Rasmussen's 3e type but having a high ridged stem, *kylikes* with a deep carinated bowl resembling the Greek forms of the second quarter of the sixth century, triple hemispherical bowls with a triple stem. Finally, there are the remains of six large unusually shaped vases. The body of each vase is decorated with horizontal cordons, the wide and rounded shoulder has large vertical swellings interspersed with triangular spouts, the bottom of the vase is hollow and is joined to a high cone-truncated cordoned foot, which is completely hollow (Fig. 78.2). These vessels were

probably covered by lids decorated with large vertical swellings and a high foot with four curved stems and provided with a small globular vase at the top. Certainly these vessels had no practical functions in everyday life, but they must have been used for religious ceremonies or special rites of purification, being comparable to *thymiateria* or very elaborate and complex incense burners. The finds also included a clay statuette of a praying man or offering bearer almost 20 cm high, with a thick stem 8 cm long meant to be inserted into a support of some sort, a fragment of another very similar statuette and an elliptical support with three hollow vertical cylindrical elements, into which statuettes could probably be affixed. The interpretation of the complex of Remedello Sotto is problematic from several points of view. Two burials are too few to constitute a necropolis. The presence of so many incense burners suggests that it was a sacred area connected to purification rites and to two exceptional burials. In a brief dig test carried out by Lawrence H. Barfield in 1986 about 120 m north-west of the excavation by Bandieri a circular ditch was discovered, with a diameter of 10 m and a V shaped profile, intersected by other two pits. The fill contained pottery dating to the early decades of the sixth century, including a complete *oinochoe*. Unfortunately this excavation has remained unpublished, but it shows that the complex described above was, in fact, larger and dates to the period of Etruscan expansion in the Po valley.

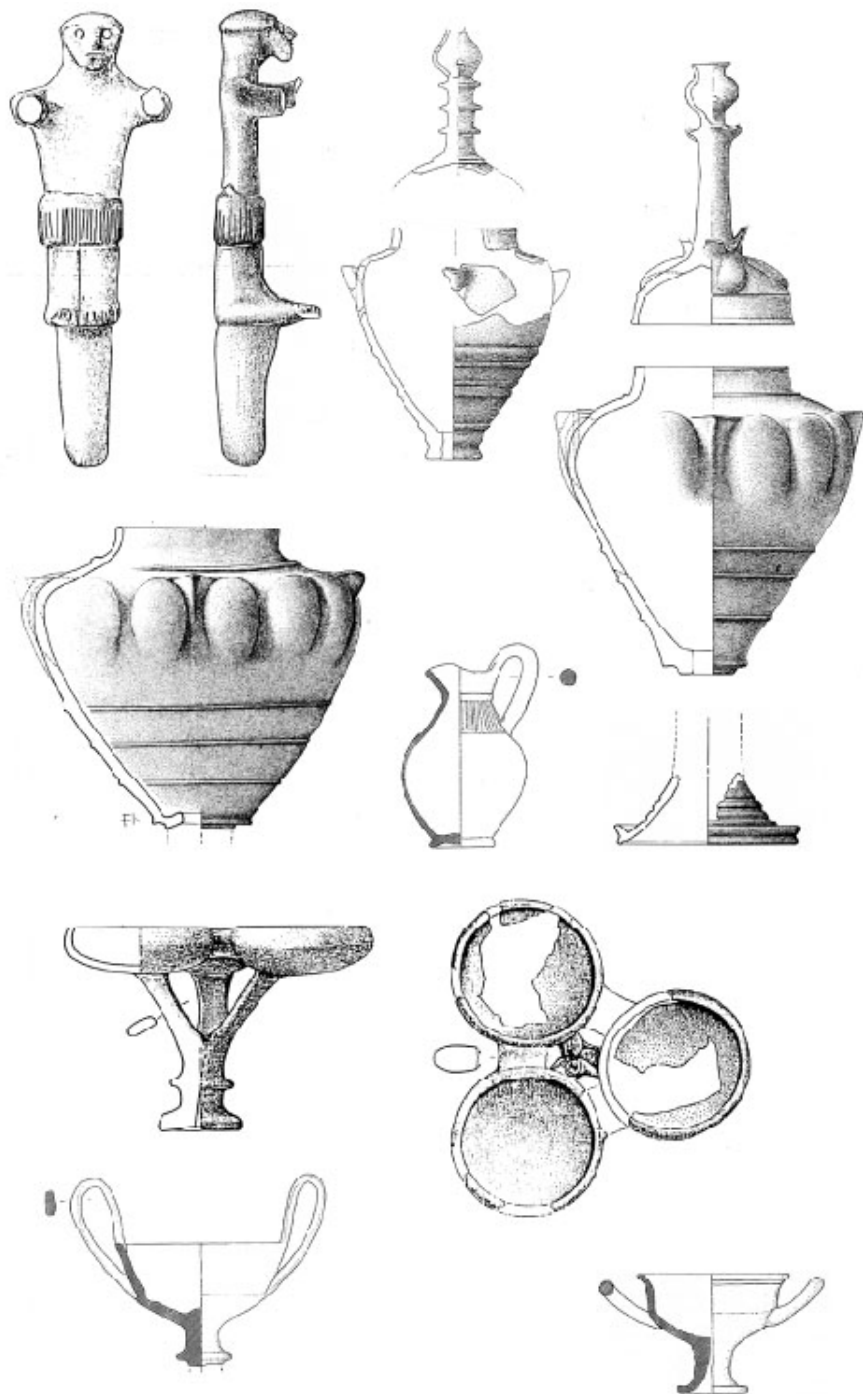


Fig. 78.2: Remedello Sotto (Brescia), selection of figurine and pots discovered in 1885. Late 7th – first half 6th cent. BCE. Museo Patrio di Antichità, Reggio Emilia (Drawings by A. C. Cattaneo)

From the area of the Eneolithic, Final Bronze and Gaulish necropolis of Fontanella Mantovana, about 10 km to the south-west of Remedello Sotto, come incense burners similar to those of Remedello, but simpler in shape and certainly more recent. Three hollow-bottomed cordoned *ollae*, five hollow cordoned truncated-cone feet, and two lids with a cordoned stem ending with a small globular vase, also hollow, have survived.⁴⁰⁴⁵ Excavation data is completely missing.

Despite their problematic nature – largely due to the lack of scientific investigations –, the finds of the territory between Chiese and Oglio, all dated to the end of seventh century / first half of the sixth century, testify to the earliest evidence of Etruscan penetration north of the Po. Shortly after the mid-sixth century the Etruscans began a more systematic expansion along the course of the Mincio.

3Forcello of Bagnolo San Vito (Mantua)

The most important Etruscan center north of the Po River in the sixth and fifth centuries was undoubtedly Forcello of Bagnolo San Vito. It was founded shortly after the mid-sixth century within the framework of a process of expansion and reorganization of the Padan Etruria in conjunction with the foundation of Marzabotto and Spina and the urbanization of Felsina, as well as the foundation of several other minor centers in central-western Emilia and along the Po of Adria.

Forcello is located a few kilometers south-east of Mantua, close to the right morphological escarpment of the paleo-bed of the Mincio River, on a small mound where the gravely alluvium ends and the sandy-silty one of the lower course of the river begins. Paleo-ecological research conducted since 2008 by Cesare Ravazzi and his team has allowed us to reconstruct the characteristics of the environment at the time of the settlement's foundation.⁴⁰⁴⁶ A series of coring undertaken both in the area of the settlement and 100 m further east in the paleo-valley of the Mincio up to a depth of 4 m revealed a sequence of fluvial sands, followed around the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries BCE by peaty deposits of palustrine origin and, starting from the eighth-seventh centuries, by lacustrine sediments rich in freshwater mollusks and almost 2 m thick.⁴⁰⁴⁷ Forcello, therefore, was founded on the banks of a lake that stretched from Pietole to Roncoferraro for more than 5 km, which in front of the settlement was almost 2 km wide. The lake of Bagnolo was still active in Roman and medieval times, as evidenced by the radiocarbon dating of the cores and historical sources. It was gradually reclaimed thanks to the hydraulic works of the Pitentino (1188–1190 CE), which led to the current layout of Mantua's lakes, and then with the embankments of the lower reaches of the Mincio in the early sixteenth century CE.⁴⁰⁴⁸

The location was chosen because it was favorable to river trade and for the presence of an elongated rise, stretching for about 1 km in a northwest-southeast direction and with a maximum width of 500 m, which at the time of the arrival of the Etruscan settlers must have had a maximum height of 14.8 masl, while the water level of the lake must have been approximately 13.6 m. The mound on which Etruscan Mantua rose in the fourth century had a greater elevation only in a few points – approximately 1 m –, but was considerably smaller in size.

The Etruscan city of Forcello, so far unnamed, had a triangular shape, with a 460 m long base oriented northeast-southwest, a 550 m perpendicular height, and with the tip located to the southeast. At this important archaeological site, discovered in 1979, research and excavations have been carried out for over thirty years. From mechanical and geophysical investigations conducted in 1980, 1981 and 1983 and from surface collections it has been possible to determine that the settlement stretched around 12–13 ha. Like all newly founded centers, Forcello seems to have had a regular urban structure, orthogonal and planned from the beginning. In fact, every dwelling excavated so far – even those that belong to different chronological phases – are always oriented northeast-southwest. They are parallel to the northwestern rampart and perpendicular to what must have been the main road, 15 m wide, that crossed the entire town with a southeast-northwest orientation, and ended exactly in the middle of the north-western side.⁴⁰⁴⁹

It is very difficult to read the Forcello's stratigraphy due to the building materials used. In the absence of stone, which is totally lacking in the low plain, houses were built of perishable material, such as wood, reeds, straw, unfired and sun-dried clay, and mostly carbonate silt. Following the natural collapse or catastrophic events (frequent fires), the houses underwent periodic maintenance and reconstruction works, leaving difficult to read stratigraphy.

The geomorphological setting of the area – located within a broad basin that was formed at that point by the paleo-valley of the Mincio River – certainly enhanced the potential of the settlement as a river port but also exposed it to the danger of periodic flooding. Therefore, to defend the town against these events, it was bounded and protected by an embankment, an *agger terreus*, well-preserved along the northwest side of the settlement (where it is 8 m wide at the base), which was surmounted by a wooden palisade on top and another along its external front. Following episodic floods, the earthwork was periodically rebuilt throughout the settlement's existence.⁴⁰⁵⁰

On the other two sides, the existence of a rampart is recognizable through the slight undulation of the ground, although less markedly than along the northwestern side, where a clear morphological escarpment had preserved.⁴⁰⁵¹ Some time during the first half of the fifth century, probably around 480/475, there was a major flood. The waters of the Mincio River overflowed the embankment, depositing 60 cm of sand well inside the settlement. Following

this flood, a new embankment was built from mud bricks further back but also higher by about a meter, because in the meantime an anthropic layer had already formed, significantly raising the level of the settlement.

Inside the settlement or on its outskirts there had to be a religious building or a cult place of some sort, that might be found in the south-easternmost part. The evidence of this consists of a fragment of a pillar altar made of trachyte and an inscription incised on the underside of an Attic black-glazed *skyphos*, both found in area V 10–11.⁴⁰⁵² The inscription bears a formula that forbids appropriation (*ei menpe kape mi pr [---] aitush*), and is traced in an “italicizing” writing style, which according to Adriano Maggiani was used in sanctuaries during the fifth century. Also in the same area a small clay female head of probable Greek manufacture was found.⁴⁰⁵³ To the northeast the base of a bowl was collected on the surface after plowing. The inner surface of the foot of the bowl bears a bimembral onomastic inscription made before firing (*anthush.markeš*); the binomial formula with forename and *gentilicium* and the impression before firing demonstrate the particular importance of the person and the votive character of the inscription.⁴⁰⁵⁴ Many schematic figurines of worshippers, cast or cut from a bronze sheet, have been found at Forcello in area R–S 17–18 and belong to different phases of the settlement’s history.⁴⁰⁵⁵ They come from fillings or “bonifica” layers, and thus have a secondary provenance, but in some cases they were recovered from primary contexts, like the cast bronze figurine found in room 1 of house F II, dated to the late sixth – early fifth century.

What makes Forcello unique among the centers of Padan Etruria is the thickness of its archaeological stratification, which reaches up to 2 m and refers to several chronological phases, corresponding to phases of construction, destruction and reconstruction of dwellings. Excavations carried out in the center of the settlement (areas Q–R–S 17–18–19), which in some places reached the undisturbed soil and therefore the period of foundation, have revealed a sequence of nine main phases, labeled with letters from the top (phase A, the most recent) down (phase I, the oldest).⁴⁰⁵⁶

During the settlement’s history extensive fires occurred, destroying the houses, particularly in phases F and C. In both cases, the destruction and collapse layer was sealed by sterile clay or waste materials, used to reclaim the area and create a new ground level on which dwellings could be rebuilt. Because of this all the materials that were present in the houses have been preserved *in situ*, albeit heavily fragmented and often warped by the heat of fire. This is therefore a lucky and rare example of material found in a primary context. The collapse layer pertaining to the phase F is the better investigated one. Currently, another important collapse layer is under excavation, referring to phase C (second quarter of the fifth century), a few meters away from the houses of phase F.

Little has been known about phase I until now. Phase I coincides with foundation (around 540–530) and it is dated by fragments of Little Masters

band cups and *lekythoi* (third quarter of the sixth century). During phase H, which yielded fragments of Cassel cups (530–520), an outdoor workshop with facilities for smelting and metalworking was active in area R18, replaced in phase G by a large house, which has been investigated over an area of approximately 90 sq m. Phase G yielded a black-figured *lekythos* attributed to the Cock Group (around 520–510), which had been reused in the drainage feature for the hearth. Not long after, the building of phase G was dismantled, and the area was cleaned and levelled by laying a silty layer on top of which the houses of phase F were rebuilt with an identical layout. Destroyed by fire shortly after 500, the debris were sealed under a thick sterile clay layer, on which an outdoor craft area was created with numerous hearths and even more numerous small pit forges for metalworking (phase E, around 495–485).

In the area surrounding the pit forges and the hearths, iron slags and scraps, bronze chips, small sheets, small bronze bars and ingots, fragments of tuyères and moulds, and deer-horn chisels and gouges were found. After the ground was levelled again, a new house was built (phase D), with a layout different from that of the previous phases, whose structure is very poorly preserved. After it was dismantled, the phase C house was built (around 475–450), measuring 12.3×5.2 m, whose perimeter is defined by large postholes. The house comprises a large room that is 10 m long and a smaller one, separated by a wooden partition. The first room features a central fireplace and, on the northwestern side, a vertical loom, whose existence is attested by the discovery of 150 loom weights. In the house were found 186 oval bodied *ollae*, containing charred fava beans, wheat, barley, lentils and peas. This building, which was perhaps used as a workshop and storeroom, was also destroyed by a massive fire, the remains of which were sealed with a layer of earth and waste materials.

The latest phases (A–B), almost completely destroyed by agricultural work, have yielded only fragments of floors, hearths, slots for timbers that supported mud brick walls and tiled roofs, as documented by the discovery of fragments of semi-cylindrical tiles, sometimes painted, and the remains of an antefix.⁴⁰⁵⁷

The houses were rectangular and had internal wooden partitions, resting on foundation timbers housed in slots. Most houses had rammed clay floors, but were sometimes made of hard silt. Roofs must have been double-pitched, and, except for during the latest phases, covered with thatch. Inside the houses were one or more hearths, mostly located in the center of the rooms and consisting of pits lined with insulating materials such as shards, pebbles, stones and a layer of clay and silt. During phases D, F and G, dwellings were built entirely of wood, probably with the *Blockbau* technique, although some walls of the phase F structures were made of wattle and daub. In phase C, the large postholes and large amount of fired daub with wattle impressions show that the load-bearing structures were made of by wooden poles supporting the roof and wattle and daub walls (*parietes craticii*).

3.1 Phase F

The investigation of phase F in areas Q–R–S 18–19 ended during the 2011 excavation campaign, when the perimeters, covering a total area of 450 m², of two houses were brought to light. House F I was an aristocratic residence, and although the other house contained a wealth of imported objects, it included a workshop for coral working, spinning and weaving and honey collection from the hives, as evidenced by the discovery of great amounts of bee bread and remains of honeycombs (F II).⁴⁰⁵⁸

Along the northeastern and southwestern sides, the complex of the two houses was delimited by channels, that sloped from northwest to southeast, and that ran into a channel bordering the southeastern side. Their function was to drain and discharge rainwater and sewage. The southeastern channel most likely ran into the pair of large channels of the main road that crossed the entire town, which was 15 m wide and oriented northwest-southeast. Houses F I and F II were separated by a channel 2.0 to 2.4 m wide, which also sloped northwest-southeast and ran into the southeastern channel (Fig. 78.3).

A passageway flanked the northwestern side of the two houses which has been only partially excavated. The passage along the southeastern side was smaller and overlooked the channel that flew toward the major road of the settlement. The two houses covered an area of 275 sq m, and considering also the channel that divided them, the extension of the housing complex reached 314 sq m.

House F I is made up of five rectangular rooms, arranged next to each other and with the major axis oriented northeast-southwest; each room was flanked along the two short sides by smaller rectangular rooms, which were service or storerooms. The entrance must have been on the northwestern side. All large rooms except one were equipped with a hearth, located in the center in two cases and against the wall in the other two which included the southeasternmost room most likely the kitchen. The whole house covered an area of 175 sq m.

The number, shape and size of the rooms differentiate house F II from F I, as does in part the building technique. House F II was made up of a large rectangular room located to the northwest, that covered an area of almost 50 m², and whose southwestern side yielded collapsed fired daub with many wattle impressions; a large room of 38 m², with a centrally placed hearth of 2.1 × 1.8 m (the largest in the entire phase F complex); and a smaller service room to the southeast. The whole house is 100 sq m in extent. The floors in the biggest room seem to have been used as work-surfaces, being very blackened in parts, burnt and reddened in others. The ditch that borders the northwestern short side of the house features a series of postholes along, arranged regularly, at intervals of 85 cm.



Fig. 78.3: Forcello. 1. Digitized plan of the phase F in areas Q-R-S 18–19

The connection between the two houses is still unclear as it is still unknown – although it seems likely – whether they formed a single functional unit, a real aristocratic *oikos*.

At Marzabotto, a center perfectly contemporary with Forcello, the houses had a front section of about 180 sq m, divided into various rooms of different sizes, and a broader rear section with a central cruciform courtyard, equipped with a well and flanking rooms. So far no comparison has been found for the model offered by the settlement at Forcello for the late sixth century, and therefore it constitutes both a valuable document for understanding Etruscan domestic architecture and an interesting case study.⁴⁰⁵⁹

The aristocratic character of the phase F houses is shown by their size and layout, as well as by the quality and quantity of materials recovered. In addition to large amounts of fine tableware (bowls, small plates, large and deep bowls, footed vases, *olpai*, jugs), kitchenware and storage vessels characterized by a coarse-grained *impasto* – globular and ovoid *ollae*, large cordoned vases, cordoned *dolii*, cooking pots with and without inner flange, lids, two stoves –, a large quantity of Greek pottery was recovered. In room 11

of house F I was a black-figured column *krater*, attributable to the Leagros Group, dated to the late sixth century. On its primary side it depicts the scene of Achilles ambushing Troilos and Polyxena, who runs away leaving her *hydria*, and on its secondary side Dionysos with a procession of satyrs and maenads.⁴⁰⁶⁰ There were also some type C *kylikes* belonging to the *Frühgruppe* after Bloesch, and three *lekythoi*, one referable to the Cock Group and one with opposite palmettes separated by a braid. Other type C *kylikes* were found in the house, particularly in room 3, while a black-figured *lekythos* of the Class of Athens 581/I, with two hoplites and two women wrapped in their mantles, comes from room 4, the kitchen. Also found in the house F I were seven Greek trade amphorae and one fractional amphora. Three Thasian amphorae, of the type Silenus Gate after Grandjean (1992), and one fractional amphora were found between rooms 8 and 11 and the service room 9, where there were also a Corinthian B amphora and an Ionian-Massaliote amphora. Another Thasian amphora was in room 3 and the fragments of a second Corinthian amphora were scattered on the floor between the service room 1 and 9.⁴⁰⁶¹ Among the highly valuable materials should be mentioned a silver fibula coated with gold leaf, of the type with the bow sloping towards the catch-plate, which was found in room 11,⁴⁰⁶² and a green jasper scarab of Greek-Cypriot manufacture from room 8.⁴⁰⁶³ The basal face bears an engraved depiction of the god Bes facing a lion. The scarab is perforated along its length by a hole through which a gold or silver thread must have passed forming a swivel setting, and must have hung around the neck. It was used as a seal to be impressed on wax or unbaked clay, as a sign of possession or a real signature. Traces of a prolonged use indicate that he had perhaps been handed down from father to son for a couple of generations.

In the kitchen (room 4) a stove, four querns and three grinders made of trachyte from the Euganean Hills, an iron knife, a mortar, a Paleovenetian small olla and the black-figured *lekythos* were found. In the adjacent service room, a lot of ring-shaped loom weights and several oval bodied storage jars mainly containing broad bean seeds (*Vicia faba minor*) were found.

The large rectangular room of house F II yielded a considerable amount of truncated pyramid shaped loom weights, hundreds of unworked coral branches, a tall pedestalled Paleovenetian bowl decorated with horizontal red-and black-painted bands separated by narrow cordons. From the room with the large fireplace in the center and the adjacent service area come another Thasian transport amphora of the type “Silenus Gate”, a black-figured eye-cup with a jumping leveret depicted on both sides, a Heron-Class *skyphos*, some black-glazed cups of the Bloesch C type, the fragments of a black-figured *lekythos* with the figure of a hoplite, an *amphoriskos* decorated in the Fikellura style, numerous small stemmed plates with a broad horizontal rim and an overpainted decoration on the interior, a Paleovenetian cup with an up-raised handle.

The bronze artifacts are often unrecognizable, having been melted in whole

or in part. A fragment of a twisted handle testifies to the presence of a *situla* or a cist in the kitchen of house F I. From room 1 of house F II comes the fragment of a votive bronze figurine, from the service room 6 of house F I a rectangular belt buckle. Fibulae were found in almost every rooms, including Certosa type fibulae, fibulae with the bow sloping towards the catch-plate, serpentine and leech fibulae. They all belong to the Este III middle – Golasecca II B chronological horizon.

Once the restoration and study of the large number of recovered artifacts is complete, it will be possible to better define the function of the rooms on the basis of the materials found *in situ*, in their original locations.

Thanks to the analysis of the retrieved animal remains, and of the seeds, fruits and charcoal, the study of the primary economy is under way, but preliminary results are already available. Ninety-nine percent of paleobotanical remains belong to cultivated species, including the already mentioned broad beans, and foxtail millet, millet, emmer, spelt, bread wheat, barley, oat, rye, lentils, peas, legumes and indeterminate cereals. The discovery of several cloves of garlic (*Allium sativum* L.) that have preserved by charring in fire is exceptional.⁴⁰⁶⁴ The discovery of an olive pit suggests that one or more Greek transport amphorae contained olives instead of wine. Among the faunal remains the pig predominates, but the bones of cattle, goat, sheep, fish vertebrae (especially pike) and bones of domesticated fowl, probably chicken, are also present.⁴⁰⁶⁵

Approximately half a century later than phase F, phase C is also characterized by levels of collapse caused by fire and sealed by layers of clay or debris. In 1983 and 1985 a house was excavated in area R 18, which was called the “house of loom weights”;⁴⁰⁶⁶ more recently, another dwelling has been unearthed in area R 19, and finally in September 2011 the excavation of another structure in area R 17 began. Here, a 80 sq m surface pertaining to a house destroyed by fire was exposed. After the removal of the remains of the collapsed wattle and daub walls, a gray-black carbonaceous layer emerged, resting directly on the dwelling’s living surface. Both the collapse and carbonaceous layers contained a lot of materials, in particular sherds, many of which pertain to Attic red-figured and black-glazed vessels. Of the over 1000 fragments of Attic pottery recovered so far, about 200 are from a red-figured column *krater*, which has been almost fully reassembled. The rim is flat, the concave-profiled hanging part of the rim is decorated with a stylized ivy pattern. On the neck there is an ornamental frieze of lotus buds linked by stem arcs on one side. Vertical bands decorated with highly stylized ivy patterns frame the two figured body panels. Side A depicts five figures, from left to right: a standing bearded man holding a stick, with a petasus turned back on his shoulders and a cloak that leaves his legs bare, another bearded man sitting on a rock, dressed in the same manner, raising his bent left leg with his hands, and wearing shoes marked with a network pattern; both look to the right and in front of them is a young man, turned to the left, who holds a stick and

seems to be talking to the two bearded men. Next is a young man facing right, with his bare shoulder and the right arm bent, having a conversation with a young man draped in a mantle and turned to the left. On side B is a scene of conversation among three young men. Based on a preliminary assessment, pending the cleaning and restoration, the krater, attributable to the Orchard painter, can be dated around 470–460.

Over 200 fragments, which have been partially joined, belong to a second column krater, larger than the other and attributable either to the Boreas painter (470–460) or the Florence painter (465–450), whom Beazley considered “brothers”. A red-figured cup has been partly reassembled by twenty fragments, it is a late work by Makron (480–470). Other sherds belong to black-glazed cups, including many bowls with thickened rims, rounded on top and projecting outwards, or to skyphoi. Among the skyphoi one is a so-called hybrid and according to comparison with some specimens from the Agorà dates to 480–450. Finally, there was an oinochoe in the form of a female head, which has been assigned to the later production of Group N after Beazley (around 470). The possibility of joining the fragments shows that, after the catastrophic event, all the materials were left *in situ* and sealed by earthen layers. In conclusion the Attic pottery has provided valuable data for the absolute dating of phase C (second quart of the fifth century), to which the burned structure belongs.

3.2 Commercial character of the settlement

The distinct commercial character of Forcello settlement is evidenced by its favorable geographical position at the confluence of two major traffic routes. The first of these was the land route that started from the inland Etruria cities, crossed the Apennines and passed through Marzabotto and Bologna. The other was the sea route that reached the Adriatic from the Aegean sea, took advantage of the ports of Adria and Spina and continued along the waterways to the heart of the Po Valley before heading towards the Alpine passes. The quantity of foreign goods emphasizes the importance of trade activities.

Clear evidence of such long-distance traffic is provided by the large amount of Attic pottery and Greek transport amphorae that have been found from every phase of the settlement. The transport amphorae come from different production centers: there are Thasian, Mendeian, Chian, Samian and Milesian amphorae, amphorae of the so-called Ionian-Massaliote type, Corinthian A, A 1 and B amphorae, “à la brosse” and Solokha I type amphorae (Fig. 78.4).⁴⁰⁶⁷

Corinthian type B amphorae, manufactured at Kerkyra or in Magna Graecia, are present from the earliest to the most recent phases, in the early fourth century. Corinthian A 1 and A amphorae appear from the second quarter of the fifth century. Amphorae “à la brosse” are only documented by a few specimens, some of which refer to phase E, whereas others come from

secondary contexts. Five Thasian storage jars of the “Silenus Gate” type, dating to the late sixth / early fifth century, come from the phase F dwellings. Mendeian amphorae are frequent at Forcello from the mid-fifth century to the early fourth century. Eastern Greek trade amphorae seem to be absent in the earliest phases. The “early bulgy” type Chian amphorae are documented by several specimens dating from the early to mid-fifth century. Samian and Milesian amphorae span from the beginning to the end of the fifth century / early fourth century. Solokha I type amphorae, now related to a southern Aegean center, are attested only in the final phases of the settlement’s life.

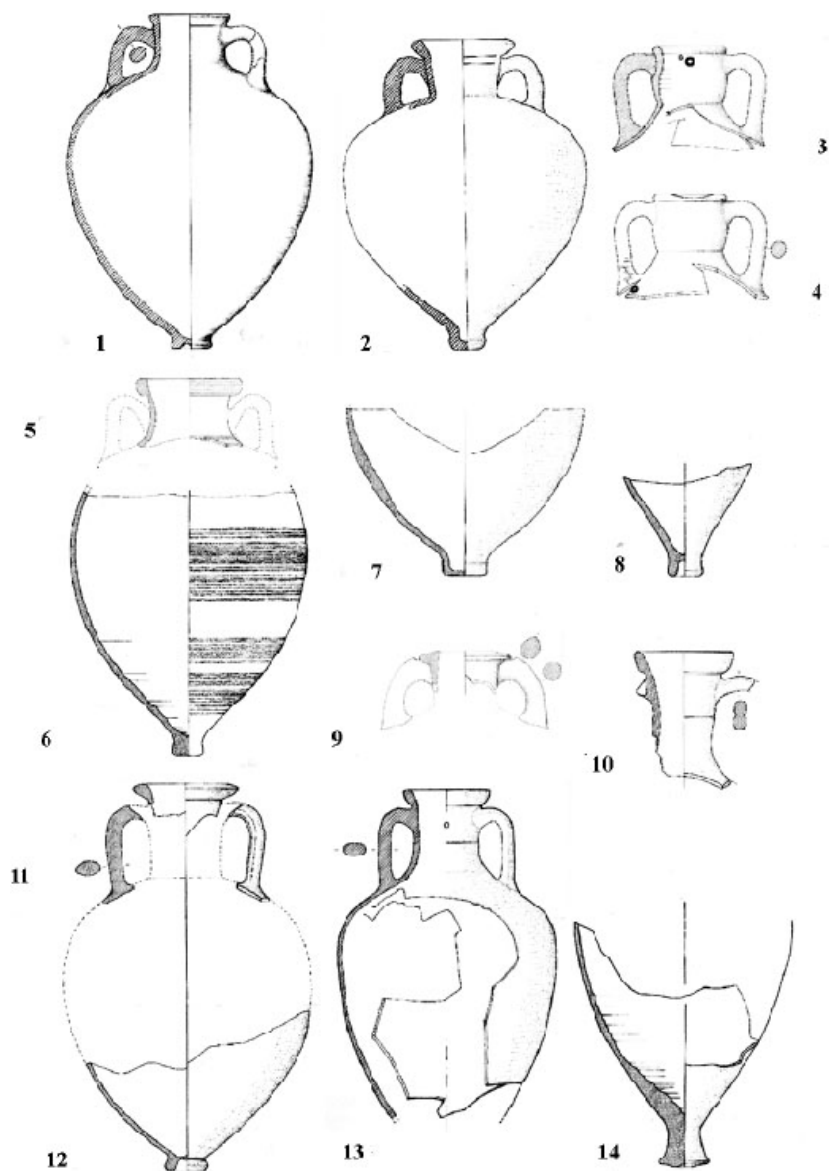


Fig. 78.4: Types of Greek trade amphoras from Forcello. 1. Thasian, type Porta del Sileno; 2. Corinthian B; 3–4, Chios, early bulgy type; 5–6, à la brosse; 7. Corinthian B; 8. Chios; 9. Corinthian A; 10. Milesian; 11–12 Solokha 1 type; 13. Samian; 14. Late Mendeian type. Scale: 1/10 nat. size (Drawings by R.C. de Marinis)

Many thousands of Attic pottery fragments were recovered at Forcello. The inventory is not yet complete, but it is nevertheless possible to make some rough estimates. In most cases sherds pertain to non-figured black pottery, mainly *kylikes* and *skyphoi*. The figured pottery represents at least one quarter of the total amount, even if we must consider that it is often not possible to determine whether a fragment came from a figured or a black-glazed vase. Regarding the shapes, *kylikes* are the most frequent, followed by *skyphoi* and kraters, *kantharoi*, *lekythoi*, bowls, small bowls, salt cellars, *lekanai* and *lekanai* lids. There are only a few specimens of *oinochoai* and *olpai*. One fish plate and one black-figured *epinetron* have been recorded so far. Closed forms, like amphorae, *hydriai*, *stamnoi* and *pelikai*, are not documented with certainty. The most common shapes are therefore those used for wine consumption, including cups, *skyphoi* and *kantharoi* for drinking and kraters for mixing wine with water.⁴⁰⁶⁸

The black-figured pottery spans the earlier phases of the settlement, from I to E. Phases H and I yielded fragments of Little Masters, Droop and Kassel cups. The column *krater* of the Leagros Group, the eye cup and the black-figured *lekythoi* of phase F have already been discussed. There are many Floral Band cups, both the oldest types, featuring palmettes with united petals separated by engravings and superposed violet paint (530–500), and the latest types, from phase E or from secondary contexts (500–475). From phase E also comes a fragment of a black-figured krater decorated with a chariot wheel design. A fragment of a band-cup with a satyr head dates to 540–530, a fragment of a Leafless Group cup (490), as well as few specimens of cup-*skyphoi* of the Haimon Group's late production (480–470), were found in secondary contexts.

The first red-figured pottery made its appearance at Forcello in Phase F (late sixth–beginning of fifth century). It consists of a few fragments of a tondo edged with a meander pattern, whose adoption occurred a few years before the end of the sixth century. Several specimens of Archaic red-figured cups that date to around 500 or to the early fifth century, come from phase E or from secondary contexts. Among them stands out for its relevance a cup with a kneeling Scythian archer who is trying an arrow, which can be attributed either to Epiktetos or to Proto-Panaitios (Fig. 78.5). A cup decorated by a courtship scene and attributed to the latest production of Makron (480–470) has already been discussed.

Many fragments of columns, volute and calyx kraters survive from the early Classical period. Among them are some joined sherds that come from a calyx krater with a scene of a duel in front of a fallen warrior, attributable to the group of the Niobid painter (470–460). Several *kylikes* have been found

that belong to the same period and have been attributed to Hermonax, the Telephus painter, the Tarquinia painter or the school of Makron. Unfortunately, these materials come from secondary contexts.

Many fragments of *kylikes* and *skyphoi* of the Classical and late Classical periods have been found among domestic debris or strata from the settlement's later phases. Owl-*skyphoi* and St. Valentin *kantharoi* are also frequent. The latest Attic vases date to the first quarter of the fourth century. Among them we find a *skyphos* of the Fat Boy group.

As for trade and the contacts the Etruscans of Forcello had, we cannot fail to mention the discovery of seventeen Late Hallstatt fibulae and four Early La Tène fibulae.⁴⁰⁶⁹ The Ha D 3 fibulae (*doppel Paukenfibeln*, *Fusszierfibeln* and *doppel Zierfibeln*) belong to phases E, D and C, whereas the La Tène fibulae belong to phases C and B. These fibulae show that Forcello was frequented by Celts coming mainly from Burgundy and southwestern Germany. Golasecca II B and III A pottery and bronze objects attest the relationships with the area of the Golasecca culture, in particular with Como;⁴⁰⁷⁰ some Rhaetian artifacts are also present.



Fig. 78.5: Forcello, phase E. Red-figured cup with figure of a Scythian archer, attributable to Epiktetos or to the proto-Panaitian group. 500–490 BC (Photo by R. C. de Marinis)

3.3 The necropolises

The data is still incomplete concerning funerary rites. In the nineteenth century burials were discovered in several gravel and sand pits in the municipality of Rivalta sul Mincio, including the pit near Corte Collefiorito.⁴⁰⁷¹ In 1877 a tomb was discovered that contained a pedestalled vessel, a bronze arm ring, a silver Certosa fibula, an elliptical belt plaque, as well as other objects that are no longer identifiable. The belt plaque has the same shape of the Este type specimens, but its decoration is completely different: a group of thirty-two compass-drawn concentric circles arranged in vertical rows, are framed by geometric patterns impressed with a punch. The tombs of Rivalta yielded Etruscan-Padan pottery, Certosa fibulae – all dating to the second half of the fifth or early fourth century –, a ring with small globules of the Golasecca III A type, an Attic owl-*skyphos*, a black-glazed *lekythos*, an Attic *oinochoe* in the form of a female head referable to Beazley's T group, a polychrome glass *alabastron*, and a bronze situla of the so-called Rhenish-Ticinese type.

A funerary provenance is to be assumed for the *Schnabelkannen* found at Corte Romane and in the Cavalletto canal, respectively to the southeast and to the southwest of Forcello.⁴⁰⁷² In 2003, three inhumation burials and four cremation tombs were discovered at Ca' Rossina di Bagnolo San Vito, to the south of Forcello. Among the grave goods were a black-figured *lekythos*, Etruscan-Padan pottery, silver serpentine and Certosa fibulae, amber and glass beads.⁴⁰⁷³ In the past, a cremation burial with dolio had been found at Righelli (Bagnolo San Vito). Inhumation burials have been recently discovered at Cerese (Arginotto area) and at San Giorgio Mantovano (Valdaro area).⁴⁰⁷⁴ Further west, at Corte Alta Cerese along the right bank of the river Oglio, an Etruscan inhumation necropolis, that had been largely destroyed by quarrying works, was partly excavated in 1990. Among the materials recovered was an Attic stemless cup with a finely engraved decoration with two rosettes inscribed into each other, dating to the mid-fifth century.⁴⁰⁷⁵ Overall, the funerary evidence indicates that, even if inhumation prevailed, the Etruscans who inhabited the territories to the north of the Po River practiced biritualism, just as in Bologna.

The creation of an important bridgehead to the north of the Po along the course of the Mincio and the foundation of the Genoa's emporium intensified Etruscan trade with the Golasecca culture and north of the Alps with the Celts, through the Alpine passes. In the tombs of Golasecca III A at the Ca' Morta and in other cemeteries around Como we find bronze vessels of Etruscan manufacture (*Schnabelkannen*, stamnos-situlae, basins, *kyathoi*, ribbed cylindrical buckets with fixed handles of Felsinean type) and, in some cases, Attic and Etruscan-Padan pottery.⁴⁰⁷⁶ The stamnos-situlae were used as funerary urns, whereas the *Schnabelkannen* as grave offerings.⁴⁰⁷⁷ In the cemeteries around Bellinzona many *Schnabelkannen* have been found, but

stamnos-situlae are lacking.⁴⁰⁷⁸ In the large proto-historic settlement in the surroundings of Como Attic pottery is relatively frequent, unlike in the graves. At Prestino-via Isonzo (Como) a drachma from Populonia was also found, that belong to the earliest series with the Gorgoneion figure. It probably arrived via the Genoa-Milan-Como route.⁴⁰⁷⁹ The most ancient archaeological stratification in Milan date back to the Golasecca III A and yielded fragments of Attic pottery. The picture of Etruscan imports in the Golasecca culture is completed by a bronze cast socket fitting of a *diphros* from the G. III A cemetery at Cuggiono, a type studied by Alessandro Naso, who suggests that the folding seat in Etruria was a symbol of authority.⁴⁰⁸⁰

4The end of Forcello and the foundation of Mantua

According to the dates of the latest Attic pottery found there, the abandonment of the town of Forcello, whose ancient name is unknown, must have occurred, as for many other centers of the Padan Etruria, in the early decades of the fourth century. The coincidence with the Gaulish invasion of 388 BCE might not be an haphazard circumstance. Unfortunately the upper part of the archaeological deposit has been destroyed by agricultural work and destruction by violence cannot be ascertained. Pliny the Elder comes immediately to mind (Plin. *HN* 3, 125), who relates the dramatic events following the Gaulish invasion. The Etruscan town identified through the archaeological investigations at Forcello might be recognised in the *Melpum opulentia praecipuum* “destroyed by Insubres, Boi and Senones in the same day when Camillus captured Veii”.

The Gaulish invasion led to the collapse of the Padan Etruria, but the lower course of the Mincio remained in the control of the Etruscans, who founded Mantua, *trans Padum Tuscorum sola reliqua* (Plin. *HN* 3, 130), and further south the Castellazzo della Garolda, active throughout the fourth and the first half of the third century. Another contemporary smaller Etruscan center was located on the right bank of the Mincio at Bagnolo San Vito, where the parish church is now located.

The Etruscan city of Mantua covered approximately the same area as the subsequent Roman city, the *parva Mantua* mentioned in the ancient sources. In fact, its size, estimated at approximately 5–6 ha, was smaller than that of Forcello. In all the excavations carried out inside the ancient city (piazza Sordello, piazza Paradiso, Casa del Rigoletto, Vicolo Pace, Palazzo Ducale-Cortile degli Orsi), the virgin soil has always been encountered below the fourth century levels.⁴⁰⁸¹ The only exception is the recent excavation in Santa Barbara square, where older levels were detected.⁴⁰⁸² Materials dating to the fifth century were also recovered in the area known as “gli Angeli”, on the western outskirts of Mantua. Along the entire course of the Mincio towards

the north, there must have been several small centers which marked the stages of the river route.

The excavations carried out in the historic center of Mantua in the last 30 years— unfortunately almost entirely unpublished – have revolutionized our knowledge about the city's origins and have provided valuable information about northern Italian trade during the fourth and third centuries.⁴⁰⁸³

The picture is very different from that of the previous period. Trade with Greece had not been interrupted, but no longer offered the variety and volume known at Forcello. Attic figured pottery was still present, but during the fourth century it was gradually replaced by black-glazed pottery, perhaps imported from Magna Graecia, and still later black-glazed pottery from Volterra became prevalent. Greek transport amphorae were also present, especially the Corinthian A type oil amphorae and the B type wine amphorae. By the early third century the Greek-Italic amphorae of Siceliot or South Italian manufacture appeared, and their massive importation continued throughout the century.⁴⁰⁸⁴

If trade did not lose vitality, its range had certainly shrunk. Upper-Adriatic pottery, produced at Adria or some other center of the Delta, has been found in Mantua. The Po route continued to be used, but sea and river trade declined in favor of land trade, as shown by the massive importation of Volterranean black-glazed pottery, which spread from Mantua to the territories of Cenomani and other Gaulish populations.

The picture offered by Castellazzo della Garolda, along the left bank of the Mincio, is perfectly comparable to that of Mantua.⁴⁰⁸⁵

Old and new finds give us some indication about the necropolis of Etruscan Mantua. A funerary provenance seems certain for the intact Kerch-style bell krater which dates to around 350, and was found in Corridoni street in 1911, 400 meters to the south of the ancient town.⁴⁰⁸⁶ A large burial ground must have been located between the railway station and Mondadori square, about one kilometer east/southeast of the ancient town. A recent discovery of inhumation burials has been reported from Corso Vittorio Emanuele and Mondadori square,⁴⁰⁸⁷ while a red-figured aryballic *lekythos* that dates to the fourth century was retrieved from destroyed graves in the area in front of the railway station. Cremation tombs pertaining to the settlement of Castellazzo della Garolda were discovered in the winter of 1845–6 at Corte Cavriani, 600 meters east of the settlement. Grave goods included pottery and bronze vessels, but only two Attic red-figured bell kraters are currently identifiable. One features a banquet scene, while another is attributable to the late production of the Filottrano painter, with the figures of Perseus holding the Gorgon's head in his right hand and Andromeda seated and crowned by Eros. A second necropolis was located to the west of Castellazzo, at Corte Vivaio. Here, in 1974 numerous inhumation burials were destroyed during the planting of a poplar grove. Among the recovered materials are a bronze *oinochoe* with a carinated body of Etruscan manufacture, a bronze *kyathos*,

fragments of a situla and of a ribbed cylindrical bucket, the foot and the base of an Attic bell krater, and a black-glazed *askos*.⁴⁰⁸⁸

Ceramics bearing inscriptions in the Etruscan alphabet and language come both from Mantua and Castellazzo della Garolda (Fig. 78.6). Castellazzo yielded a full alphabetic sequence incised with firm strokes and a perfect circular *ductus* on the bottom of a bowl that dates to the fourth century.⁴⁰⁸⁹ A Volterranean black-glazed cup found during the excavations carried out in Mantua-piazza Sordello, features an inscription scratched on the inside, *herini*, a family name widely attested at Chiusi and Perugia.⁴⁰⁹⁰ During the excavation of Mantua – Vicolo Pace a gray ware bowl was found that dates to the third century and bears the inscription *eluveitie* incised on its interior. The root “*elu-*” or “*elvo-*” assures us that this is a Celtic name (see the name *Elvorix*).⁴⁰⁹¹ According to Daniele Vitali and Gilbert Kaenel, the possessive case of the name would be formed starting from the ethnonym **Elvet-*, i.e. the name of the Helvetii, the well-known Gaulish tribe.⁴⁰⁹² The excavation of Vicolo Pace yielded also black-glazed cups with the inscription *fukis*, a name whose root corresponds with the Venetic language (*Fugia* and *Fugio-*).⁴⁰⁹³ The inscriptions of Mantua and the territory of the lower course of the Mincio document the persistence of the Etruscans in the area well into the fourth and third centuries, but at the same time reveal the Mantua’s multi-ethnic character, with the presence of people of Celtic and Paleo-venetian origin, accounting for the celebrated verses of Virgil: *Mantua dives avis, sed non genus omnibus unum* (Verg. *Aen.* 10, 201–203).

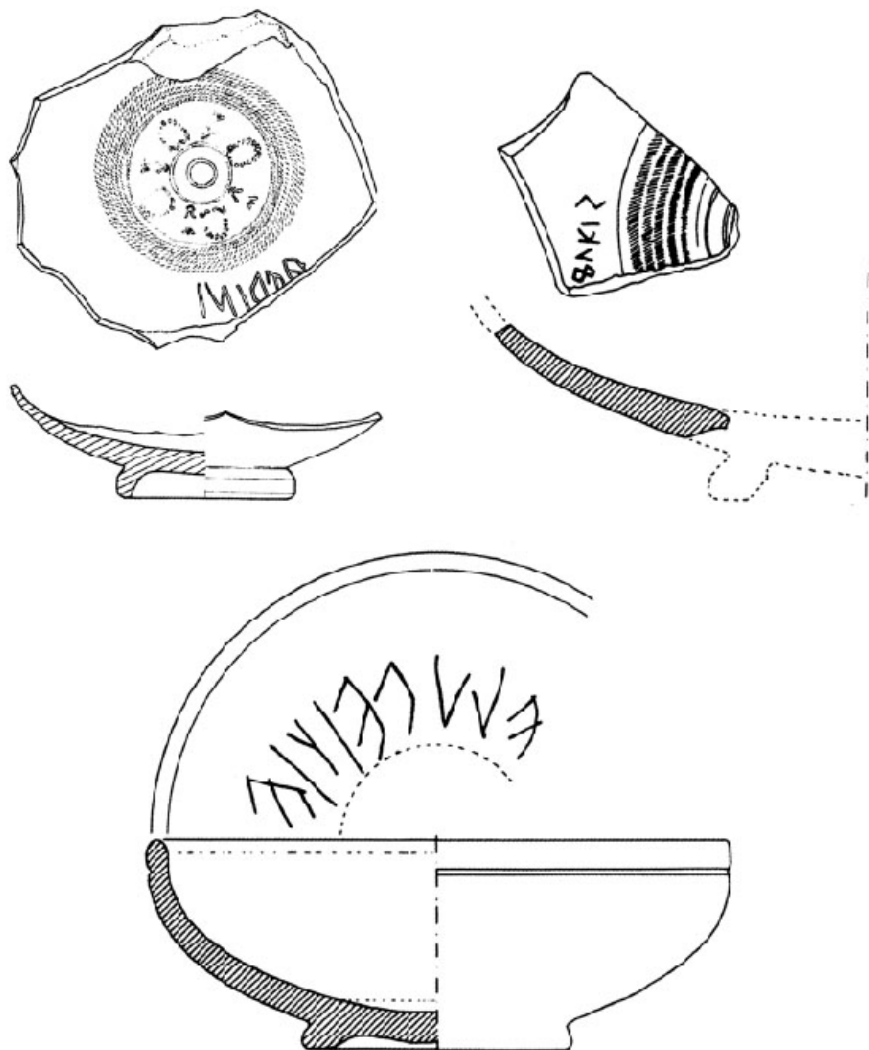


Fig. 78.6: Black-glazed cup of Volterranean manufacture with the inscription *Herini*, from Mantua, piazza Sordello; 2. black-glazed cup with the inscription *fukis*, from Mantova; 3. grey ware bowl with the inscription *eluveitie*, from Mantua. Scale: 1, 4:5; 2–3, 2:5 (Drawings by R.C. de Marinis)

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VI. Etruscans outside Etruria

Etruscan Finds in Italy

Alessandro Naso

79Central Italy and Rome

Abstract: During the first millennium BCE, Central Italy was a mosaic of different peoples, each with its own culture and language. Modern-day Latium was settled by Latins and other minor peoples such as Sabines, Faliscans, Hernici, and Volsci. There were other populations in the adjacent regions, too—Umbrians in Umbria, several tribes in Abruzzo, and Picenes in the Marches. Handicrafts suggest that Etruscans were in touch with their neighbors mostly as traders, although geographic mobility is documented by inscriptions. In the case of inscriptions, individuals of high social rank were granted foreign citizenships at the same social level they had at home. The cultural contacts between Etruscans and their neighbors changed through the ages and were not only one way.

Keywords: Rome, Latium, Faliscan, Umbria, Abruzzo

Introduction

During the first millennium BCE, Central Italy became a mosaic of several peoples with different cultures and languages. In the second half of the millennium, in modern-day Latium, near the Latins who were settled around Rome and on the Alban Hills can be identified other peoples, such as Faliscans in the *ager Faliscus* on the left bank of the Tiber. Sabines were in the mountainous hinterland northeast of Rome around modern-day Rieti, Hernici were between the Lago del Fucino and the Sacco River around modern-day Anagni, and Volsci were in the southeast. There were further populations in the adjacent regions, such as Umbrians in modern-day Umbria and Emilia-Romagna, several tribes in Abruzzo, and Picenes in the Marches (Fig. 79.1).⁴⁰⁹⁴ Handicraft items suggest that Etruscans were in touch with their neighbors mostly as traders, even though geographic mobility can be assumed earlier for particular finds, and is documented later by inscriptions; in the case of inscriptions, we can see that individuals of high social rank were granted foreign citizenship at the same social level. Cultural contact between Etruscans and their neighbors changed through the ages and were initiated on both sides.⁴⁰⁹⁵

1Latium and Rome

Latium is a flat and fertile region, which to the south blends naturally into

Campania. Not by chance did ancient people derive the name *Latium* from the Latin adjective *latus*, meaning “broad, wide.” Eastern mountains border vast plains, which are watered by several rivers, the largest of which generally flow north–south and the lesser of which flow east–west. Both were used in antiquity as natural roads. The most significant river is the Tiber, the river of Rome, which was the northern border of Latium, dividing it from Etruria. The southern boundary is not so clear. In the first century CE, Pliny the Elder called the territory between the Tiber and the Mount Circeo promontory *Latium vetus*, and the region of the Garigliano, Liri, and Sacco Rivers *Latium adiectum*. The river corridor of the Sacco and Liri-Garigliano Valleys was an important natural road to Campania and southern Italy. At its northern access lay the Latin Praeneste, whose flourishing phases benefited from its location.



Fig. 79.1: Ancient Latium and adjacent areas

The role played by the Etruscans (Lat. *Tusci*) in Latium is stressed by literary sources, archaeological finds, and inscriptions. Ancient toponyms—many of which remain in use, such as the city name Tusculum on the Alban Hills—demonstrate the close nature of the relationships with the Latins. Due to the close connections, in Etruscan inscriptions personal names derived from the stem Latine are documented from Veii and Caere, showing geographic mobility from Latium to Etruria.⁴⁰⁹⁶

2The Early Iron Age in Latium (1000–730)

In the Italian Iron Age, the finds from Latium represent a well-defined group, called the Latial culture, which has been periodized into four main phases whose traditional chronology has recently been discussed within the intense debate about the absolute chronology of the Italian Iron Age (see [chapter 33](#) Pacciarelli). The new chronological proposals are earlier than the traditional ones for the Latial culture, too, as shown by direct comparison between the traditional dates and the system suggested by M.Pacciarelli ([Table 1](#)).⁴⁰⁹⁷

Table 1: Dating schemes for Latial culture

	Traditional	Pacciarelli
I	11 th century – 900	12 th century – 950/925
II	900–770	950/925–850/825
III	770–730/725	850/825–730/725
IVA	730/725–640	730/725–640
IVB	640–580	640–580

The four main phases are subdivided into sub-phases, whose chronologies depend largely on the sequences of single sites. Phase II is actually better known than phase III. It probably depends on the state of publication of the respective finds. The cemetery of Osteria dell’Osa, near Gabii (east of Rome, along the Via Prenestina), belonging mostly to phase II, has been published, while the cemetery of Castel di Decima near Decima (south of Rome, along the Via Pontina) has not, for the most part.⁴⁰⁹⁸ What is clear in the sequence is the end date. After 580, archaeological evidence from cemeteries is lacking, because in Rome and Latium people were buried without grave goods, probably because of funerary laws. Therefore one has to work with other archaeological sources, such as architectural terra-cotta decoration of buildings.

In the early Iron Age, some cultural elements, such as proto-urban settlement patterns⁴⁰⁹⁹ and relationships with foreign peoples such as Phoenician and Greeks, are known in central Italy—mostly in Etruria and Latium—and are typical traits of the Etruscan and Latin cultures. In the tenth and ninth centuries, certain elements such as the miniaturization of funerary objects, the ancestor cult, and votive offerings to divinities are actually better

documented in Latium than in Etruria. The idea of miniaturizing weapons is an exclusive characteristic of Latium; bronze statuettes and votive deposits occur in Latium earlier than in Etruria. This tendency is supported by some recent finds that have expanded previous knowledge: miniature bronze items, including chariots and weapons, and bronze statuettes have been found extensively in graves dating to phases I and II of the Latial culture at Santa Palomba (a site near Rome), the Alban Hills, and the Tyrrhenian coast.⁴¹⁰⁰ Even if these elements reveal the early tendency of the region's inhabitants to embrace identity, are they enough to conclude that the Latins defined themselves as "Latin" before the Etruscans defined themselves as "Etruscan"? The question remains open, but these cultural elements are important for us to stress the relevance of the inhabitants of Latium already in the early Iron Age.

There is earlier evidence of writing in Latium than in Etruria, too. In the eighth century, only a few inscriptions are attested in the Italian peninsula, and they all belong to the second half of the century. An interesting graffito was recently discovered on an uniquely shaped olla in the female Grave 482 in the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery, datable to the first quarter of the eighth century at the latest, if the provenance from that tomb is definitive. This new text is generally read as Greek *eulin* (in this sense it could refer to skill in weaving, according to David Ridgway), but there are other readings, too. Giovanni Colonna suggested a retrograde Latin reading *ni lue*.⁴¹⁰¹ If Greek, it would be the oldest evidence for this language in Italy, and would suggest that written Greek was present in the Latin area independent of Etruscan influence. If Latin, it would constitute the oldest evidence of this language and would show how old the Latin language was formed and used.

Another tomb group at the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery indicates the probable presence of Etruscan people in this Latin community. Grave 600, which unfortunately was explored only after its destruction by a plow, was isolated, as was customary for eminent burials, according to evidence in several cemeteries. It contained bronze objects belonging to a high-ranking warrior—not only defensive equipment (a crested helmet, two round shields, and a breastplate) and offensive weapons (a sword with its scabbard, a spearhead, and a javelin), but also vases (an amphora, four ribbed bowls, and a basin) and the remains of a cult wagon. Three further similar wagons are known, all found in Veian tomb groups, dating to the second half of the eighth century.⁴¹⁰² In central Italy in the eighth and seventh centuries, cult wagons were reserved for individuals of high social rank, mostly warriors playing a role in ceremonies. According to the finds, and especially the wagon, tomb group 600 may belong to a warrior of Etruscan origins, probably from Veii, who was buried in the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa, because very probably he was in the Latin community of Gabii that used that cemetery. If this is true, geographic mobility between Etruria and Latium can be assumed in the second half of the eighth century.⁴¹⁰³

3The Orientalizing period in Latium (730–580)

If complex tomb groups allow us to assume episodes of geographic mobility, isolated Etruscan finds in Latial contexts raise other possibilities, such as trade relationships or gift exchanges between members of the elite. A possible gift is the Etruscan bronze horse tripod with rider, which belongs to a group produced at Vetulonia, found in Grave XLIII in the cemetery of La Rustica, east of Rome, and dating to the first half of the seventh century.⁴¹⁰⁴ Luxury goods of this period are concentrated in tomb groups in the Latin center of Praeneste, whose geographic location allowed it to control not only the natural route between Latium and Campania, but also the road to the Apennine passes in the direction of the Adriatic region. Thanks to its location, Praeneste's elite was presumably able to charge a toll on people passing on the routes and through the territory under their control.

The set of jewelry from the Galeassi tomb—consisting of gold bracelets, silver pendants, silver fibulae, an amber necklace, a silver-plated bronze pectoral, and additional unidentifiable objects—has been assigned to a workshop in Caere, where similar items have been found.⁴¹⁰⁵ More impressive are the sumptuary goods from other tomb groups in Praeneste, such as the Barberini and Bernardini tombs, which date to the second quarter of the seventh century. The Bernardini tomb contained a very large number of luxury items, which have few comparisons anywhere in the Italian peninsula, and cannot be listed in their entirety. The highlights among the precious metal vases are a gold *skyphos* mounted with tiny sphinxes decorated with granulation, three Phoenician silver bowls with friezes, a North Syrian bronze cauldron on its stand, and a silver wine set. A small Phoenician gold-plated silver cauldron was “etruscanized” by applying to it six gilded silver serpents, which partly cover the original decoration. A set of gold jewelry, including a breastplate, is Etruscan, but a glass bowl and ivory carved plaques have North Syrian and Phoenician origins. The Etruscan connections of the high-ranking individuals or kings of Praeneste are declared by the Etruscan inscription on the Phoenician silver bowl belonging to the wine set from the Bernardini Tomb. One can read *vetusia*, meaning “(I am property) of Vetus,” the personal name of the owner, who is probably the deceased buried in the tomb.

If the inscription is Etruscan, we must recognize the presence of a high-ranking individual, probably of Etruscan origin, in the Latin city of Praeneste.⁴¹⁰⁶ The Barberini Tomb contained a small number of similar precious items, but included a sheet bronze throne and a silver pin with gold head, 34.5 cm long, which was probably used as scepter, clarifying the royal status of the deceased. The best comparisons for both Praeneste tomb groups are in southern Etruria, namely in the Regolini Galassi Tomb at Caere, so that the Near Eastern and Etruscan luxuries likely reached Praeneste through Etruria, probably through Caere.

If the case of Praeneste shows a dependence on the Etruscans, due to the

strategic location of the city, in other areas the autonomous initiative of the Latin centers to establish relationships must be emphasized. This is the case of Phoenician transport amphorae, used only for wine, which between 725 and 650 are documented only in Latium vetus and not in Etruria.⁴¹⁰⁷ We can expect further finds to be made in Etruria, because it is widely accepted that the form of Etruscan transport amphorae was inspired by Phoenician forms.

A possible role for the Etruscans in Latium in the first half of the seventh century is revealed in the geographic distribution of painted pottery from Corinth. These vases have been found in coastal localities such as Lavinium and Satricum, together with Etruscan pottery such as *bucchero sottile* and subgeometric vases, at the earliest from the second quarter of the seventh century.⁴¹⁰⁸ Because the Etruscan vases are characteristic of Caere workshops, one can imagine this city's role in developing a wave of trade from southern Etruria to Latium. The coastal locations show that the trade was carried out by sea, with the mouths of rivers (at Lavinium, Ardea, and Satricum) and natural creeks (at Antium) serving as adequate harbors. These centers were connected by land as well.

A central place in Latin cities was Satricum, near modern Borgo Le Ferriere, where a cemetery, a votive deposit, and several huts have been explored, dating from the eighth century onward. The huts have an oval, rounded, or rectangular plan: the first two plans are the earliest. The sets of painted pottery found in many huts, such as VI and XIII, include both imported Proto-Corinthian and locally made vases. The votive deposit is the richest known in all of central Italy (Fig. 79.2). From around 730 to 540, votive offerings were mostly clay vases, but silver jewelry was also given to the god. Like the huts, the votive deposit yielded both imported and locally made vases, including Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery. *Bucchero* pottery follows the patterns of Caere's workshops, confirming Satricum's close relationship with Caere. This is stated by the only inscription found in the votive deposit, scratched in Etruscan on some *bucchero* sherds of a cup dating to the last quarter of the seventh century mentioning "*mi mu[---]e velchainasi*." The text is to be restored using the identical but complete inscription on a *bucchero* cup in private ownership, "*mi mulu larisale velchainasi*," meaning "I (have been) given by Laris Velchaina." The complete inscription has neither context nor provenance, but it can be assigned to Caere, where the family name Velchaina is documented.⁴¹⁰⁹ So, these inscriptions further confirm the close relationship between Caere and Satricum, which persuaded Laris Velchaina—probably a native of Caere who was buried there in a chamber tomb that yielded the intact cup—to give a votive offering in the sanctuary at Satricum in the last quarter of the seventh century.⁴¹¹⁰ A similar but somewhat later case is made by two *bucchero* vases, in the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii and in a chamber tomb in the necropolis of Lavinium. On a jug from Veii and an amphora from Lavinium, both dating to about 570, are scratched two similar inscriptions "*mini*

m[ulu]vanice mamar:ce a.punīe,” meaning “me gave Mamarcē Apunīe.” The syllabic punctuation shows that Mamarcē Apunīe was probably a native of Veii and bought the two vases there, offering the first in the home sanctuary and the second to the men buried in the tomb at Lavinium.⁴¹¹¹

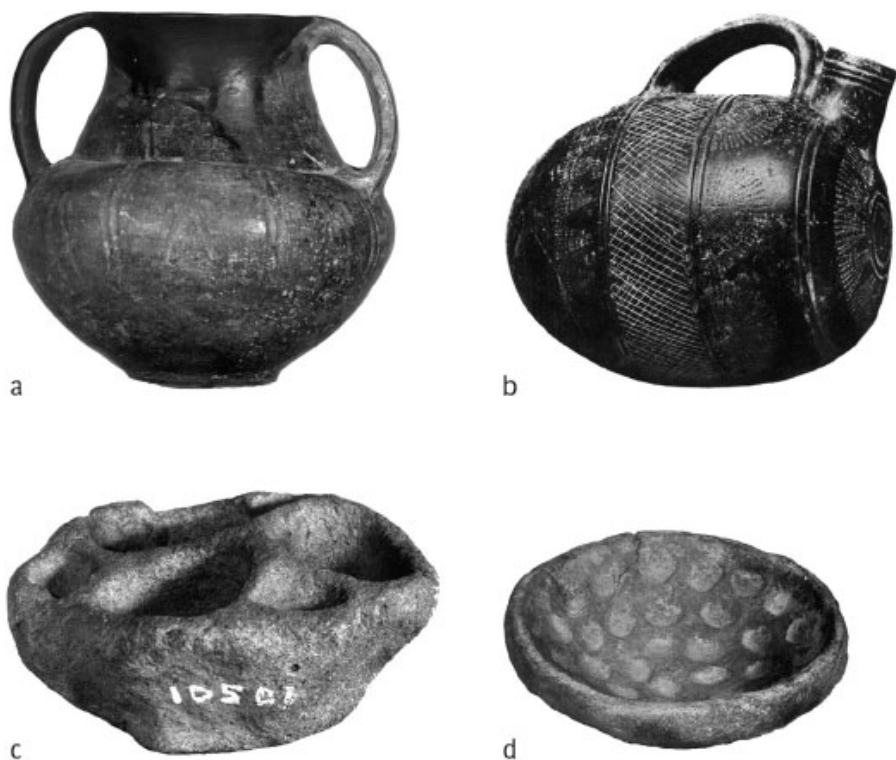


Fig. 79.2: Votive offerings from Satricum: a. Impasto amphora inv. no. 10294. b. Bucchero askos, inv. no. 10355. c.–d. Impasto dishes, inv. nos. 10501, 10500. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum. (Photo SAR-Laz)

4The Archaic and Late Archaic period in Rome (580–450):*La grande Roma dei Tarquinii*

Rome, the most important city in Latium, had a continual relationship with the Etruscans and was under Etruscan hegemony at least from the end of the seventh to the sixth century during the reigns assigned by the historical sources to three kings of Etruscan origin: L. Tarquinius Priscus (616–578), Servius Tullius (578–536), and L. Tarquinius Superbus (535–509). Following an influential article by Giorgio Pasquali on the subject, this flourishing period has been called *La grande Roma dei Tarquinii*.⁴¹¹² Scholars have discussed the real character of the Etruscan period in Rome, and a range of

possibilities, from simple presence to domination, has been explored.⁴¹¹³ Rome has not yielded purely Etruscan contexts, with a very few exceptions. Among them is the disturbed collection of pottery, found on the Caelian Hill under the Palazzo Apostolico Lateranense (modern-day Piazza San Giovanni in La-terano), which originally belonged to the fine tomb groups of the late seventh–early sixth centuries, and were later removed from their original location.⁴¹¹⁴ The presence in Rome of natives of Etruria is attested by the literary sources, which mention the *vicus Tuscus*, the Etruscan quarter, dating to the period of the monarchy, located near the Forum between the Palatine and the Tiber.⁴¹¹⁵ According to the literary tradition, in the period of the Etruscan kings, impressive changes were carried out, such as the draining of the site and the paving of the Forum by Tarquinius Priscus. That same king built the Circus Maximus between the Palatine and Aventine Hills and planned the huge temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, which became the sacred citadel reserved for cult buildings. The plan of the temple of Jupiter, the largest in the city, was based on the three-room model characteristic of Etruscan tomb, house, and religious architecture. The dimensions, on the other hand, measured during recent excavations as 50 m wide by 68 m long, are unique and are hard to interpret for several technical reasons, as, for one thing, its roof would have been nearly 3,500 m². According to some literary sources, Tarquinius Superbus, who finished the building, charged Etruscan craftsmen with making the terra-cotta acroterial statue (statue atop the pediment), reproducing a quadriga.⁴¹¹⁶

The Regia in the Forum and the temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium show that the plan adopted in the temple of Jupiter was not unique, but buildings on the three-room model belong to archaic house and religious architecture in Rome. Thanks to its location in the trade area of the Forum Boarium, the temple, built around 580–570 and restored around 540–530, had the character of an *emporium*.⁴¹¹⁷ It is the oldest known temple built according to the three-room plan, in either Etruria or Latium. Some chamber tombs in Caere that date to the end of the seventh century show that the plan is an original Etruscan development.⁴¹¹⁸ The votive offerings include bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian ware, both imported from Etruria and locally made. It is not easy to determine the origins of the vases. Among the votive offerings, very important is an ivory tablet in the form of a lion, on whose reverse is inscribed *araz silqetenas spurianas*, meaning “(I belong to) *Araz Silqetenas* (of) *Spurianas*.” This little tablet, dated to the second quarter of the sixth century, has been identified as a *tessera hospitalis* belonging to Araz Silqetenas and was intended to match a similar piece belonging to Spurianas. As with a similar find from Carthage, the purpose of the *tessera hospitalis* was to state the (trade) relationship between the two persons (see chapters 10 D’Ercole and 88 Naso). Because the family name Silqetenas is quite similar to the name of the Punic city of Sulcis in Sardinia, it has been argued that Araz Silqetenas was a guest from Punic Sardinia, while Spurianas

could be the Etruscan from Rome. According to many scholars, the Etruscan Araz in Rome instead of Arath in Etruria is characteristic of Rome, and the form might indicate that the inscription was incised by an Etruscan from Rome.⁴¹¹⁹ This is confirmed by the bucchero bowl with the Etruscan inscription *ni Araziia Laraniia* “I (belong to) Araziia Laranai,” which was found under the Capitoline Hill in a well near the temple of Saturn.⁴¹²⁰ It testifies to the presence of Etruscans in Rome in the second half of the sixth century who spoke a particular dialect, and together with the above-mentioned *tessera hospitalis*, shows how old the settlement of Etruscans in Rome was, which the literary tradition knew under the name of the *vicus Tuscus*. According to the literary tradition, at the end of the sixth century, the Etruscan Porsenna, king of Clusium and Volsinii, attempted to control Rome and Latium, but his effort was stymied by a Roman and Latin army in a battle near Aricia around 504.⁴¹²¹

5The Archaic and Late Archaic periods in Latium (580–450)

Etruscan finds from Latium show that the close relationships between the communities of the two regions continued in the second half of the sixth century. The development of a common style, including the same decorations and motifs, is clear in the terra-cotta plaques with figured friezes used to ornament the roofs of buildings that have been found in several findspots in Rome and Latium. Although this decorative system had probably come from Veii to Rome and Latium already by the end of the seventh century, as the most recent finds in the Piazza d’Armi show,⁴¹²² around 530 it developed further with the creation of the decorative system known from such main findspots as Veii-Rome-Velletri. Revetment plaques with figured friezes in relief and antefixes made from the same molds characterize these roofs, which are closely related to roofs belonging to the Caere system, because they probably had common Ionian origins.⁴¹²³ The friezes, meant to decorate the lower parts of the roofs, offer scenes of chariot races, chariot processions, a seated assembly, and a banquet, and were formidable devices for expressing the ideological values of the powerful inhabitants of the buildings concerned, as they often repeat the same scenes dozens of times. Here we may mention the roofs from Velletri and from Caprifico near Cisterna di Latina, which both belong to temples (Fig. 79.3).⁴¹²⁴ In the fifth century, the tradition of the three-room-plan temple continued, as shown by the dedication of the temple of Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, in the Roman Forum in 484.⁴¹²⁵

6Other peoples in modern Latium and central Italy

A complete overview of the relationships between Etruscans and the peoples settled in Latium other than Latins is still to be written; at the moment only some individual cases can be mentioned.

Sabines were traditionally one of the more ancient populations of central Italy, if not the oldest of all. They were settled in the mountains of modern-day Abruzzo and Lazio, around L'Aquila and Rieti as far west as the Tiber, which was the geographical and spiritual heart of ancient Italy.⁴¹²⁶ According to ancient sources, a series of migrations from Sabine territory gave rise to Picenes and Samnites, from which Lucanians and Brettians successively emerged. The Sabine settlement pattern was a dispersed one, with its major centers along the left bank of the Tiber, such as Eretum, Magliano Sabina, Poggio Sommavilla, and Cures Sabini.⁴¹²⁷ Relationships with Etruscans are clear not only through specific finds of luxury objects, such as the remains of a bronze wagon from Grave XI of the Colle del Forno cemetery, but also through inscriptions. A little clay flask from Poggio Sommavilla with a Sabine inscription, dating to the end of the seventh century, was probably inspired by Near Eastern prototypes known in Italy by way of Etruria (Fig. 79.4). Its counterpart is a larger flask from Chiusi, dated to the same period, also with a Sabine inscription.⁴¹²⁸ The second of these, probably a gift, shows the existence of deep connections between the Etruscan elite of Chiusi and the Sabine Tiber Valley at the end of the seventh century, the age of Tarquinius Priscus. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.58–59), the Roman king once defeated an army assembled by several central Italic communities, including both Sabines and Etruscans from Chiusi. Because the Etruscan army arrived in Latium through Sabine land, following the suggestion of some Sabines, the episode may prove the existence of good relations between Sabines and the inhabitants of Chiusi. Later finds show the distribution of luxury Etruscan objects in northeastern Latium, such as bronze mirrors from southern Etruria, which date to the third century.⁴¹²⁹

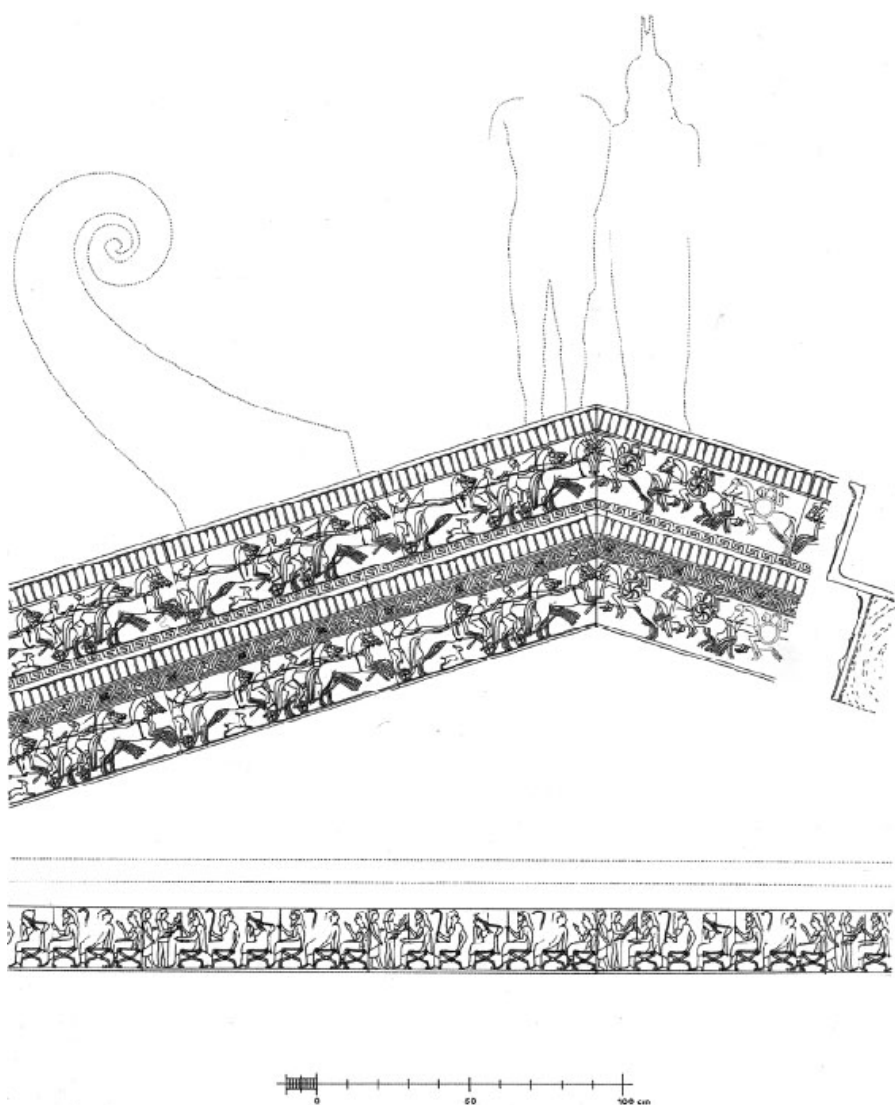


Fig. 79.3: Velletri pediment reconstruction drawing (after Palombi 2010, p. 114, fig. 1a)

The land located on the right bank of the Tiber between the Cimini Hills, Mount Soratte, the Tiber, and the Via Cassia was called *Ager faliscus*, after the name of its inhabitants, the Faliscans.⁴¹³⁰ They had close relations with the Etruscans, as shown by about twenty Etruscan inscriptions concentrated in cemeteries of Narce, near modern-day Calcata, which date to the seventh and sixth centuries. Some are incised on votive offerings in sanctuaries of the fourth and third centuries. Several older texts follow the writing norms used in the inscriptions from the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii and probably refer to Etruscans from this city; they allow us to assume the existence of an Etruscan community living in the Faliscan Narce.⁴¹³¹

Etruscans are also documented in southeastern Latium in the land settled by the Hernici, around modern-day Anagni and along the natural course of the Sacco River Valley. A bucchero jug from Grave 22 from the Ominimorti cemetery near the modern-day village of San Biagio Saracinisco has a shape characteristic of bucchero jugs from a Caere workshop dating to the second quarter of the sixth century, which were exported to southern Etruria and Pontecagnano, and outside Italy as far as Marseille.⁴¹³² To the second half of the sixth century belong a few inscriptions found in the sanctuary explored at Santa Cecilia; there are a few Etruscan terra-cotta-decorated temples in other localities in the same region, and they have been connected to workshops at Caere.⁴¹³³

From the Iron Age onward, close relationships connected Etruscans and Umbrians, who lived along the left bank of the Tiber and in the adjacent areas of central Italy.⁴¹³⁴ In the sixth century, the Umbrian elite appreciated Etruscan bronze vases from workshops of Volsinii Veteres, modern-day Orvieto, as shown by the finds from the cemetery of the Umbrian community near modern-day Colfiorito di Foligno, which controlled a strategic crossing.⁴¹³⁵ Sanctuaries played a special role in the relationships among people of different origins and allow us to recognize foreigners, because each generally offered the deities the characteristic votive gifts he offered at home. In this way the dedications of South Umbrian bronze statuettes in Etruscan sanctuaries may reflect South Umbrian believers in Etruria.⁴¹³⁶

In modern-day Abruzzo, archaic Etruscan trade is attested by fine ware and bronzes. The main findspots are grave groups belonging to the local elite in the cemeteries of Campovalano (in the province of Teramo), Fossa, and Bazzano (both in the province of L'Aquila). Campovalano yielded bronze vases, both imported and locally made; Fossa and Bazzano yielded Etrusco-Corinthian pottery dating to the sixth century (Fig. 79.5). Some Etrusco-Corinthian vases from Abruzzo have been assigned to workshops in Vulci, and it has been noted that drinking cups are often in male graves, while jugs are in female ones. Vases from Athens may have also reached Abruzzo via Adriatic *emporia* like Numana.⁴¹³⁷



Fig. 79.4: Clay flask from Poggio Sommavilla with Sabine inscription (from NS 1896)

7Late Classical and Hellenistic periods (450–250)

From the fourth century onward, relationships between Etruria and Rome changed, because as Rome continued to expand, it began to conquer first Latium and then the Etruscan cities (see [chapter 37](#) Marcone). Thus it is easier to identify Roman traces in Etruria than Etruscan traces in Latium, as shown, for instance, by the wall paintings of the François Tomb in Vulci, dated to around 330. Here, Cneve Tarchunies Rumach from Rome is depicted among Etruscan warriors coming from several cities involved in a battle; it has been suggested that these scenes be identified with a fight for the control of Rome, which might have happened two centuries before the grave paintings were made. Evoking his ancestors' glorious past, the tomb's owner stressed his own glory against the same enemies⁴¹³⁸ (see [chapter 57](#) Gilotta). For this period, scholars have focused on close relationships between Etruria and Latium in handicraft production of both bronze and clay vases and utensils, which went in both directions (see [chapter 58](#) Ambrosini). From this period onward, the Etruscan legacy to Roman civilization began to increase steadily (see [chapter 38](#) Torelli).

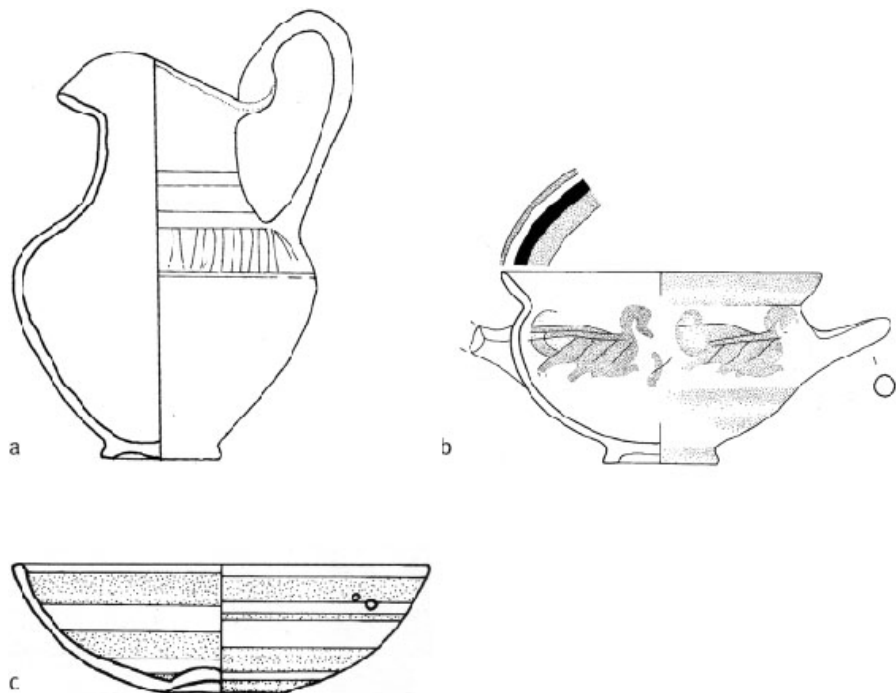


Fig. 79.5: Etrusco-corinthian pottery from Fossa; a. Oinochoe from grave 66. b. Cup from grave 215. c. Phiale from grave 429 (after D'Ercole and Benelli 2004, plates 19, 62 and 138)

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Gianluca Tagliamonte

80 Southern Italy

Abstract: A part from the Villanovan site of Sala Consilina, there were no permanent Etruscan settlements south of present day Campania after the end of the 8th century BCE. There is however archaeological evidence that there were individuals or groups of individuals of Etruscan origin present in the area south of the river Sele and a network of cultural contacts and commercial exchanges which linked the centres of Tyrrhenian Etruria and etruscanized Campania to local populations (Oenotrians and Iapygians, in particular) and to the Greek colonies of Southern Italy between the seventh and fifth, and in some late cases fourth, cent. BCE.

The evidence for the existence of these individuals and contacts lies in the discovery in Southern Italy of objects related to burials, shrines and settlements which were certainly or likely to have been of Etruscan manufacture (i.e. made in Etruria, Etruscan Campania, Etruscan Po Valley) especially bucchero pottery, bronze vessels and jewellery.

On the basis of this kind of evidence, the paper aims at analysing the cultural and historical meaning of these artefacts, according to the various needs for self-representation of local élites (particularly Oenotrian and Daunian) and to the different routes of trading. With reference to this last aspect, the archaeological evidence allows us to identify a series of long-distance routes over land and sea by which “Etrusco-Tyrrhenian” artefacts entered and were distributed in Southern Italy.

Keywords: Oenotrians, Daunians, Campanians, Iapygians

Introduction

Apart from the Villanovan site of Sala Consilina (which fell into decline towards the end of the eighth century BCE) there were no permanent Etruscan settlements south of present day Campania in later periods. There is, however, archaeological evidence that there were individuals or groups of individuals of Etruscan origin present in the area south of the river Sele. There was also a network of cultural contacts and commercial exchanges that linked the centers of Tyrrhenian Etruria and Etruscan Campania to local populations (Oenotrians and Iapygians, in particular) and to the Greek colonies of Southern Italy between the seventh and fifth (and in some late cases, fourth) century.⁴¹³⁹

The evidence for the existence of these individuals and contacts lies in the presence in Southern Italy of objects—especially bucchero pottery, bronze vessels and jewellery—related to burials, shrines and settlements that were likely to have been of Etruscan manufacture (i.e. made in Etruria, Etruscan Campania, or Etruscan Po valley). These have come to assume the value of true and proper archaeological indicators (It. *fossili-guida*) of the contacts

between the Etruscan world and that of Southern Italy. Uncertainties remain about the actual location of the production centers of these materials, together with the unresolved possibility that the artifacts found in Magna Graecia might have been imported from other Etruscan territories or made by artisans, either of Etruscan origin or trained in Etruscan craft, who could have been immigrants or itinerants in the South. The objects may even have been local imitations. All of these possibilities make it difficult to be specific about the historical meaning of these Etruscan connections, beyond the generic reference to their origin as “Tyrrhenian.” What is clear is the fundamental role played in the Orientalizing and Archaic periods by the Etruscan settlements in Campania (especially those of Capua and Pontecagnano) as production and distribution centers of Tyrrhenian artifacts exported to the south.

While these artifacts are often serial (bucchero vases, bronze basins with embossed or braided rims, bronze “Rhodian” *oinochoai* etc.) there are some pieces which are unique or of a very high quality. The latter are almost always status symbols for members of a local elite, or destined for the sanctuaries of Magna Graecia. The artifacts in question are above all from tombs of local aristocracies (particularly Oenotrian and Daunian). The role that the elite played was not only as consumers of imported goods, but sometimes as redistributors within their own areas or in the areas in their zones of influence.

The acquisition of these goods in the Archaic period brought contact with the more structured Etruscan and colonial Greek societies and their ideological and cultural models. Particularly in funerary contexts, the reference to the “Tyrrhenian” banquet and the Greek symposium models is suggested by recurring examples of Etruscan metalwork used in banquets (especially medium and large bronze vessels, like embossed rim basins, “Rhodian” *oinochoai* etc., mostly from Vulci), and by imported buccheri related to wine consumption (trefoil mouth *oinochoai*, *olpai*, *kantharoi*, and *kylikes*). It seems that high social status was displayed not only by the quantity of goods a tomb contained, but by the number of imported goods it contained, and at the ideological level by the use of collective models of self-representation other than the traditional. Archaic Etruscan artifacts, then, appear to represent an important element of definition.

In the regions of Southern Italy, these artifacts seem to have had various and selective means of distribution, according to the various needs for self-representation of local elite and different trade routes. Some areas of Southern Italy have few or none of these products. For example, in Melfi area and in the mid and upper valleys of Bradano and Basento, the bucchero is almost completely absent. On the other hand, in the Agri and Sinni valleys, these products seem to have been popular. In still other areas, there are suggestions of the existence of “sub-regional” distribution networks. In a large part of present-day Basilicata, the “Rhodian” *oinochoe* is frequently associated with the bronze embossed rim basin. In any case, the circulation and distribution of “Tyrrhenian” artifacts (with particular reference to bronze ware and bucchero

pottery) in Southern Italy in the Archaic age do not seem to have involved the acquisition of entire banqueting sets but rather individual and few pieces used as funerary vessels inspired by the previously mentioned ideological models. There are only some examples from the fifth century from specific areas (the territory of Melfi for example), which can be considered complete “services.”

If the circulation and the presence of these artifacts in the Italic and Greek colonial contexts of Southern Italy are the result of commercial exchanges that unite the Tyrrhenian region (and the Etruscan Po valley) to the south and to Greek world,⁴¹⁴⁰ it can be supposed that their presence is not the result of purely economic relationships, but, rather, are of exchanges of a socio-anthropological nature, like a gift-exchange, or “chieftain’s trade,” which would have connected members of the Etrusco-Campanian elite with those of Oenotrians and Daunians.⁴¹⁴¹

1 Trade, exchange, mobility: the land routes

There is archaeological evidence that allows us to identify the probable routes over land and sea by which “Etrusco-Tyrrhenian” artifacts reached and were distributed around Southern Italy. Those over land originated in Etruscan Campania and followed a series of long-distance routes, which went southwards from Campanian *mesogeia*, crossing the mountainous area of the Apennines (the “Trans-Apennine Way”).⁴¹⁴² These routes took advantage of natural features like river valleys and passes, and at least partly followed roads already traveled by men and goods during the Iron Age. These roads, especially those farthest south, had been used to bring pottery from Daunia to Campania (It. *Geometrico Protodaunio tardo* and *Subgeometrico Daunio* 1, following the classification of Ettore De Juliis).⁴¹⁴³ Eighth and seventh century examples have been recorded in internal areas (Caudium, Bisaccia), on the borders of the Campanian plain (Suessula, Nola, Avella) and along the coast (the Sarno valley, Pontecagnano and Pithecusa). It is during the second half of the seventh and above all during the sixth century that heightened relations between Campania and the Apulo-Lucanian area are recorded (in particular with Melfi and Daunia)⁴¹⁴⁴ and that these routes, archeologically marked by the presence of the types of articles mentioned above, took clearer shape.⁴¹⁴⁵

A first route, which led to the Oenotrian region of southwest Basilicata, followed the valley of the Sele river across the Vallo di Diano to the Sinni and Agri valleys, and continued toward the Greek colonies on the arch of the Ionian coast. Along this route there is ample evidence of the presence and movement of goods of probable Etruscan and Etrusco-Campanian origin.⁴¹⁴⁶ The most important Orientalizing necropolises in Vallo di Diano (at the centers of Atena Lucana, Sala Consilina and Padula) and in the Sinni and Agri

valleys (Chiaramonte, Armento and Alianello) have yielded abundant examples of bronze vessels for banquets or symposium (embossed rim basins, “Rhodian” *oinochoai*, tripod lebes, ribbed *phialai*, *kotylai*, etc.) and a smaller number of examples of bucchero vases. Examples of the latter in black, finely burnished bucchero (trefoil mouth *oinochoai* of Rasmussen 7a type, *kantharoi* of Rasmussen 3e type) possibly of Etruscan manufacture from Southern Campania (Pontecagnano, Fratte) were found in male and female tombs from the beginning and the first half of the sixth century (Chiaramonte and Armento).

Grey bucchero wares with brown metallic engobe coatings and a wide range of shapes, some of which are connected to wine consumption, have been found in Alianello, with a single example found at Chiaramonte. These grey bucchero vases came from the Etrusco-Campanian area or were produced locally from the second quarter of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century. It has been suggested⁴¹⁴⁷ that the silver necklaces from Chiaramonte tombs 142 and 157 may have come from Etruscan Campania, as may have the itinerant artisans who, it is thought,⁴¹⁴⁸ might have produced some of the amber works found at Armento, Chiaramonte, Roccanova, and Alianello etc., northern Lucania (Braidia di Vaglio, Tricarico, Tolve etc.), the areas around Melfi (Melfi, Banzi, and Ripacandida etc.), in Daunia (Canosa) and Peucezia (Rutigliano, Ruvo, Ceglie del Campo, and Valenzano).

A second route, whose characteristics are better defined from the last decades of the seventh century, after the foundation of the Achaean colony of Metaponto, leads from the Sele valley, into the Potentino, enters eastern Basilicata through the Basento and Bradano valleys, and ends in the area around Metaponto. The ancient sites located along this route have not yielded any examples of bucchero vessels, which have been found only around Metaponto, where they probably arrived by other routes. “Tyrrhenian” metallic vessels with basins with embossed or braided rims have been found at Baragiano, Braidia di Vaglio, Serra di Vaglio, Oppido Lucano, Montescaglioso, and Pisticci, as have some “Rhodian” *oinochoai* at Metaponto, and what may be a fragment of a Campanian-type bronze funerary lebes at Anzi.⁴¹⁴⁹

There is important evidence of the link to Etruscan Campania in the Etruscan inscription engraved on the lip of a tripod lebes found in the luxurious tomb 106 in Braidia.⁴¹⁵⁰ The text, written in the characters of the Etrusco-Campanian alphabet, tells us it is a gift and constitutes a very rare example of an Etruscan epigraph south of the river Sele.

A third “trans-Apennine” northerly route joins Campania with the region of Melfi and continues on to Northern Puglia. Starting from south-central Campania, it crosses the Calore and Sele valleys, climbs up to the upper Ofanto valley, touches the cultural centers of the Cairano-Oliveto Citra culture, and arrives first at Melfi and then at Daunia (and from there Peucezia). While there are practically no examples of Etrusco-Campanian

bucchero along the route (only some vases in “impasto buccheroide” have been found, like the *kantharos* in tomb 58 in the necropolis at Melfi/Cappuccini), there are examples of “Tyrrhenian” metalwork, or at least metalwork inspired by “Tyrrhenian” models. It is thought that some were produced locally.⁴¹⁵¹ Bronze basins with embossed or braided rims and “Rhodian” *oinochoai* from the Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods have been found in the centers of the Cairano-Oliveto Citra culture, in northern Lucania (at Ruvo del Monte, for example) and in the Melfi region (at Melfi, Lavello, and Banzi, where “Rhodian” *oinochoai* were absent).

From the end of the sixth century, especially in the Melfi region, which was culturally linked to nearby Daunia, new forms appeared (various types of round-mouthed *oinochoai*, *Schnabelkannen*, *stamnoi*, lamps etc.) sometimes acquired as entire services (one of the most complete of these comes from female tomb 955 in the necropolis at Lavello/Cimitero, dating from the end of the fifth century). Also dating from the fifth century are finds of large bronze candelabra with figured top which could have been made in Vulci but may also have been produced *in loco* (Melfi/Chiuchiari, tomb F; Ruvo del Monte, tomb 64; Melfi/Pisciolo, tomb 48; Lavello/Cimitero, tomb 955).⁴¹⁵² There were also similar finds in the Agri valley (Roccanova).

After this period there was a sharp decline in the importation of “Tyrrhenian” products. The antefixes with a shell frame which have been found from the late Archaic age in the Melfi area (Melfi, Lavello) as well as in Frentania (San Giacomo degli Schiavoni) and Daunia (Serracapriola, Tiati-San Paolo Civitate, San Severo, Lucera, Arpi, Aecae, Orsara di Puglia)⁴¹⁵³ certainly derive from Campanian (particularly, Capuan) models and molds. The Campanian antefixes (originally a system of coating in clay known as “tetti campani”)⁴¹⁵⁴ were a strictly local decoration and during the fifth century gave rise to later regional production, which continued (but with few examples) to the beginning of the fourth century. Antefixes with a shell frame, however, are just one element of the more general problematic question of the relations, or rather the overlaps and structural parallels between the architecture of Magna Graecia and that of Etruria.⁴¹⁵⁵ Their common use of terracotta frieze plaques in the early phases of monumental buildings (sacred and otherwise) also shows this.



Fig. 80.1: Southern Italy: findspots of items both imported from Etruria and imitating Etruscan models

First land route

1 Atena Lucana, 2 Sala Consilina, 3 Padula, 4 Chiaromonte, 5 Roccanova, 6 Armento, 7 Alianello.

Second land route

8 Baragiano, 9 Anzi, 10 Braida and Serra di Vaglio, 11 Oppido Lucano, 12 Pisticci, 13 Montescaglioso, 14 Metaponto.

Third land route

15 Oliveto Citra, 16 Cairano, 17 Ruvo del Monte, 18 Melfi, 19 Lavello, 20 Banzi.

Fourth land route

21 Guglionesi, 22 Termoli, 23 Larino, 24 San Giacomo degli Schiavoni, 25 Macchia Valfortore, 26 San Giuliano di Puglia, 27 Serracapriola, 28 Carlantino, 29 Tiati (= San Paolo Civitate), 30 San Severo, 31 Lucera, 32 Aecae (= Troia), 33 Orsara di Puglia, 34 Bovino, 35 Arpi, 36 Ascoli Satriano, 37 Ortona, 38 Canosa, 39 Manfredonia/Cupola.

Peucetia

40 Minervino Murge, 41 Ruvo, 42 Bari, 43 Rutigliano, 44 Valenzano, 45 Noicattaro, 46 Gioia del Colle, 47 Egnazia.

Messapia

48 Oria, 49 Brindisi, 50 Valesio, 51 Rudiae, 52 Cavallino, 53 Rocavecchia, 54 Vaste.

Sea route from Etruria to Southern Italy

55 Campora San Giovanni, 56 Scalea, 57 Hipponion (= Vibo Valentia), 58 Metauros (= Gioia Tauro), 59 Reggio Calabria, 60 Locri, 61 Cirò Superiore and Serra Sanguigna, 62 Sibari, 63 Policoro (Siris?), 14 Metaponto, 64 Taranto, 65 Satyrion, 66 Faggiano, 67 Ginosia.

A fourth land route runs from Campania to Daunia through the valleys of the Volturno, Calore, Tammaro and Fortore rivers and on to the Adriatic coast. This route is archeologically marked by the presence of heavy bucchero (“bucchero pesante”) vases probably made in Campania, although some could have been produced locally. There were also bronze “Tyrrhenian” embossed rim basins (found in Frentania and Daunia at Guglionesi, Termoli, Carlantino, Tiati-San Paolo Civitate, Canosa, Manfredonia/Cupola, Ascoli Satriano, Ortona, and even at Minervino Murge), and Campanian type antefixes with a shell frame and a rare type of silver band tiara with molded decoration probably produced in Campania (found in a “princely” female tomb in Cupola dating to the late seventh century).⁴¹⁵⁶ Examples have been found in Frentania (Larino, Termoli, Macchia Valfortore, San Giuliano di Puglia) and Daunia (Carlantino, Tiati-San Paolo Civitate, San Severo, Bovino, Lucera, Arpi, Ortona) in forms connected to the consumption of wine. These are mostly trefoil mouth *oinochoai*, carinated bowls, *kantharoi*, *olpai*, often found together and concentrated in the late sixth century.⁴¹⁵⁷

It is the presence of bucchero vases, together with the supine position of the corpses (which indicates a funeral rite extraneous to that of Daunia) that has led to the supposition that the four graves from the last decades of the sixth century found in the necropolis of San Severo/Guadone may be referred to individuals of foreign origin, possibly coming from Frentania or Campanian Etruria.⁴¹⁵⁸ An earlier seventh century indication of the presence of people coming from Etruria (or Campanian Etruria) is the supine corpse in tomb 104 in the Peucetian necropolis at Rutigliano excavated in 1979. Here fragments of thin bucchero (“bucchero sottile”) were also found.⁴¹⁵⁹ The warrior buried on his back in grave 103 (excavation 1833) at Ruvo with an extraordinary collection of weapons may also have had the same origin.⁴¹⁶⁰

From the Melfi and Daunia regions, Etruscan and “Tyrrhenian” artifacts were sent and distributed even to the southernmost areas of Peucezia and

Messapia, where they were the preserve of the local elite. There are a significant number of bronze artifacts, some of which can probably be assumed to have come from the Adriatic by sea.⁴¹⁶¹ The oldest example found to date from the last quarter of the seventh century is a tripod-lebes from Oria, probably produced at Vetulonia. Other “Tyrrhenian” pieces (or those presumed as such) date to the sixth or beginning of the fifth century. These include “Rhodian” *oinochoai* (Rutigliano, Valesio); embossed rim basins (Rutigliano, Minervino Murge, Noicattaro); basins with flared rims and walls probably produced in Etruria or Latium (Rutigliano, Rudiae); a Castel San Mariano type *podanipter* (Vaste); ribbed pails probably made in Etruscan Po valley which could have arrived in Puglia via Adriatic trading routes (Brindisi, Rudiae); several examples of *Schnabelkannen* (Valenzano); and strainers with undulated handles (Ginosa, Rutigliano).

There are more limited examples from the second half of the fifth and fourth centuries, including a beautiful bronze candelabrum with figured decoration from Ruvo. At Canosa and Egnazia, Negau helmets of the Vetulonia type have been found, which are also known at Cairano. Some examples of third generation Etrusco-Corinthian pottery would seem to have been documented at Ruvo and Gioia del Colle. Among the luxury goods destined for members of the Peucetian elite of the Late Archaic, there are decorated plaques in ivory from a chest likely made at Vulci (Ruvo) and some gold Etruscan or Etruscan-inspired artifacts (Ruvo, Noicattaro, Rutigliano) including a necklace with pendants of acorns, lotus flowers and satyr heads dating to around 490–480, which was found at Ruvo and is held in the Naples National Archaeological Museum. Some Campanian black-figure vases attributable to the Leo-Gallo and the Painter of Milano Groups also come from Ruvo.⁴¹⁶² The origin of the local production of a group of high quality black-figure vases (“apulo-etruschi”)—mostly column craters⁴¹⁶³—from the first half of the fifth century in Peucetia and Messapia (Bari, Rutigliano, Ruvo, Egnazia, Cavallino, Rocavecchia, and Vaste etc.) could be directly linked to this latter type of pottery decoration,⁴¹⁶⁴ or with Etruscan black-figure production (particularly with the Painter of Micali workshop at Vulci),⁴¹⁶⁵ if not with Attic black-figure vases.⁴¹⁶⁶ Some scholars have proposed that the beginnings of the Apulian tradition of funerary decoration should be considered alongside the arrival of artisans coming from Campanian Etruria.⁴¹⁶⁷

2Trade, exchange, mobility: the sea routes

Albeit in a limited way “Tyrrhenian” artifacts reached as far as the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia.⁴¹⁶⁸ The presence of fragments of heavy bucchero (particularly Rasmussen 3e *kantharos*, the most common type exported

outside of Etruria and Italy) has been documented along the arch of the Ionian coast at necropolises, sanctuaries and Greek and indigenous settlements. These include Taranto (Taranto, Satyrion, Faggiano), Metaponto (from where some older fragments of thin bucchero also come), Siris (Policoro), Sibari, the Crotona area (Cirò Superiore, Serra Sanguigna) and Locri Epizefiri.

These were vessels that arrived by sea along a route that hugged the coast, and from the Strait went up the line of the Ionian coast and then headed for Greece. It is therefore likely that these bucheri can be considered goods carried by Greek merchant-sailors on their way back from the Tyrrhenian Sea. The same explanation probably applies to the other goods of Etruscan manufacture found along the Ionian coast, like the ivory plaques decorated with banqueting scenes on a Vulci chest, probably from the Persefone sanctuary at Locri/Mannella. Other “Tyrrhenian” objects could have come from Locri but their local provenance has been questioned.⁴¹⁶⁹

It is no accident that heavy Campanian type bucchero, Etruscan bronzes and Etrusco-Corinthian vases were found at Reggio,⁴¹⁷⁰ which must have had an important role on this maritime route that united the “Tyrrhenian” world with Taranto (and Taranto with Greece). Reggio was one of the places from where Chalcidian vases reached Etruria during the sixth century via the “Chalcidian” route. These black-figure vases were probably made in the city of the Strait and were widely exported to the towns of Tyrrhenian Etruria, where they influenced local painting and ceramic production. What is more, there is some modest indication of the presence of Etruscan goods (buccheri, wine amphorae and metalware mostly dating to the first half of the sixth century) on the Tyrrhenian side of Calabria from Metauros and Hipponion to Scalea and Campora San Giovanni.⁴¹⁷¹ In the area of ancient Temesa, among the objects recovered from the temple outside the town of Imbelli (which was active between the mid sixth and the first three decades of the fifth century), were found a Py 4A type Etruscan amphora and a bronze fragment of a crested Villanovan helmet, a sort of *keimelion*, consecrated in the sanctuary.⁴¹⁷²

Ancient literary sources make explicit references to an Etruscan presence in the lower Tyrrhenian Sea, reporting episodes of piracy⁴¹⁷³ or naval skirmishes between the Etruscans and the Greeks from Cnido and Rhodes who had colonized the Aeolian Islands shortly after the fiftieth Olympiad (580–576).⁴¹⁷⁴ Etruscan mercenaries and adventurers were still arriving at the Strait and in Sicily along the Chalcidian route until the beginning of the third century.⁴¹⁷⁵ Finally we should remember the old tradition that suggests that there were Etruscans among the disciples of Pythagoras and the Tyrrhenian origins of the great philosopher himself.⁴¹⁷⁶

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Abstract: Cultural exchange between Etruria and the regions neighboring it to the north finds expression beginning in the Villanovan period in an increasing number of foreign goods in the area north of the Po. In fact the northeastern part of the Po Valley and the adjacent Caput Adriae are comparatively poor in clearly accountable imports from the early phase of these contacts. Various indirect indications, however, suggest the conjecture that this picture is due primarily to the vagaries of preservation. They include the adoption of technological innovations in the north, for instance in wagon-building, as well as the integration of foreign prestige goods, such as the lozenge-shaped belt plaques of the Villanovan culture, into the material culture of the Venetians and their neighbors. The last-named object in particular emphatically clarifies the intensity of the early contacts. Scholarship fully agrees that the belt plaques decorated with waterfowl and sun symbols incorporate entirely specific spiritual and religious content. The acquisition of foreign manners of dress must consequently also have involved an encounter with the ways of thinking of their area of origin. In any case it follows from this that already in the Villanovan period the cross-cultural contacts went far beyond the sporadic exchange of exotic goods to also include communication on the intellectual and social levels.

In the period of the Etruscan “colonization” of the Po Valley, the Veneto and the southeast Alpine region also remain comparatively poor in finds. This holds specifically for imported items of Etruscan metalwork, whose existence, however, must, on the basis of the acceptance of its repertoire of decoration into *situla* art, be considered certain. A distinct change emerges with the founding of Etruscan settlements (Adria, Mantua, Forcello) in the regions across the Po during the sixth century and the associated intensification of trade, which is reflected *inter alia* in the importation of Greek pottery that now begins. Unlike the bronze vessels, the imported pottery is attested in impressive numbers from the mid sixth century in the Veneto. Both in the formal respect and in reference to the decoration of the vessels, however, it is clear that in no way does this involve the total adoption of Greek and Etruscan ideals as they are manifested in pottery. On the contrary, the selective reception of the Athenian ceramic repertoire in the area north of the Po already makes it clear that the importation of foreign goods was substantially determined by the specific needs and wishes of the recipients. Correspondingly it follows that the imports fulfill a function in the native context that differs considerably from what they had in their places of origin, and this—*mutatis mutandis*—is also to be assumed for the preceding periods.

Keywords: import, cultural exchange, trade, Venetians, prestige goods

Introduction and problematics

The northern frontier of Etruria, which is generally considered identical with the course of the Po, has long been a permeable space. Already in the Bronze Age, traces of distant cultural contacts have been found that extend beyond the Po Valley into the southern Alpine valleys and regions beyond the mountains. We refer specifically to the settlement of Frattesina near Fratte Polesine in the Veneto, which excavated materials reveal to have been closely connected with the regions of the Po Valley and central Italy, but which also functioned as an important junction in a network of transregional contacts between the Italian peninsula and the northern Alpine area.⁴¹⁷⁷ During the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, on the southern edge of the Po Valley a dynamic branch of the Villanovan culture emerged that was closely tied to the core region of the Villanova culture in central Italy and simultaneously radiated impulses to the north. With the Etruscan expansion into the Po Valley from the first half of the sixth century onwards, cultural exchange with the north took on systematic traits that left their traces specifically in the area of the Golasecca culture in a proper “Etruscanization” of the local elites.

Archaeologically, the contact is represented by a growing number of imports in the area north of the Po. For the most part these are valuable items made of bronze and other costly materials, which—on the basis of their material, their distant origin, or their exotic form and decoration—enjoyed a high reputation and circulated in the context of the exchange of prestige goods between high ranking members of the social elite in both the Mediterranean as well as the non-Mediterranean world. We refer primarily to weapons, bridles, clothing ornaments, and bronze banquet vessels, but pottery and glass vessels, primarily of Greek origin, were also exported beyond the northern borders of Etruria. The same must be assumed for items made of organic materials, which for obvious reasons have left only limited traces. The export of wine must have been foremost.⁴¹⁷⁸ Moreover, other valuable exotica, such as incense —on the evidence of a discovery from Como-Rebbio⁴¹⁷⁹— were also traded in the north.⁴¹⁸⁰

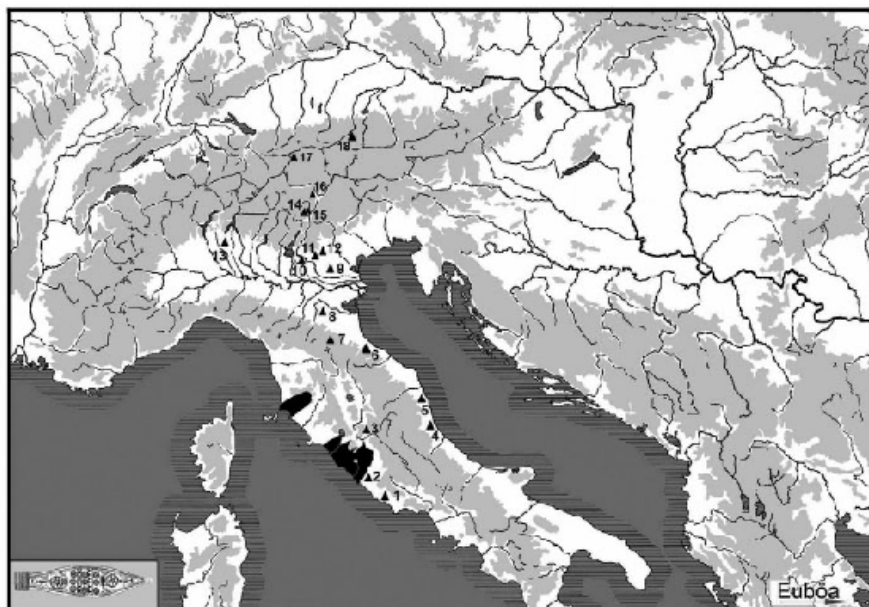
Along with the transfer of goods across the cultural boundaries of Etruria there was also an exchange of ideas, technologies, and social ways of life, which is often evidenced only indirectly in the material culture. We may mention for example the quick spread to the periphery of an aristocratic Etruscan warrior ethos based on military success and economic power, which is reflected in the increasing number of weapons and metal vessels deposited in the tombs of the early Iron Age.⁴¹⁸¹ Later, in the sixth and fifth centuries, the genesis of new social ways of life can be verified not least by the increasing number of imports, especially of pottery from Athens, which, more strongly than before, was characterized by egalitarian criteria.⁴¹⁸² The Attic pottery, which in many places determines the picture of the contacts, follows uniform formal and qualitative standards across a wide area. Exchange with the south in this period appears to have been supported by broader circles, a circumstance that—along with others—may have been jointly responsible for

the emergence of the first protourban settlement structures in the southern foothills of the Alps.⁴¹⁸³

1The first contacts (ca. 800–730 BCE)

With the expansion of the Villanovan culture into the Po Valley, during the ninth century a dynamic process of economic and cultural interaction with the neighboring cultural areas set in.⁴¹⁸⁴ On the one hand, this can be read off the foreign goods in the Bologna tombs,⁴¹⁸⁵ and on the other from finds of the Villanovan culture in the area north of the Po. Already in the latter, though, it is often difficult to distinguish “genuine” imports from Bologna or central Italy from products that were created in local workshops in imitation of foreign models, a circumstance that alters little, however, about the facts of cultural contact per se.

From the very beginning, the attention of the protourban center of Villanovan-period Bologna was directed to the southern Alpine valleys that provided access to the mountains, and to the regions beyond. Interaction with the inhabitants of the southern foothills of the Alps appears often to have taken place at intermediate stations. Specifically, close contacts existed with the great Venetian settlement of Este, which through its location near the Adige River controlled one of the most important trade routes into the Alpine region. In the tombs from this area, several objects have been found that scholars partly classify as “genuine” imports, and partly see as imitations. These include, along with an *antenna* sword of the Fermo type⁴¹⁸⁶ (which has an exact counterpart in the bronze hoard from San Francesco in Bologna⁴¹⁸⁷), a lozenge-shaped belt plaque with engraved decoration showing spirals and waterfowl from the rich woman’s burial Este, Pelà Tomb 8.⁴¹⁸⁸ It belongs to a type widespread in Etruria,⁴¹⁸⁹ of which several examples have also been found in Bologna.⁴¹⁹⁰ The Este belt plaque is probably not an Etruscan “original,” though, but a local imitation, as Raffaele de Marinis has recognized.⁴¹⁹¹ However, the Etruscan provenience of a belt plaque from Pfatten/Vadena in the Adige Valley is undisputed. Further examples of the same type, most of which must have been made locally, are known from the necropolis of Baldaria in Cologna Veneta near Este,⁴¹⁹² from Leifers/Laives⁴¹⁹³ in the Adige Valley, from Cles⁴¹⁹⁴ and Mechel⁴¹⁹⁵ in the Nons Valley, and from Fliess in the upper Inn Valley⁴¹⁹⁶ and Wörgl in the lower.⁴¹⁹⁷ In their geographic orientation toward the Adige Valley and the neighboring valleys of the northern side of the Alps, the findspots clarify the course and target area of the long-distance contacts of Villanovan-period Bologna and their orientation along a staged traffic network (Fig. 81.1).



- | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 Anzio | 7 Marradi | 13 Prestino |
| 2 Rome | 8 Bologna | 14 Mechel |
| 3 Poggio Bustone | 9 Este | 15 Cles |
| 4 "Salino" | 10 Oppeano | 16 Vadena/Pfatten |
| 5 Fermo | 11 Pezze | 17 Fliess |
| 6 Verucchio | 12 Baldaria | 18 Wörgl |

Fig. 81.1: Distribution map of the bronze lozenge-shaped belts in Italy, without Tivoli and San Giovanni in Galilea (compiled by A. Naso)

Alongside the belt plaques, which are female clothing accessories, the significant role played by high-ranking women in cultural exchange is also expressed in two bronze spindles from Este, which once again find their best parallels in examples from Bologna.⁴¹⁹⁸ Being an integral component of female dress, belt plaques take on special significance—they must have most likely “wandered” northward with the wearers.⁴¹⁹⁹ In any case, the finds testify to the penetration of foreign styles of dress into the Venetian and central Alpine cultural sphere during the eighth century.

Similar contacts are manifested in two bronze tripods with curved legs decorated with eyelets from Este and Novo Mesto.⁴²⁰⁰ They have typological counterparts in Bologna⁴²⁰¹ and Vetulonia,⁴²⁰² which, as Giovannangelo Camporeale has convincingly set out, was in all likelihood the city where they were produced.⁴²⁰³ Two more examples of the same type are known from Verucchio on the Adriatic coast.⁴²⁰⁴ These vessels should probably be recognized as the expression of a direct long-distance contact between the Etruscan center on the Tyrrhenian coast and the native power centers in the southeastern Alpine area, a long-distance contact that also emerges in the distribution of other bronze items. These include horse bits of the Veii type, which once again are attested in Bologna, as well as in the Adige Valley with

the find from Pfatten-Stadlhof (Fig. 81.2).⁴²⁰⁵ The latter are probably local imitations, which, however, just like the well-known horse shaped bronze bit from Zurich-Alpenquai and another example from the former *Komitat* of Zolyom north of Budapest, point to the widespread distribution of the early Etruscan harness. To be taken into consideration here is not only the export of the horse's bridle alone, but also of horses as especially prestigious status symbols of Iron Age elites. In Etruria, where the bits are often consigned to the tombs in pairs, horses appear to have served as draft animals pulling chariots and wagons. It must be more than mere coincidence that at the same time in the Alpine area and in the regions beyond, *Winkeltüllen* (construction elements of the wagon) appear in large numbers, which point to the adoption of Etruscan wagon technology.⁴²⁰⁶ Direct evidence of an Etruscan wagon in the Alpine area, however, has not yet emerged.

The appearance of Etruscan-influenced horse and wagon equipment in elite funerary practice on the periphery of the early Etruscan world likewise manifests the adaptation of the native elites to the status- and representation forms of their southern neighbors. In the wider sense this also includes the use of corresponding weapons and armor, of which the spread of the *antenna* swords of the Tarquinia type and its local variants is an example.⁴²⁰⁷ In the eastern Po Valley and the Caput Adriae, *antenna* swords are known from Ponte Nuovo di Gazzo Veronese, Este, Preara, Casier, Ba-gnarola, and Tret in the Val di Non. Although again in many cases originals imported from the south cannot be distinguished with certainty from local imitations, the weapon burials and weapon dedications nonetheless reveal the genesis of a warrior ethos that can be compared over a wide culture area.⁴²⁰⁸

2The Orientalizing period (ca. 730–580 BCE)

In the Orientalizing period, the export of Mediterranean goods to the north continued. As in the Villanovan period, the number of verifiable imports to the eastern part of the Po Valley and the southeastern Alpine headlands remains comparatively limited. Alongside the aforementioned tripods from Este and Novo Mesto a ribbed bronze bowl from Este (Fig. 81.3) must be mentioned⁴²⁰⁹ which belongs to a type attested in northern Italy by two more examples from the Tomba del Carrettino of Ca' Morta near Como.⁴²¹⁰ These three bronze vessels are of especial significance, because they belong to a class of object widespread in the north, which with great probability was made in Vetulonia.⁴²¹¹ The available chronological information support a dating of the vessels to the end of the eighth and the first half of the seventh centuries. The distribution pattern of the ribbed bowls, whose northernmost findspot is near Frankfurt-Stadtwald (Fig. 83.1),⁴²¹² suggests that behind their export hides a deliberate strategy of the early Etruscan rulers of Vetulonia. It

is a short step to accept that the tripods from Este and Novo Mesto are also to be seen in a similar context, though remarkably, these are not yet attested north of the Alps, while the ribbed dishes are not found in the southeast Alpine region.



Fig. 81.2: Horse-shaped bronze bit from Pfatten/Vadena (photo F. Marzatico)

Among the most significant traces of Vetulonian bronze exports in the Orientalizing period belongs with great probability the well-known bronze basin from Ca-stelletto Ticino, decorated with a frieze of fabulous animals (Fig. 81.4), whose closest stylistic parallel is the bronze disk decorated with sphinxes and lions from the “Circle of the Sphinxes” from Vetulonia.⁴²¹³ The richly ornamented bronze basin from Castelletto Ticino, which dates to the first half of the seventh century, takes on a special position among the early Etruscan imports in the area north of the Po. The assumption that it was transferred northward in the framework of an individual exchange of prestige goods between rulers of the two sides of the cultural boundary of the Po is tempting and so has long been seen. Camporeale has recently postulated an origin in a Vetulonian workshop for the well-known bronze *pyxis* from Appenwihr (Fig. 83.3).⁴²¹⁴ Various indications suggest that after its manufacture, the piece was reworked and altered.⁴²¹⁵ The ribbed bowl found together with the *pyxis* was also modified afterward, in this case by the addition of two bronze rings. The two vessels from Appenwihr make it clear that the Mediterranean prestige goods led an independent “life” in the “Barbaricum” and possibly were used within local networks of gift exchange.

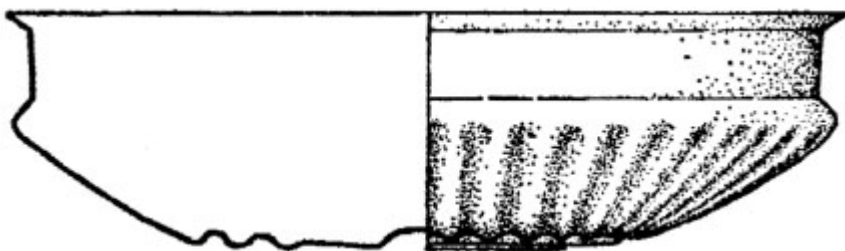


Fig. 81.3: Bronze ribbed bowl from Este (after Sciacca 2005)

The findspot thus need not *a priori* be identical with the original destination of the vessels. Nevertheless, on the whole there emerges a coherent distribution area of Vetulonian vessel exports, which on the one hand is oriented via the Swiss Alpine passes into the Rhine Valley and on the other via the Veneto into the southeast Alpine region (Fig. 83.2).

Moreover, there appear to have been contacts between the two export axes: thus it is possibly more than a mere coincidence that the two bronze vessels from Appenwihr mentioned above were associated with a bronze sieve that is thought to have been produced in Este or the extended area of the Caput Adriae.⁴²¹⁶

It is tempting to assume that the strong engagement of Vetulonia in establishing contact with the north is connected with the city's leading role as center of Etruscan mining efforts in the Colline Metallifere. It is obvious that not only the Greeks and Phoenicians were interested in Etruscan metal and metal technology, but also the neighbors to the north. What moved Vetulonia's rulers to maintain or even to use costly gifts to promote contact with the northern neighbors? What gifts did they receive in return for the ore and the technological know-how that they sent north? Scholarship plausibly argues that it was done with goods that cannot be documented archaeologically, such as perishable items and human resources in the form of slaves and mercenaries. Material transfer from north to south can be grasped more concretely in the example of some selected bronze vessels, among them the *Kreuzattaschenkessel*, which occasionally reached as far as the core Etruscan area and are probably to be regarded as return gifts in the framework of a reciprocal gift exchange between the elites of the two sides of the Po (Fig. 82.4).⁴²¹⁷ These vessels, which are distributed north and south of the Alps, are concentrated in two centers near the Caput Adriae, which is probably where they were made—the eastern Veneto on one side and Slovenia and Istria on the other—thus, the same two zones that on the evidence of the aforementioned tripod and ribbed bowls stood at the focus of Etruscan trading interests. Given this background of cultural connections, it cannot be by chance that among the *Kreuzbandkessel* exported to the south an example has also been found at Vetulonia (Fig. 82.4).⁴²¹⁸ But what made the rulers at the Caput Adriae attractive trading partners for the Etruscans? It seems likely that

raw materials played a major role. We may consider metals from the Alpine region, but also amber, which already in the Orientalizing period appears south of the Alps in increasing quantity, including in Vetulonia.⁴²¹⁹ A large part of this fossilized material that came from the Baltic region⁴²²⁰ must have been brought through the eastern Alpine passes to the *Caput Adriae* and from there was traded either overland or by sea to northern Italy. In the framework of this trans-Adriatic “amber trade” the settlement of Verucchio acquired a leading role, and from there the raw material was taken farther into the central areas of Italy, including Bologna, where amber goods experienced a real boom in the late eighth and the seventh centuries.⁴²²¹ The appearance of Etruscan tripods of the Vetulonian type in the amber town of Verucchio, discussed above, fits into this background, confirming the model of a trans-European transportation and trade network in the Orientalizing period driven by Etruria, in which Vetulonia played a leading part.

That Etruscan products themselves reached the Baltic and the Atlantic only in exceptional cases does not necessarily contradict the supposition of purposeful trading relations with the distant lands *a priori*. Thus the Celtic potentate of Frankfurt-Stadtwald may well have come into possession of a Vetulonian ribbed bowl, because his sphere of control lay on an important long-distance route that led farther north.⁴²²² He would thus have come to the attention of the Etruscans for the same reason as his peers, who controlled the trade routes across the Alps farther south.



Fig. 81.4: Bronze basin from Castelletto Ticino (after *Italia omnium terrarum alumna*, Milan 1988)

Distant trans-European relationships of the Early Iron Age find concrete manifestation in a biconical bronze amphora from Gevelinghausen on the lower Rhine, whose best comparisons come from Villanovan-period Veii (Figs. 44.1 and 44.2).⁴²²³ Of a somewhat younger date is the cauldron that gave its name to the Hassle type in Sweden. It has good parallels in Caere and

Monteleone near Perugia.⁴²²⁴ While in some cases it must be left open how the imports reached their findspots, they show that the radius of Mediterranean goods—and therefore probably of the people who stood behind the transfer of these goods—reached far beyond the area of the middle Rhine.

Unlike Lombardy and the nearby southern Swiss Alpine valleys, where trans-Alpine communication is manifest in the continuous deposit of finds into the fifth century, the Venetian and southeast Alpine regions are distinguished in the same period by a notable absence of imports. Two basins with embossed rim from Vače and Magdalenska gora,⁴²²⁵ two “Bolognese ribbed cists,” the handle of a *Schnabelkanne* from Este,⁴²²⁶ and the handle attachment of a bronze situla from Padova⁴²²⁷ belong to the scant material evidence of exchange of goods with the south, which incidentally might have taken place not only over land routes, but also by sea.⁴²²⁸ Various considerations, however, suggest that this picture depends on the archaeological record and therefore does not correspond to ancient reality. Here we must refer first to the retrospective pictorial tradition of situla art that was native to this area, brought to notice by Otto-Hermann Frey. The oldest demonstrable representatives of this style can be dated to the years around 600, including the famous situla from Tomb 73 at Este, Benvenuti.⁴²²⁹ Stylistic features in the formulation of the figured friezes and vegetal ornaments, however, point back to the Orientalizing period of the seventh century.⁴²³⁰

It is natural to suppose that the iconographic models of sixth and fifth century situla art are to be sought in imports from the Etruscan area which have not been preserved, an assumption that appears to be confirmed not least by the existence of clay imitations of *Schnabelkannen* in the area,⁴²³¹ not to mention the well-known belt plaque from Este, Carceri (Fig. 81.5), on which a symposium scene according to the Graeco-Etruscan tradition is portrayed, once again making use of a *Schnabelkanne*.⁴²³²

Strong influences from Etruria are also manifested in the famous cult wagon from Strettweg, whose rich figural decoration is hardly imaginable without models from the south (Fig. 82.6).⁴²³³ Unlike the bronze vessels with engraved and embossed decoration, which are adapted from Etruscan pottery and metal originals, the statuettes on the wagon from Strettweg stand under the influence of Etruscan figurines. Are we to accept that as well as tableware, sculptural works were exported into the contact zone north of Etruria as well? This question is of special consequence because the figural Etruscan bronzes occur in a different context from the imported vessels. While the latter reveal a connection with the symposium and the banquet, the bronze figurines are mostly connected with cultic requirements, as is very clearly expressed in the wagon from Strettweg. Independent of the question as to whether the wagon was built directly on the model of an Etruscan cult wagon or whether it represents an independent creation that derives only indirectly from southern models, on the whole it follows from it that the native bronzesmiths closely

oriented their work to the Etruscan figurative small-sized sculptures.⁴²³⁴

The two examples demonstrate that the Etruscan export of goods to the northeast must have been considerably more intensive than can yet be recognized from the picture transmitted by the archaeological record.

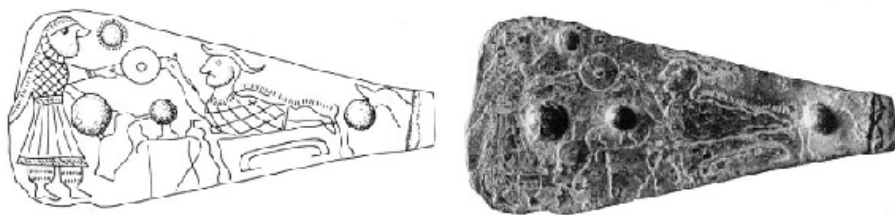


Fig. 81.5: Bronze belt plaque from Este, Carceri (after Frey 1969)

3The period of the foundation of Etruscan cities in the Po Valley (sixth–fifth centuries BCE)

With the founding of the Etruscan harbor towns of Adria and Spina in the second and third quarters of the sixth century, trade relations with the north changed.⁴²³⁵ Besides goods that traveled farther north by land routes across the Apennines, wares increasingly appear that were distributed from the Adriatic coast along the course of the Po and other rivers. To the latter belongs in all probability a large portion of the Greek pottery that appear in increasing numbers from the middle of the sixth century onward in the Veneto and eastern Lombardy.⁴²³⁶ Among the oldest pottery imports, an amphoriskos of the Fikellura style from Forcello that dates to the third quarter of the sixth century deserves to be mentioned.⁴²³⁷ The vessel belongs to a style rarely found in Etruria. All the stronger, therefore, weighs the proof of a second Fikellura *amphoriskos* in Adria, which underlines the role of the Etruscan harbor town in the development of the interior beyond the Po.⁴²³⁸

At about the same time, in the second half of the sixth century, Attic pottery begins to appear increasingly in settlements in the Veneto, although the paths of origin cannot be determined with certainty. Land transport via Bologna is just as likely as the sea route. More important than the question of provenience is the fact that export from the Etruscan centers was no longer limited to their own goods, but Attic ceramics and products originating outside Etruria were sent north as well. The Etruscans thus functioned in this case as brokers for foreign products.

Athenian vessels thus experienced a double cultural transformation, which is reflected for example in the formal composition of the finds in the indigenous contexts north of the Po. Drinking cups are by far the most common, while mixing and pouring vessels, which in Greece and Etruria are

major components of symposium paraphernalia, are only occasionally found.

It is striking that the repertoire of images on the Attic ceramics exported to the north also clearly differs from that on finds from Etruria, and even more strongly from those found in Greece. Mythological and religious themes find virtually no echo on the imported vessels. Instead, what prevails are noncommittal “everyday” pictures, scenes from the palaestra, and disconnected Dionysiac themes. Also noteworthy is the preference for vessels without figural decoration. Black-glazed vessels and vessels with purely geometric or floral ornament are found in disproportionate number among the imported pottery from the area north of the Po. As an example we may mention the spread of the favored floral-band cups, which are also well attested in Etruria.⁴²³⁹ But with respect to the northern Italic region, there is a clear discrepancy in distribution. While they are only occasionally found in the area south of the Po, they appear in the regions north of the river in strikingly larger numbers. At least one example has been found in the central Alpine region, in Sanzeno.⁴²⁴⁰

The floral-band cups are also found in remarkable numbers in Adria and Forcello.⁴²⁴¹ Thus, the distribution of the vessels consequently appears to reflect a specific mechanism of distribution and reception, which was decisively controlled by the Etruscan centers in Adria and Forcello and tailored to the needs of the local customers.

4Conclusions

Cultural exchange between the Etruscans and their neighbors to the north found expression from Villanovan times onward in an increasing number of imports. Of course precisely the northeastern part of the Po Valley and the adjacent Caput Adriae are comparatively poor in clearly accountable foreign finds, which is likely due primarily to accidents of preservation. Across the entire time span dealt with here, from the eighth to the fifth century, a widespread reception of the Etruscan stock of forms and the imagery preserved on them can be observed in the material legacy of the native cultures of the Veneto and the eastern Alpine area. Prerequisites for that are intensive personal contacts between the various interest groups taking part in the exchange, which must also have been accompanied by the adoption of intellectual ideas and social practices from the south. Despite this close interaction with the Etruscan world, the cultural appearance of the Venetians and their northern and northeastern neighbors is distinguished overall by a noteworthy independence, which is expressed not least in their free and independent dealings with imported goods.

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VI. Etruscans outside Etruria

Etruscan Finds in Europe

Gerhard Tomedi

82South and southeast Central Europe

Abstract: The archaeological record provides insights into the encounters of these neighboring cultural groups and allows to note the striking similarities in late Bronze Age material culture between the Apennine peninsula and the zone north of the Alps.

During the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, goods from the Alpine and southeastern Alpine area first appeared in rich male burials. At first glance, settlement patterns like pre-urban centers in both regions appear similar, but in fact, they are not. After the advancement to a sophisticated civilization, the Etruscans must have been seen as somewhat like a desirable paradigm to the local cultural groups.

Keywords: Veneti; southeastern Hallstatt culture; protourban centers; gift exchange

Introduction

The judging of the relationship between Etruria, the Veneti and the southeastern Hallstatt culture was notoriously controversial for a long time. The extreme and often unilateral mentalities of earlier researchers are sufficiently known. The school of diffusionism, propagated mostly in older research, was simply taken for granted, as it was assumed that creative centers of the South had supplied the little-developed North with excellent goods.⁴²⁴² But some effective studies—notably those by Gero von Merhart—showed in some cases a technical primacy of Central Europe.⁴²⁴³ So the “Italic fascination” came into doubt for the first time.

A precise chronology is crucial for the comparative assessment of the dynamics of the production of valuable goods, as well as of the social behavior and their deducible implications. In the meantime we have reliable dates and no longer depend on poor chronological estimations, based on alleged stylistic developments of middle and late geometric Greek ceramics imported into Central Italy. However these finds have broken ground for some newer important detailed studies that show complex large-scale interactions of supra-regional groups north and south of the Apennine ridge. Looking back to the late Bronze Age we must keep in mind the striking similarities in the material culture between the Apennine peninsula and the zone north of the Alps (see [chapter 44](#) Iaia).⁴²⁴⁴ Thus, some neo-diffusionist essays will be neglected here.⁴²⁴⁵

1Settlement patterns in Etruria

Without a doubt, the most serious change in the social life of early Etruscan communities proceeded in the tenth century BCE when almost every small late Bronze Age village and hamlet was abandoned, and vast protourban centers were founded.⁴²⁴⁶ Actually, we can observe the change in social systems, from a large group of segmented societies in Elmer Service's sense⁴²⁴⁷ to large communities on their way to becoming early city states (see [chapter 33](#) Pacciarelli).

Despite few excavations, the course of events of this occurrence is reliably explained by clearly distinguishable tomb groups surrounding the new centers, which have been interpreted as the cemeteries of the main lineages (Lat. *gentes*) involved in this process.⁴²⁴⁸ Besides thoughtful planning and adequate logistics, the creation and construction of such vast settlements required a very large number of laborers.

Apart from the increased potential of community services, this population growth also increased the supply of resources and goods, access to mineral resources, and “a constant flow of information.”⁴²⁴⁹ This obviously must have been the deciding point, according to the theory of the school of memetics in the sense of Richard Dawkins.⁴²⁵⁰

At any rate, beginning in the eighth century in Central Italy we observe an increase in the production of fine goods that shows quick changes in modes and styles, from which we can determine a chronology. Only a few generations after the foundation of these protourban centers, a process of social differentiation began, which created powerful military leaders from upper-class families, and monarchs (*reges*) who were able to affront the desirousnesses of the Phoenicians and Greeks of land, mineral resources and other goods (see [chapter 47](#) Naso).

But before the discussion of the interactions between the elites of Etruria and those from the south and south-east Alpine regions it seems appropriate to recall in mind at first the settlement patterns in the regions considered here.

The foundation of vast settlements on Etruscan hilltops during the ninth century was of course not a unique phenomenon in prehistoric Europe. Apart from Early or Middle Bronze Age complexes, many fortified hill forts were founded in Central Europe in the twelfth century, but none survived until the Hallstatt period (eighth to fifth centuries). They are evidence only of an ephemeral type of dwellings.

2Protourban centers in the South-Alpine area

In the ninth century, on the fruitful plains south of the Alps between the Adige and Piave Rivers, the Este culture (It. *cultura atestina*) grew from the roots of

a flourishing Bronze Age culture (Fig. 82.1). Since in many cases the Iron Age settlement areas are covered by contemporary cities, excavations could only be conducted in small sections. It was crucial to determine if the early settlements had covered the whole area or if the later protourban centers had grown around small late Bronze Age villages.

At Oppeano, the gentle plateau near the Adige River was covered by a huge city-like settlement of approximately eighty hectares, even in the Early Iron Age. Alessandro Guidi and Massimo Saracino have emphasized, “that the old theory of the ‘phase difference’ in the urbanization process between Central and Northern Italy is evermore unsustainable.”⁴²⁵¹

At Padua near the Brenta River, the waterlogged soil in many areas brought the main problem to the settlers.⁴²⁵² It became necessary to build drainage channels to keep the water away. Steeper zones were covered with clay to archive flat surfaces. Many of these large and collective constructive works date to the eighth century.

The graves of the ninth and eighth centuries consisted mostly of small *fosse* in which were disposed an urn containing some personal attire and a bowl as a lid. Due to excellent excavation techniques it was also possible to recognize shallow barrows, circumscribed by wooden *crepis* covering the cremation graves. The reopening of tombs for the insertion of secondary burials was quite common.⁴²⁵³

Anyway the ties among the families must have been still strict due to distinctive grave districts. The famous “Tomba del Re”⁴²⁵⁴ and the “Tomba dei Vasi Borchianti”⁴²⁵⁵ were discovered to the east of the settlement, and the grave rich in finds 318⁴²⁵⁶ was to the south of the settlement.

The topographic situation at Este is similar. The prominent necropolises of Casa di Ricovero and Via Santo Stefano are situated northeast of the medieval Castel Morlungo,⁴²⁵⁷ and the Fondo Rana zone is far to the east of the old core of the huge protourban center of Este.⁴²⁵⁸ From the late seventh century onwards, the center was surrounded by five sanctuaries dedicated to different sophisticated cults, showing many variations in the rituals that took place there in honor of a multitude of deities.⁴²⁵⁹ But what would become the future city grew from an aggregation of small settlements dating from the eleventh to the ninth centuries.⁴²⁶⁰ The pre-urban settlement shows no traces of strong fortifications. On the contrary, it was situated on the plain at the southern foot of Monte Caleone. Defense was obviously not an important factor to the inhabitants, whose steadily increasing social stratification is also evident. Only on the periphery, on the southern slopes of the Alps, many natural or artificially fortified smaller settlements could be detected, that probably secured the main routes to the mineral resources of the Alps. Since some were abandoned in the ninth and eighth centuries, Giovanni Leonardi argues that people would have left in favor of the steadily growing new centers,⁴²⁶¹ an occurrence also considered in light of the decline of the vast Bronze Age settlement of Montagnana Borgo San Zeno.⁴²⁶²



Fig. 82.1: Major cultural groups in the south and south-east Alpine Area and sites mentioned in the text

The topographic situation and the settlement patterns differ from Etruria considerably. Anyway, the mode of the foundation and the social background indicate somewhat like a “Venetic model”. Of course, both the Etruscans and Veneti succeeded in establishing long-lasting population centers. Both must have had developed internal structures comparable to the “arts of navigation” in Plato’s sense ruling a state (Pl., *Plt.* 299 c) to succeed in organizing the crowded early city states.

3 Protourban centers in the Southeast Alpine area

The landscape of Lower Carniola (Dolenjsko, Slovenia) is somewhat similar to Etruria. The area between the Sava and Krka Rivers is subdivided by numerous streams into areas that feature tall hills and fertile basins.

Researchers recognized some fortified hilltop settlements quite early on,⁴²⁶³ but a systematical exploration only began much later.⁴²⁶⁴ A first milestone was the excavations at Stična.⁴²⁶⁵ A huge hill fort connected to the tumuli led Stane Gabrovec to suggest a “Stična-type” of habitat (Fig. 82.2).⁴²⁶⁶

The so-called Cvinger at Stična encompasses an area of twenty hectares. Of

great importance is the fact that the whole rampart was erected within a very short time frame, which has to be the result of a logistical mastery.

The hill fort is surrounded by many differently sized grave mounds. Apart from some humble burials, the larger tumuli also contained richly provided graves, which Gabrovec calls relics of *primi inter pares*.⁴²⁶⁷ Since several mounds have been contemporaneous erected, they have been bound to a social structure based on families or clans. Graves of socially disadvantaged groups were located in flat cemeteries, which are much more difficult to trace, so that the total number of estimated inhabitants seems to fit to the available area of the settlement. Phil Mason demonstrates that the social landscape included some newly discovered lowland settlements.⁴²⁶⁸

Between 1981 and 2005, the Slovenian Academy of Arts and Science explored eighty-five hilltop settlements as part of a special research project, which was published by Janez Dular and Sneža Tecco Hvala.⁴²⁶⁹ Numerous testing trenches have been dug and they revealed some surprises. Seven minor hill forts were erected as early as the twelfth or eleventh centuries, a further thirty-three in the tenth or ninth century, seven of which were continuously settled into the Hallstatt period. Thus, the settlement patterns of the late Urnfield period are contemporaneous with the founding of the large Etruscan protourban centers. The largest hill forts, of ten to twenty hectares were built during the time of transition from the late Urnfield to the Hallstatt periods (thus app. above 800 BCE), a period of rapid expansion that led to a flourishing culture.

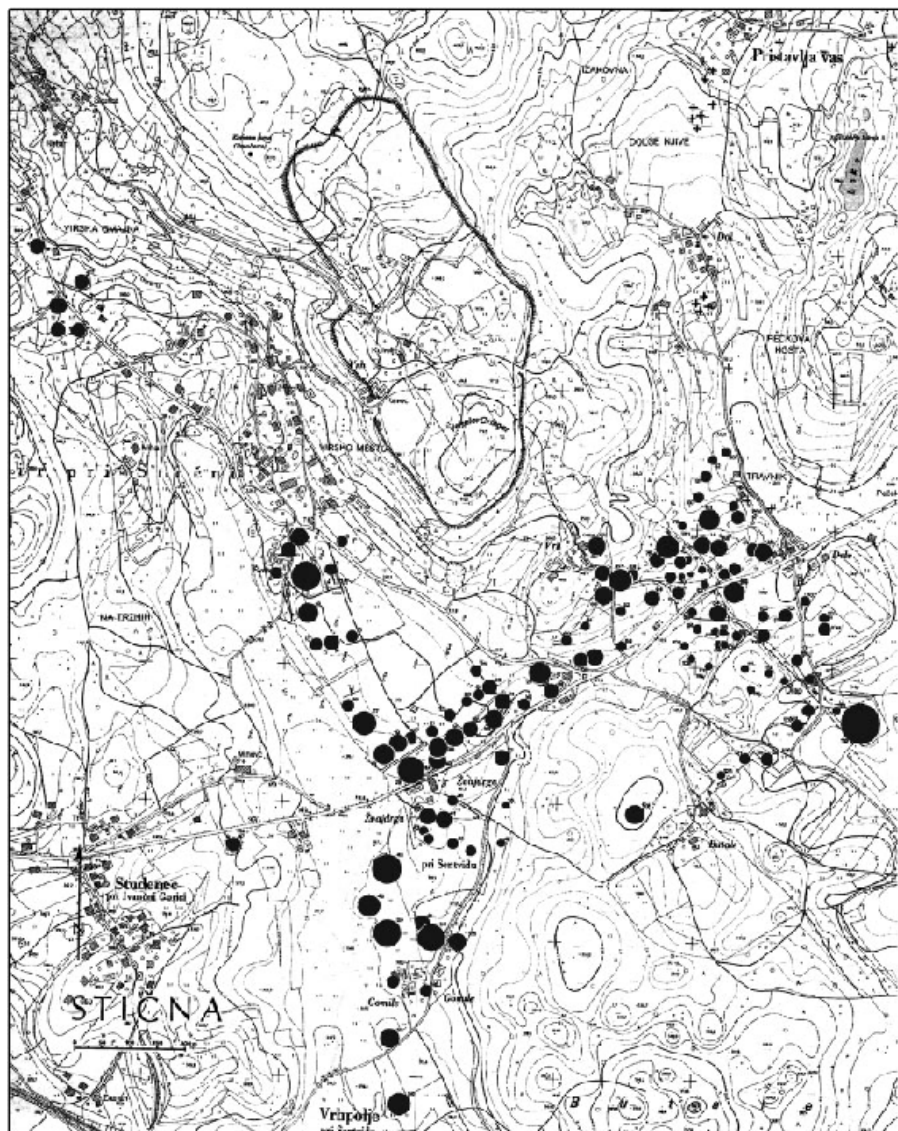




Fig. 82.3: Synopsis of the extremely rich grave fittings in the grave at Kleinklein in Styria (after Egg, Kramer 2005)

In order to achieve a hierarchy of settlements, Dular and Tecco Hvala evaluated the dimensions of the settlements and of the accompanying cemeteries, and the level of wealth in the burials. This led to a comprehensive grouping of leading and minor hill forts. Although it is not expressly written by the two scholars, one might think on well-defined territories of leading protourban centers and their hinterland with dependent settlements similar to Greek city states.⁴²⁷⁰

The societies of the southeastern Alpine Early Iron Age must have faced quite different circumstances, including raids by eastern horse people around 600, and the “Celtic” invasion in the third century.⁴²⁷¹

Another cultural group covering middle and eastern Carinthia and southern Styria shows a different picture. Most of the grave mounds contain a central grave and not always only a few secondary burials.⁴²⁷² Other than Poštela, near Maribor, hill forts have been poorly explored. Due to the lack of sufficient data at the moment it seems impossible to point to clear settlement patterns.⁴²⁷³ The area on the Burgstallkogel (Styria, Austria) in the valley of the river Sulm, is extremely small (approximately one hectare).⁴²⁷⁴ This could be explained by the very special social structure. The rich graves of three or even four generations of extremely powerful warriors could be interpreted as burials of kings in the sense of a *regulus* as the Romans would have denominated such persons (Fig. 82.3).⁴²⁷⁵

4Structural similarities and differences

It is evident that neither the foundation of hilltop settlements nor of protourban centers was exclusively Etruscan. We know little about their fortifications, which have been often heavily disturbed by later buildings.⁴²⁷⁶ Most of the largest hill forts in Dolenjsko were erected in the eighth century, approximately a century later than in Etruria.⁴²⁷⁷ Completely different from both was the land-use in the Veneto, with large undefended major and minor centers in the plain connected by a system of small sites in the hilly hinterland.

A cursory view of the graveyards shows some analogies between the settlements in Etruria, Veneto and Dolenjsko. Namely, the burials are grouped by family, which has led to the idea of an oligarchic structure.⁴²⁷⁸

At least partially Etruscan communities abandoned from the beginning of the protourban phase the structure of family-based societies. At Veii the burials in the Quattro Fontanili cemetery are not grouped by family, but are grouped in chronological order of the deceased, and without a strict spatial separation of poor or high ranked persons.⁴²⁷⁹ One might think of this cemetery as a common graveyard of an early city-state's community.

Also the forms of the burials differs in considerable way. Urn graves in flat cemeteries sometimes in *dolia* are the typical form in the elder phases in Etruria, inhumations appears in the course of the eighth century, grave mounds at the end of this century⁴²⁸⁰. Cremation was the predominant burial rite of the Veneti, the urns deposited in stone cists that were often reopened for further burials of the same family.⁴²⁸¹ In all cases these graves became enclosed by stone slabs or a wooden *crepis* apparently covered by small mounds.

Erecting tumuli was a changing custom. In Dolenjsko tumuli appear at the beginning of the eighth century, containing first only a few urn graves and later in the course of the same century, an increasing number of inhumations. In the late seventh century, there could be up to 164 burials. Therefore the architecture of the graves in these three regions shows autonomous developments.

Claus Dobiati has compared grave chambers of dry walls with a *dromos* in the royal tumulus called Kröllkogel in the valley of the Sulm (Styria, Austria) and further examples in Süttő, Vaskeresztes (Transdanubia, Hungary), Pivola (Štajersko, Slovenia) and Martijanec (Varaždin County, Croatia) with structurally similar grave mounds in Etruria.⁴²⁸²

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5Material culture

5.1Swords from 'the north' in ninth century Etruria

Solid hilted swords belong to the tradition of central European bronze smiths (see [chapter 44](#) Iaia). *Antenne* swords find their antecessors in the north-Alpine three-ridged types. Instead, a completely different tradition shows the flange-hilted swords with pommel in use from the late Bronze Age in Central Italy and in Calabria (see [chapter 11](#) Egg), rightly called *spade italiche* by Vera Bianco Peroni.⁴²⁸³

The *antenne* sword in grave M 3 at Tarquinia-Arcatelle appears as a heavy news in the local weaponry ([Fig. 41.2](#)).⁴²⁸⁴ Of course one should not rely on the often-repeated depreciatory estimation of the Etruscans as notorious copyists.⁴²⁸⁵ Much more adequate is the predication of Louis Daniel Nebelsick, who emphasized the ‘ostentatious presentation’ of foreign contacts by leaders of the social elites.⁴²⁸⁶ This fits with the idea of the eminent chieftain of a family that soon will take over the leading role in the social fabric of Tarquinia much better.⁴²⁸⁷

The manner and methods of contacts with Central European chieftains remains unclear. At the moment when in Etruria sophisticated burial manners appeared, in Central Europe a new canon of burial rites had banned to put distinctive goods in the graves. *Antenne* swords comparable to the item from Tarquinia were mainly found in lakes in modern day Switzerland.⁴²⁸⁸ A geographical connection between Etruria and modern day Switzerland has given by the sword found in a grave in Ponte Nuovo at Gazzo Veronese in the Po valley, dating to the second half of the ninth century, the same period of the burial at Tarquinia.⁴²⁸⁹

Swords should not only be seen as weapons. The small number of finds from Etruscan necropolises in comparison to warrior graves in other places equipped with axes or spears reveals the leading position of their bearers. Etruscan chieftain burials, therefore, deliver an excellent paradigm for the funerals with swords in the south and southeast Alpine region, which were often sparsely equipped.

During the eighth century, the design of Etruscan *antenne* swords were changed slightly,⁴²⁹⁰ whereas in the south and southeast Alpine regions they were completely reshaped;⁴²⁹¹ they were called by Markus Egg “traditional swords.”⁴²⁹² Bologna, the Etruscan *Felsina*, was certainly a point of interception, because besides prestige goods from the south and north, almost all variations have appeared here (see [chapter 44](#) Iaia). These *insignia* connect the leading Etruscan warriors with the ‘*koiné adriatica*’ in the sense of Renato Peroni.⁴²⁹³

5.2 Warriors in movement

No data exist about one or two Italic swords of the Vulci-type, which are reputed to have come from Stična and are now in the British Museum.⁴²⁹⁴ Since Biba Teržan had noted the tendency to shorter blades of arms for the

close combat as an influence of Etruscan warfare, these Italic swords might have been a key role in south-east European weaponry, if the provenance is correct.⁴²⁹⁵

A Villanovan type helmet was discovered in Hallstatt, the eponymous site in the heart of the Alps. Unfortunately, the records of grave 49 (so called Linz excavations) are too contradictory for a reliable interpretation.⁴²⁹⁶

Another fragment of a Villanovan helmet was found in a vertical cave—the Mušja jama—in the Karst region of Slovenia (Notranjsko) as one of many offerings once deposited there.⁴²⁹⁷ It might have been booty sacrificed to an underworld god.

The bowl-shaped helmet from tomb 85 at Verucchio-La Rocca causes interpretative problems. There is no doubt that the piece's provenance is the Dolenjsko group,⁴²⁹⁸ but it was found together with typical regional rich male attire, a pair of horse bits as a *pars pro toto* fitting for a chariot, a plentitude of local ceramic vessels, and even wooden furniture very similar to that of the *Tomba del Trono* (see [chapter 76](#) von Eles), but strangely enough without real weapons.⁴²⁹⁹ In terms of who was buried in tomb 85, tentatively one could think about a political hostage, an *obses*, which is what the Romans would have called such a person somewhat later.⁴³⁰⁰

Pairs of spearheads in southeastern Hallstatt culture have often been erroneously seen as a reflex to the armament of Greek *hoplites*. But the combat technique of the *phalanx* was strictly combined with the double handled shields (see [chapter 11](#) Egg). Marco Pacciarelli points out that pairs of spearheads first appeared on the Apennine peninsula in Early Iron Age (second half of the tenth century) Calabria long before the Greek influence in southern Italy.⁴³⁰¹ In Etruria multiple spearheads turn up as grave furniture in the second half of the eighth century.⁴³⁰² In Slovenia, on the contrary, pairs of spears regularly appear from the second half of the seventh century onwards.⁴³⁰³ Since in both regions the same form of oval shield with central handle (*scutum*) was in use,⁴³⁰⁴ and axes were the most common weapon for close combat, there are certain analogies in warfare to discern. So it is no wonder that Italic helmets with brims became adopted by elite southeastern warriors. First there appeared types from Picenum, and later in the sixth century appeared the Etruscan varieties of helmets of the Negau-type.⁴³⁰⁵

5.3 Gift exchange in Etruscan courts

The bronze cup found in grave M 3 in the necropolis at Tarquinia-Arcatelle derives from Central European craftsmanship, like the *antenne* sword. Cristiano Iaia focuses on a small tripod bearing little vessels on its rim—a local product whose archetypes as ceramic models can be traced to the eleventh century⁴³⁰⁶ and confirms the existence of regional variations on the elaborated banquet. The pompous crested bronze helmet, the spearhead with

faceted tube as well as the serpentine fibula covered with gold foil demonstrate furthermore the high ranking status of the buried warrior as well his social affiliation.

Although Etruscan workshops had revealed a first heyday during the eighth century, eastern Alpine bronze vessels appeared in outstanding graves.⁴³⁰⁷ Giovannangelo Camporeale was probably exaggerating when he tried to ascribe a bronze basin with horizontal handles bearing bull-head protomes and lotus-attachments in cypro-levantine tradition to a “maestro hallstattiano” comparing the decorative band in the line of staff with a meander in form of swastikas.⁴³⁰⁸ Since the decorative band never appeared in the east-alpine region but on ceramic vessels in Bologna,⁴³⁰⁹ the personification of a ‘proto-’ Helico, the famous Helvetic smith in Rome who was recorded by Pliny (Plin. HN 12.2.5), does not seem very reliable.

The two bronze buckets from the circoli “delle Sfingi” and “delle Pellicce” in Vetulonia doubtless originate from eastern Alpine workshops (Fig. 82.4).⁴³¹⁰ Alberto Dei interpreted some cases of a completely harnessed horse—in the form of harnesses in Pontic-Danubian style found in Etruscan graves—as the presents of hostesses.⁴³¹¹

Personal contacts between the elite of both regions can be pointed out. Georg Kossack reflected on expeditions leaded by military attachments.⁴³¹² Reciprocity on home base might be the fitting model of trade after Colin Renfrew.⁴³¹³

But the buckets were just part of a multitude of exotic goods of attraction.⁴³¹⁴ One must not forget the bronzes from Sardinia, or later on, ceramic vessels from Greece—mainly drinking cups (see chapter 44 Iaia). Regrettably, classical archaeologists tend to overestimate the role of Greek finds from abroad. Thus, Greek imported pottery is often seen as an influence in drinking costumes of the local elites. Instead of *krateres*, *lebetes* and *stamnoi*, the Etruscans preferred biconical amphorae as mixing vessels complete with ladle-cups with rounded bottoms and cups made entirely of bronze to sophisticated drinking sets.⁴³¹⁵ These components also differed considerably from those used by high-ranking persons in the Venetic and in the eastern Alpine area, which can be traced even to the twelfth century.⁴³¹⁶ Situlae with ladles, dippers, strainer-cups and drinking cups formed the sets used by the elites for the banquet.

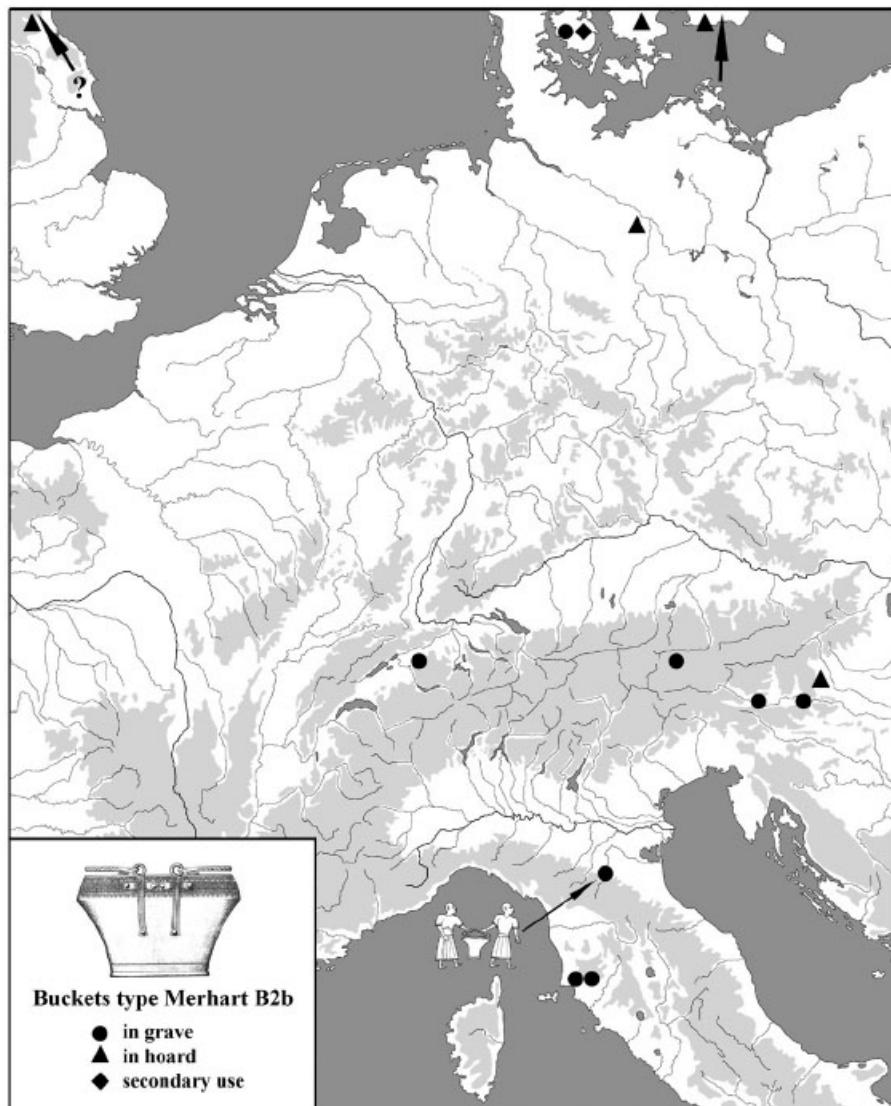


Fig. 82.4: The distribution of bronze buckets of the type Merhart B2b

5.4 Out of Etruria

Particular eighth- and seventh-century graves in southern Etruria were furnished with equipment for upscale banquets. Thin iron spits with rolled-up ends are distinctively Etruscan. Additionally, firedogs, bronze plates, tripods and respectively so-called horse-tripods complete the ceremonial furnishings. A few graves in the western Hallstatt culture contained such spits or their local imitations (see [chapter 83](#) Baitinger). A *kreagra* (meat-fork) from the warrior's grave of Gornja Radgona (Štajerska, Slovenia) is an Etruscan

import,⁴³¹⁷ as are the tripods from Este and Novo mesto (Dolenjsko, Slovenia).⁴³¹⁸ As a whole, however, Etruscan imports into the Venetic and southeastern Hallstatt cultures were scarce.⁴³¹⁹

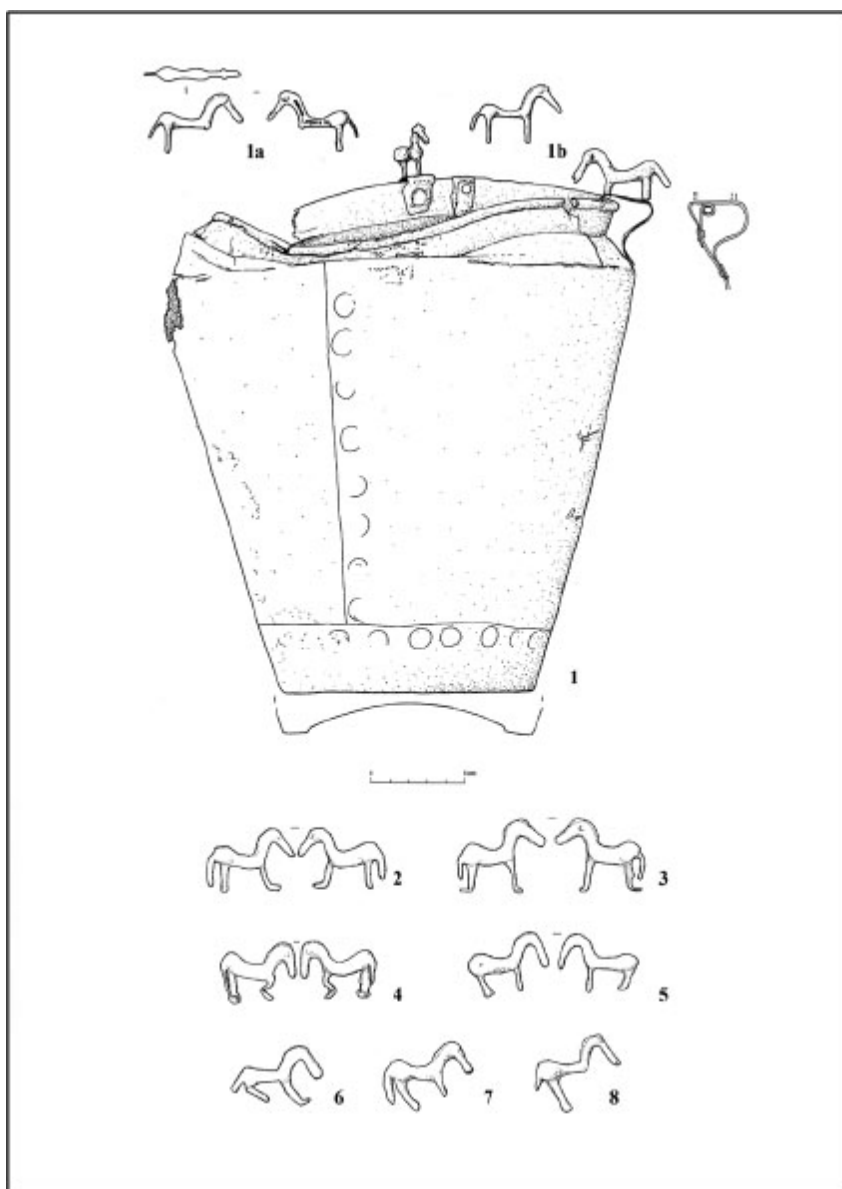


Fig. 82.5: A bronze situla of the Kurd-type with horse attachments from Tumulus 48 in Frög, Carinthia (after Tomedi 2002)

On the other hand, the figurative design of the Etruscan horse-tripods influenced the bronze bowl supported by two human legs from Črnomica at the Rifnik (Štajerska, Slovenia).⁴³²⁰ The same is true for the bronze situla from

Frög/Breg (Carinthia, Austria) bearing horse figurines on the handles (Fig. 82.5); they find their best parallels in Etruscan art.⁴³²¹



Fig. 82.6: The ritual bronze chariot from Strettweg, Styria (after Egg 1996a)

Both graves, in addition to the extremely rich burial from Strettweg (upper Styria, Austria; Fig. 82.6), with its famous ritual model chariot, belong to the seventh century. Markus Egg emphasizes that the chariot's complex design can hardly be suggested without Etruscan paragons, even though exact parallels cannot be traced.⁴³²²

The style and tenor of the Situla Art were inspired by Etruscan orientaling art, even though skilled local artisans created some scenic subjects independently.⁴³²³ Giovanni Colonna believes that an Etruscan sheet bronze

specialist designed one of the oldest situlae, the famous specimen from Este-Benvenuti.⁴³²⁴ Certainly, impacts on ideals count in a cultural historic sight much more than foreign goods. In fact, the number of Etruscan commodities in the south and southeast Alpine area is almost negligible, and imported goods of attraction are quite scarce.⁴³²⁵

A strong obligation to the picture of an Etruscan king arises vividly from the bronze fans found in Histria⁴³²⁶ and in the depiction of noblemen with fans at the situla in Providence (Rhode Island).⁴³²⁷ In the daily life of the elite Etruscan style appealed more and more to new fashions of dress, proven by the change in the design of fibulae from the seventh century onward.⁴³²⁸ Therefore it is no wonder that Etruscans founded an *emporion* at Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito,⁴³²⁹ north of the Po River, at the Mincio River (see [chapter 78](#) de Marinis).

The great number of amphorae found there led Raffaele de Marinis to the plausible opinion that wine was decanted here into wineskins for further transport across the Alps. Of course, this is an uncertain field regarding the trade with goods that are scarcely traceable in the archaeological record, like salt, furs, woven fabrics and all kinds of edible goods. Commodities must have played an important role in trade, as mentioned by ancient historians regarding later contexts (e.g. Hdt. 7.147.2; Strabo 4. 6.8; 17.1.33). Therefore the trade with Baltic or South Scandinavian amber might only give a glimpse of the trade's complexity.⁴³³⁰

There are also difficulties showing the transfer of *nomoi* in the sense of customs and conventions. Etruscan ladies held a high social status within their societies, which is shown by the genealogic system that also incorporated the woman's lineage.⁴³³¹ The women of the Kalenderberg-Culture in the eastern foothills of the Alps also had a high social status.⁴³³² It might not be a mere coincidence that with the beginning of a new dress code during the first half of the seventh century in the southeastern Alpine area—which included Italic fibulae—ostentatiously rich furnished female burials became increasingly common.⁴³³³ Writing became widespread due to the Etruscan interactions with the Veneti and even the Raetic people in the Alpine region.⁴³³⁴

In conclusion, we can emphasize that the cultures in the south and southeast Alpine areas had formed autonomous societies on a high technologic level adapted the regional conditions and climatic factors. There was no need to be on the drip of Mediterranean civilizations to improve to a better mastering of the daily life. But an Etruscan fascination within some local elites seems definitely obvious.

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Holger Baitinger

83Transalpine Regions

Abstract: Central Italic–Etruscan imports reached the area north of the Alps occasionally beginning in the ninth/eighth century BCE (Ha B 3/Ha C), and increasingly in the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods (Ha D/Lt A). These foreign items played an important role for the native elites who made their name through possession of such prestige objects and created a network of relationships and dependencies through their exchange.

A large number of Etruscan imports into Central Europe are eating and drinking utensils, and so are connected with the ceremonial symposium of the elites. The spectrum of imported utensils was limited, to be sure, and did not embrace the entire bandwidth of what would be needed for a symposium in the Etruscan-Greek sphere. Containers for liquids and drinking vessels predominate such as beaked flagons (Ger. *Schnabelkannen*), which toward the end of the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods (fifth century) become a “type fossil” of Etruscan imports north of the Alps. The increasing inrush of Mediterranean goods was accompanied by an increasing influence on the native Celtic craft industry, which is manifested in the emergence of the Celtic La Tène style, the development of large stone sculpture, and the imitation of Etruscan bronze vessels. How deep these influences reached is shown by the appearance of the potter’s wheel, the adoption of Etruscan fashions, the influx of dried fruits from the Mediterranean area, and the use of a precision balance in the settlement of Hochdorf in Baden-Württemberg. Other aspects, though, are harder to assess, because information on such things as the cut and decoration of clothing is missing from the archaeological record.

From the beginning, Trans-Alpine communication routes seem to have had special significance for the influx of Etruscan imports. On one side they passed through the Golasecca culture in the Western Padan Plain, on the other across the eastern Alps and through Bohemia and Moravia as far as Silesia. Beginning in the second half of the sixth century, the rise of the Greek colony of Massalia/Marseille gained significance for the opening of the route via the Rhône, Saône, and Doubs and brought imported Mediterranean goods to eastern France and southwestern Germany. Contacts reached their apex in the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods, when Etruscan and Greek imports belonged among the indispensable components of the princely graves of the native elites. With the cessation of the custom of princely graves in the fourth century, the number of Etruscan objects in Central Europe falls off sharply.

Keywords: Etruscan imports, Central Europe, Hallstatt and La Tène periods, princely graves, princely sites

Introduction

Etruscan and Greek objects that have been found north of the Alps, far from their places of origin, already piqued the interest of archaeological research in the second half of the nineteenth century. That is the first time bronze utensils

in a Mediterranean style known as *altitalisch* were found in Central Europe. The Italic–Central European connections thus uncovered were significant not only because before the development of scientific dating methods (such as dendrochronology) the Mediterranean goods constituted the sole reliable benchmarks for the absolute chronology of the Late Bronze and Iron Age in Central Europe,⁴³³⁵ but also because they testify to contacts between the Iron Age elites of Central Europe and the advanced civilizations of the Mediterranean area, indeed centuries before the invasion of Celtic groups into northern and central Italy in the fourth century BCE.

The number of Greek and Etruscan finds north of the Alps has grown considerably since then, and the discussion of their points of origin, dating, and significance within the native cultural structure remains in flux,⁴³³⁶ so that in this chapter consideration is necessarily limited to the most important groups of objects.⁴³³⁷ The Alpine area is not included, where northern Italic fibulae from the end of the Urnfield period are well known from Swiss lake dwellings;⁴³³⁸ the many Etruscan objects from western France are also brushed entirely aside, because the circumstances of their discovery often appear quite doubtful.⁴³³⁹

The interaction between the Mediterranean and the Early Iron Age culture groups north of the Alps focused above all on splendidly equipped tombs under large tumuli, the “princely graves” or *Prunkgräber* of the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène period.⁴³⁴⁰ First place belongs to these prominent burials in which Mediterranean imports and other prominent items of artistic craft production are accumulated, whereas settlements and storage or offering finds retreat as types of sources. The exotic valuables in the princely graves served for the self-presentation of an aristocratic class that legitimated itself through the possession of these “*keimelia*” and that at the same time sought to create an effective network of relationships among themselves through their exchange.⁴³⁴¹ How far the contacts in the Mediterranean area contributed to the development of these groups of persons, or whether their rise constituted the conditions for closer relationships of Mediterranean cultures with those north of the Alps, remains a disputed question, and neither of the alternatives can be definitively chosen.

This chapter covers the time from the end of the Urnfield period—the ninth century (Ha B 3)—to the Early La Tène period, approximately between 450 and 280BCE (LtA/B); the focus lies on the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods (Ha D/Lt A), the sixth and fifth centuries. The briefer consideration here of the earliest, still scattered imports is justified by the existence of modern summaries.⁴³⁴² In any case, purposeful, northward-directed Etruscan trade activities can hardly be considered before the urbanization processes that took place in Central Italy from the second half of the eighth century, and the rise of the Etruscan cities must be understood as important prerequisites for intensified northern contacts from the seventh century.

The oldest Etruscan imports north of the Alps precede those from Greece

(or Western Greece) temporally, since the latter only reached Central Europe in the second half of the sixth century in considerable number, when the Phocaean colony of Massalia/Marseille had risen to be the dominant economic power in the western Mediterranean.⁴³⁴³ Its position near the mouth of the Rhône opened one of the most important trade routes to Central Europe, via the Rhône, Saône, and Doubs on the upper Rhine or via the Seine to the Atlantic coast and on to the tin mines of Cornwall. Above all in the second half of the sixth and early fifth centuries, Mediterranean goods would have reached central France along this route, alongside Attic vases and valuables like the monumental krater of Vix⁴³⁴⁴ and perhaps the bronze cauldron from Hochdorf.⁴³⁴⁵

The question of whether an object was manufactured in Etruria or is an imitation created elsewhere cannot always be clearly answered. The ability to create high-quality metalwork was also possessed by craftsmen in the Po region, the southeast Alpine area, and the Carpathian basin. Without detailed investigations—including manufacturing techniques and metallurgical analyses—uncertainties remain in determining their origin. An argument based solely on formal stylistic observations and distribution maps cannot resolve the doubt.

A considerable portion of the Etruscan finds north of the Alps consists of bronze eating and drinking utensils, which were used in ceremonial banquets of the native elites. They imitated the symposia of the Mediterranean world, but did not exactly copy them. The temporal focus of the imports lies in the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods; their distribution agrees with that of the princely graves. While the earlier princely graves of the northwest Alpine Late Hallstatt region (Ha D) are found primarily in southwestern Germany, eastern France, and Switzerland, those of the Early La Tène period are in a more northerly zone between the Champagne to the west and Bohemia to the east, but especially between the Saar and the Middle Rhine. This fact must be kept in mind in the inspection and interpretation of distribution maps of Etruscan objects in Central Europe. Additionally, it must be kept in mind that only a part of the imports has found its way into the stream of transmission and that the “transfer of ideas” is difficult to identify from archaeological sources.

1The oldest central Italic imports north of the Alps: Late Urnfield and Early Hallstatt periods (Ha B 3/Ha C = ca. ninth century – 625 BCE)

Relations between ancient Italy and Central Europe go back to the Late Urnfield period, but before the end of the seventh century—the beginning of the Ha D phase—remained isolated.⁴³⁴⁶ It appears questionable whether the

oldest Etruscan objects in the north actually arrived there directly, or via a chain of exchanges. Common roots of the Late Bronze / Early Iron Age metalwork of Italy and Central Europe, which are to be sought in southeastern Europe, also play an important role in this context. Religious symbols like the so-called *Vogel-Sonnen-Barke* occur both in the Villanova culture and in the Urnfield period of Central and Eastern Europe, and there are also correspondences in the realm of technical skills (e.g. the point-boss decoration on bronze vessels).⁴³⁴⁷

One of the oldest Central Italic–Etruscan imports in the area north of the Alps is the bronze amphora from Olsberg-Gevelinghausen (Hochsauerlandkreis, North Rhine–Westphalia), which belongs to the Gevelinghausen-Vejo-Seddin group defined by Albrecht Jockenhövel (Figs. 44.1 and 44.2).⁴³⁴⁸ The biconical vessel was preserved in a cremation burial of the Late Urnfield period and finds its best parallel in Grave AA 1 of the Villanovan necropolis of Veii–Quattro Fontanili, which is why it was seen as an import from central Italy,⁴³⁴⁹ as was another amphora that came to light in 1896 in Przesławice (Ger. Prenzlawitz) near Grudziądz (Graudenz, Silesia) in a deposit of the Montelius V period.⁴³⁵⁰ The amphora from Przesławice is one of the northernmost pieces of evidence for a contact zone that extended from Italy to the eastern Alps and Bohemia/Moravia as far as Silesia and also must be considered along with other finds (e.g. fibulae). All in all, the Etruscan provenience of the amphora from Gevelinghausen must remain uncertain, as already indicated by Jockenhövel in the original publication and more recently by Cristiano Iaia.⁴³⁵¹ Jockenhövel connected it with a northern Alpine metal workshop, while Iaia concluded that it had come from the area of the Este culture or the Caput Adriae. This makes it clear how tricky the question of origin is to answer, especially if only a limited number of comparable vessels are available. Furthermore, scattered Villanova razors⁴³⁵² and fibulae⁴³⁵³ are known from Late Urnfield contexts north of the Alps.

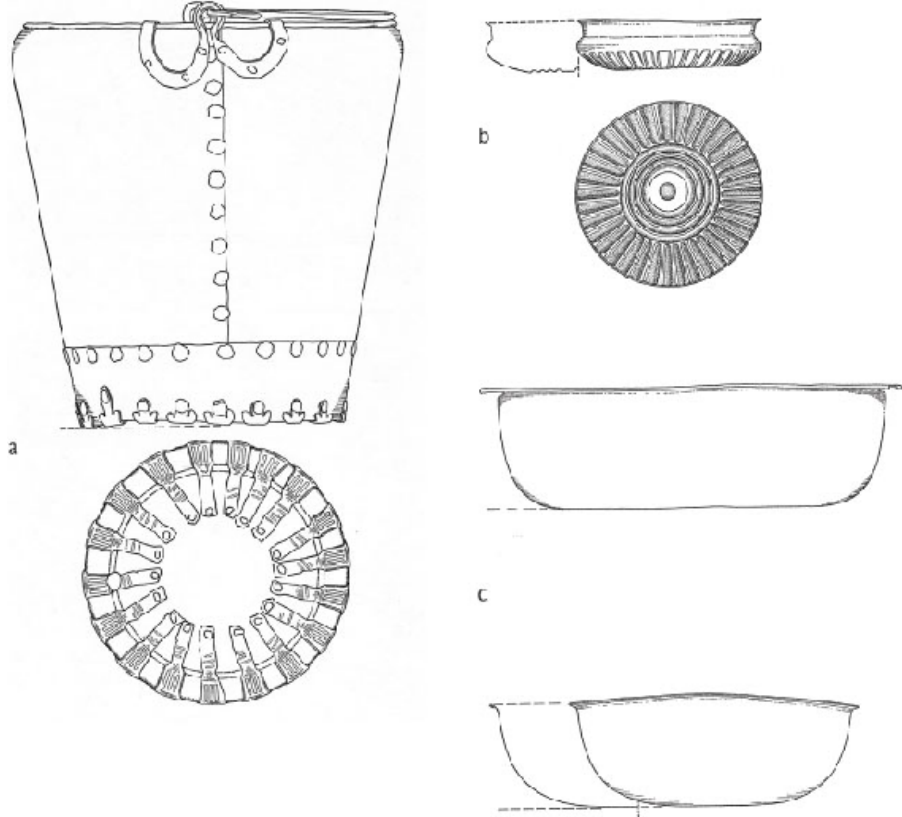


Fig. 83.1 a–c: Bronze vessels from burial mound 1 Grave 12 of the Eichlehen group in the Frankfurt City Forest: a. situla; b. ribbed-bowl; c. basins (after U. Fischer 1979, pls. 8–10)

In the Early Hallstatt period (Ha C), Central Europe yields a series of remarkable Etruscan finds.⁴³⁵⁴ A rich grave in the Frankfurt City Forest (Frankfurt am Main, Hesse) included, among other things, a bronze situla with crescent-shaped handle attachments, a bronze ribbed bowl, and two simple bronze basins (Fig. 83.1).⁴³⁵⁵ The Frankfurt grave not only is the richest from the Early Hallstatt period in the Rhein-Main area, but with its four bronze vessels, two of which (at least) are from Etruria, it counts among the richest burials of this period from Central Europe. If we consider the routes by which the Etruscan vessels crossed the Alps, we should bear in mind that parts of the Frankfurt inventory point to eastern Central Europe, such as the yoke that has counterparts in the central Bohemian Bylany culture and the iron cheek-piece of Kossack's Type Ic.

The situla with crescent-shaped handle attachments is the only large vessel in the grave and replaced as beverage container the otherwise normal conical-necked clay vessels.⁴³⁵⁶ Similar bronze buckets are known from graves of the Orientalizing period in central and northern Italy, while north of the Alps only one example from Elsdorf-Oberembt (Erftkreis, North Rhine–Westphalia) can

be set alongside the Frankfurt situla.⁴³⁵⁷

Inside the bucket was a bronze bowl with radial ribs that must have been used as a ladle.⁴³⁵⁸ The excavator's opinion that the bowl (*phiale*) was subsequently changed into a sieve is rather improbable.⁴³⁵⁹ North of the Alps, only five ribbed bowls have been found so far (Fig. 83.2), scattered between Burgundy in the west and Hungary in the east (Frankfurt City Forest, Appenwihr,⁴³⁶⁰ Poiseul-la-Ville,⁴³⁶¹ Hallstatt,⁴³⁶² Sarkad/Hungary⁴³⁶³). Good parallels are found in both older and younger circle graves (It. *circoli*) in Vetulonia, which is also suspected of being the origin of the bowls.⁴³⁶⁴ The burials from the Frankfurt City Forest and Poiseul-la-Ville (département Côte-d'Or) date to the early phase of the Early Hallstatt period (Ha C 1, the second half of the eighth or first quarter of the seventh century). Ribbed bowls and situlae with crescent-shaped handle attachments are found not only in Etruria, but also in the Po Plain, so that an import from northern Italy may be suggested.⁴³⁶⁵

Among the undecorated bronze basins,⁴³⁶⁶ at least the larger one must be of Italic provenience.⁴³⁶⁷ The basins were found together with two clay bowls in the northwest corner of the burial chamber, not far from the animal bones and an iron butcher knife; this indicates that they were components of the banqueting service. Basins with flat rims like the larger of the two Frankfurt examples appear south of the Alps in considerably smaller numbers than basins with embossed rims (Ger. *Perlrandbecken*), a type that appears in southern Germany, for example in Pürgen (Kr. Landsberg am Lech, Bavaria).⁴³⁶⁸ Dirk Krausse chose this vessel as the eponym for his Pürgen variant of the Osovo-Pürgen type, which dates to the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century, thus already in the Late Hallstatt period.⁴³⁶⁹ An atypical bowl with a double row of bosses from burial mound IX of Chavéria (département Jura) went together with a Late Urnfield-period sword of the Auvernier type, but was probably buried only at the beginning of Ha C.⁴³⁷⁰ According to Krausse, it is not an import, but a native imitation of an Italic model.⁴³⁷¹

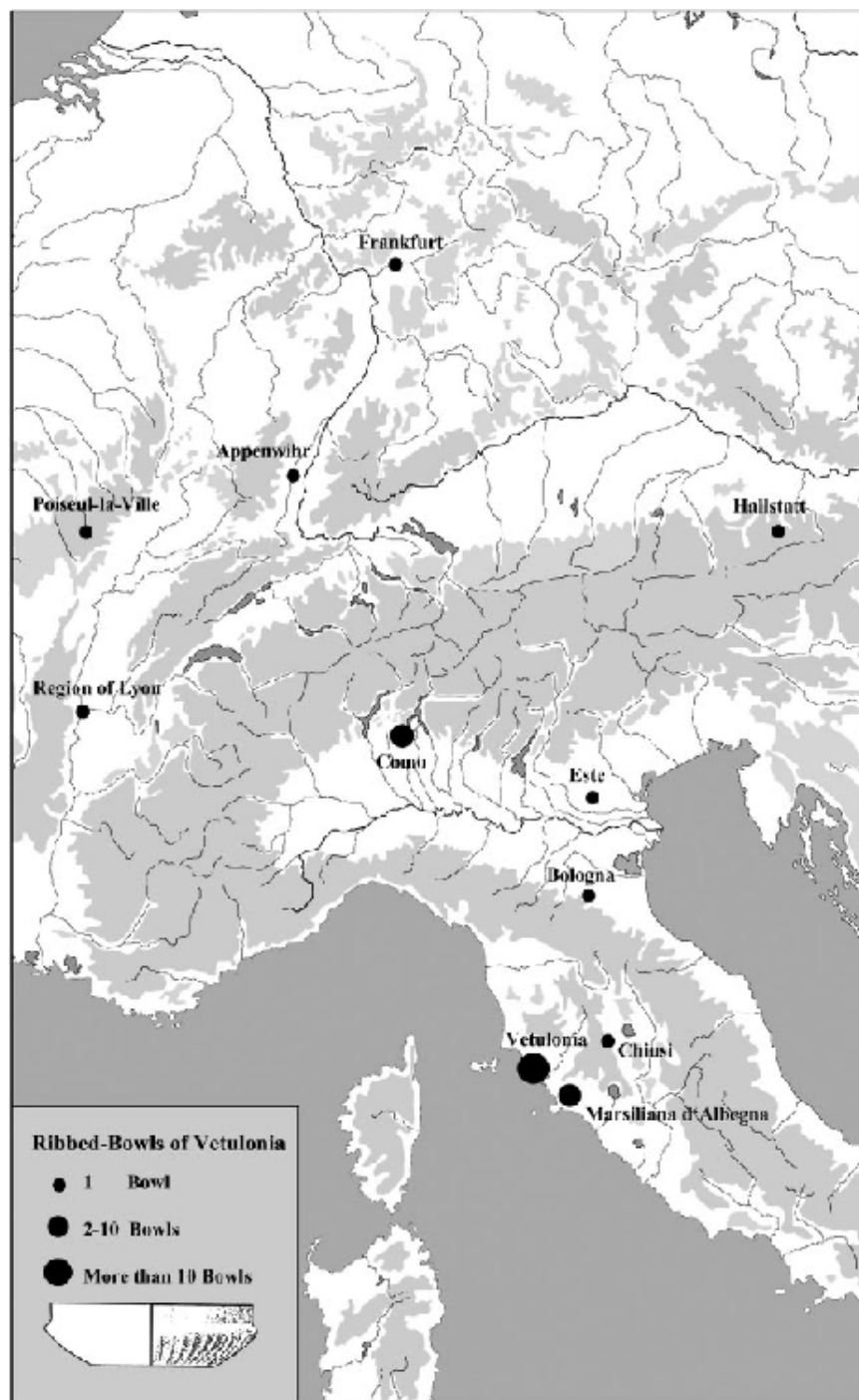


Fig. 83.2: Distribution of ribbed bowls (after A.-M. Adam 1997, 8, pl. 1)

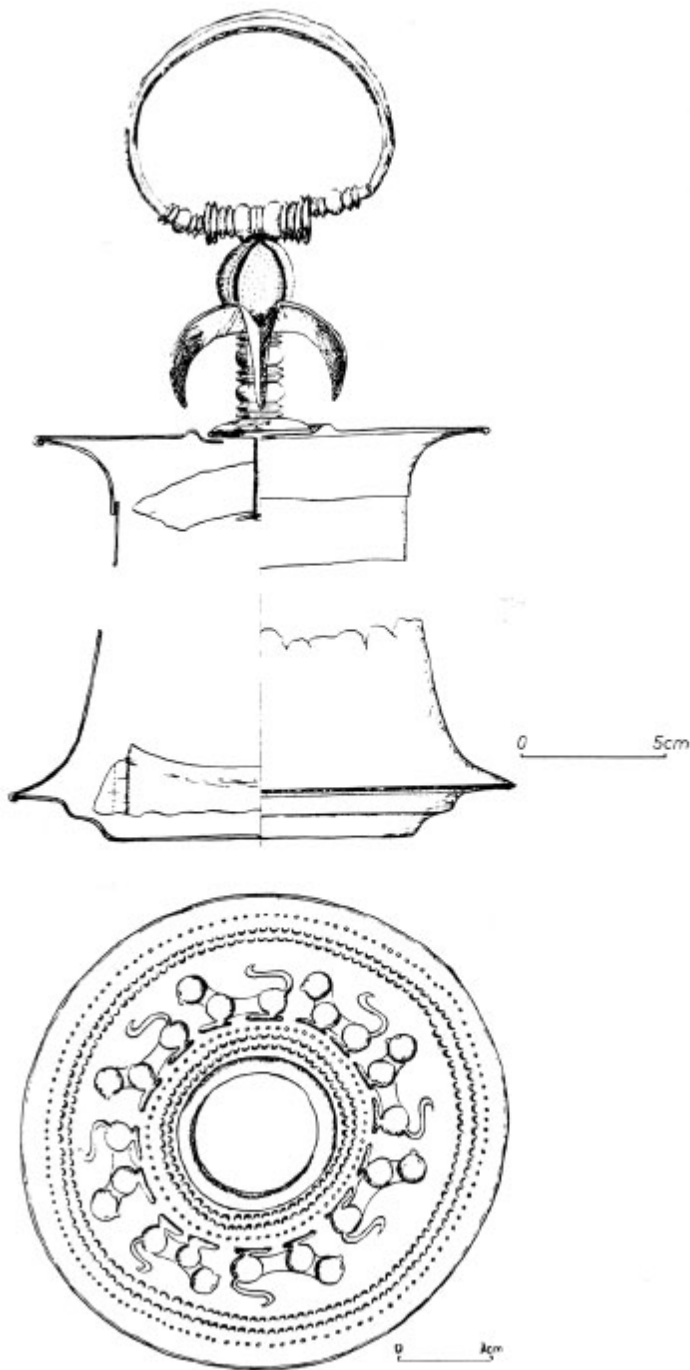


Fig. 83.3: *Pyxis* from burial mound I in the “Kastenwald” of Appenwihr (département Haut-Rhin) (after A.-M. Adam 1997, 14, fig. 3)

One of the aforementioned ribbed bowls from burial mound I in the “Kastenwald” of Appenwihr (département Haut-Rhin) went together with a

pyxis of Etruscan origin (Fig. 83.3). This grave also contained other bronze vessels such as a footed bowl, a ladle, and a sieve.⁴³⁷² In the case of the *pyxis* as well, it is not entirely uncontroversial whether it is an Etruscan original or an imitation. It dates to the mid seventh century, with the decoration on the lid comparable with works from the Este culture, the form comparable with a “censer” from Vetulonia. Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase saw it as an import from Tyrrhenian Central Italy.⁴³⁷³ Recently Anne-Marie Adam has advocated a dating to the first half or middle of the seventh century.⁴³⁷⁴

Iron spits and fire dogs on which meat was roasted over an open fire are connected with the preparation and consumption of meals. Such equipment is known from occasional Early Hallstatt-period graves north of the Alps (Beilngries [Lkr. Eichstätt, Bavaria] “Im Ried-West” Grave 74,⁴³⁷⁵ Großebstadt [Lkr. Rhön-Grabfeld, Bavaria] Necropolis II Grave 14/1981).⁴³⁷⁶ This is unimaginable without influence from the Etruscan–central Italic area, even if it is merely a matter of local imitations.⁴³⁷⁷ The lancet-shaped grip of the Beilngries spits (Fig. 83.4) corresponds to Kohler’s type IV and is paralleled in rich seventh-century tombs in the Etruscan world (Quinto Fiorentino, Cerveteri, Pontecagnano).⁴³⁷⁸ The number of spits north of the Alps remains limited in Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène–period contexts, but they are now also found in fortified hilltop settlements like that of the Heuneburg on the upper Danube (Kr. Sigmaringen, Baden-Württemberg)⁴³⁷⁹ and the Alter Gleisberg in Graitschen bei Bürgel (Saale-Holzland-Kreis, Thuringia).⁴³⁸⁰ They attest to the acceptance of Mediterranean dining practices. Roasting meat over an open fire was an important component of the sacrificial meal in Greek sanctuaries,⁴³⁸¹ so that the spits and firedogs are doubtless religiously charged objects.

Villanovan fibulae frequently appear north of the Alps in Early Hallstatt contexts, but this includes quite a few early finds, the circumstances of whose discovery remain doubtful.⁴³⁸² Nonetheless it is striking that the future core area of the northwest Alpine Late Hallstatt region in southern Germany and eastern France remains almost entirely devoid of finds. According to Peter Ettel, the “topographic siting on important trade routes appears to be typical of most of the Italic fibulae of the eighth and seventh centuries north of the Alps”.⁴³⁸³ Modern excavations have yielded, for example, an Italic dragon fibula, which was found in 1982 in Necropolis II of Großebstadt (Landkreis Rhön-Grabfeld, Bavaria).⁴³⁸⁴ This fibula probably reached the Grabfeldgau via the eastern Alps and Bohemia/Moravia; its chamber tombs resemble those of the central Bohemian Bylany culture.

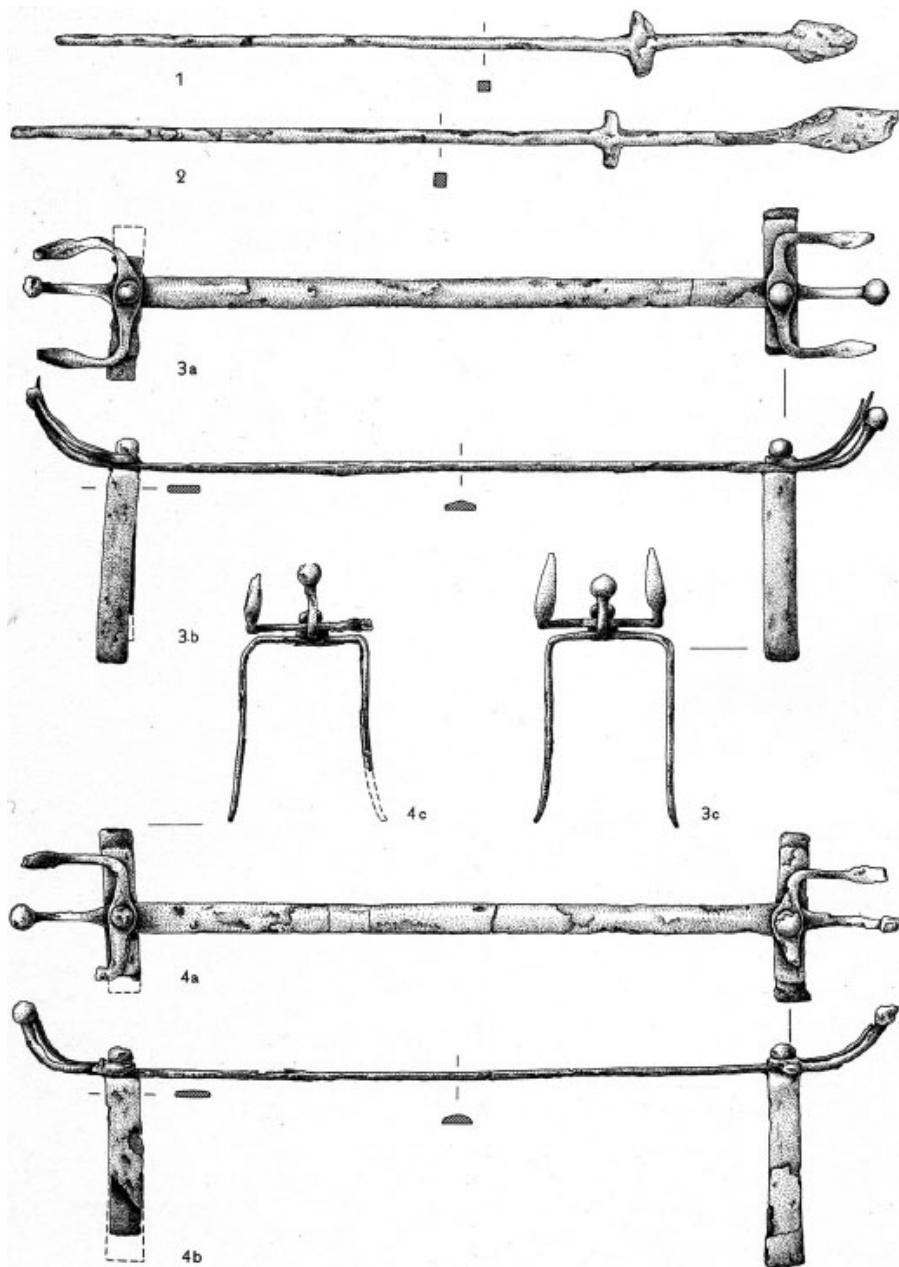


Fig. 83.4: Roasting spits and firedogs from Beilngries "Im Ried-West" Grave 74 (after Torbrügge 1965, pl. 28)

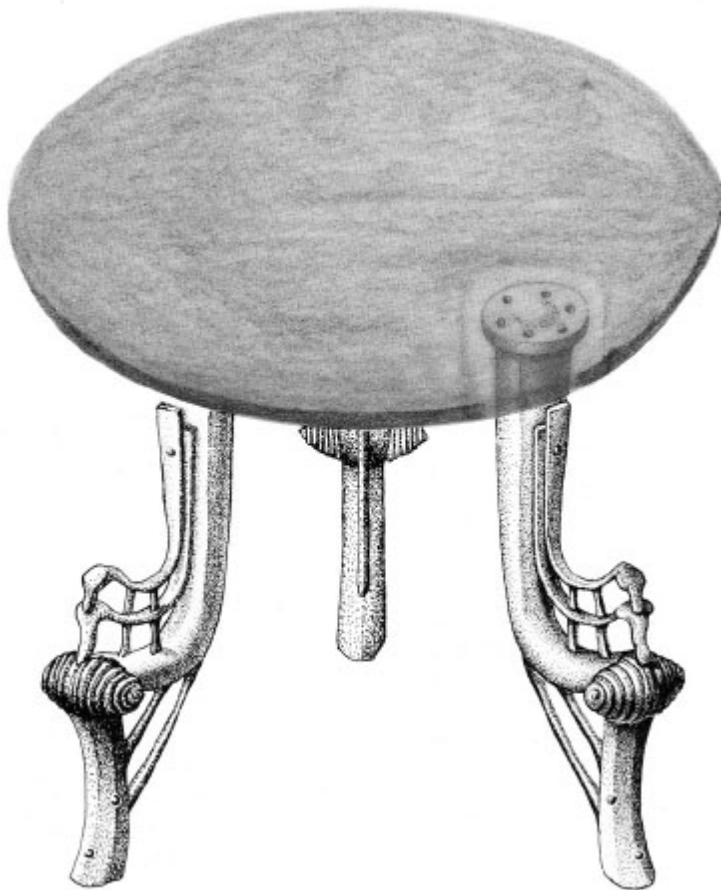


Fig. 83.5: Reconstruction of a three-legged table in the Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer in Wiesbaden (after zu Erbach-Schönberg 1994, 43, fig. 3)

Some exotic Etruscan imports north of the Alps are three bronze table legs with an iron and clay core (now in the Wiesbaden museum). They are very similar to wooden tables from Verucchio (province of Rimini) (Fig. 83.5).⁴³⁸⁵ Supposedly they were found in the spring of 1851 near Saarbrücken, perhaps in a burial mound. That there are three supports this information, as they probably come from a complete piece of furniture whose top is now unfortunately missing. In this case as well, the circumstances of their discovery appear very doubtful. Indeed, Mediterranean furniture is known from Late Hallstatt graves of Central Europe, such as wooden *klinai* with ivory and amber trim⁴³⁸⁶ and the bronze sofa from Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Kr. Ludwigsburg, Baden-Württemberg), which ultimately goes back to Etruscan models.⁴³⁸⁷ It thus appears quite likely that the table legs do indeed come from a rich grave in the Saarland.

2Late Hallstatt period (Ha D = ca. 625–450 BCE)

The second half of the seventh and first half of the sixth century saw in the western and central Mediterranean a perceptible expansion of Etruscan overseas trade, which for example can be understood through the distribution of bucchero (Fig. 49.2).⁴³⁸⁸ The area north of the Alps did not remain untouched by these circumstances, and a strengthened influx of Etruscan objects can now be verified there. While in the Late Urnfield and Early Hallstatt periods there were still mainly isolated vessels, which were hardly ever part of an ensemble, this changed in Ha D, especially with the Ha D 2 phase in the mid sixth century. This is also attributed to the fact that with the princely graves, the type of source comes on the scene for which we can thank most of the Etruscan finds from Central Europe. Commonly, these rich burials lie in close proximity to one of those fortified hilltop settlements that by analogy to the “princely graves” are called “princely sites” (Ger. *Fürstensitze*).⁴³⁸⁹ Finally the idea of constructing fortified central places can be attributed to Etruscan influence, and the establishment of the custom of princely graves in Central Europe can hardly be explained without knowledge of rich burials of the Orientalizing period in central Italy.

As in the Early Hallstatt period, bronze vessels still come to the fore, whereas central Italic pottery (bucchero, Etrusco-Corinthian ware) north of the Alps is extremely rare and, quantitatively, rank behind Attic ware.⁴³⁹⁰ A fragment of a bucchero pesante vessel decorated with a relief representing a winged wildcat—apparently the decorative panel of an incense burner from the second half of the sixth century typical of Chiusi—is said to have come from Alter Gleisberg, a fortified hilltop settlement not far from Jena in Thuringia.⁴³⁹¹ A complete bucchero *kantharos* of Rasmussen’s Type 3e, which is widespread in the western Mediterranean area, was found near Koscielec (Kuyavy, Poland), but unfortunately it was lost in World War II.⁴³⁹² In southern France bucchero is distributed around the Gulf of Lion between Ampurias/Emporion and Marseille/Massalia, but like other Etruscan imports (e.g. transport amphorae) this pottery is not found inland.

Unlike bucchero, Attic black- and red-figure pottery is found everywhere, from the Ha D 2 phase on in Central European burials, but more commonly in settlements. The Attic sherds from the princely site on the Heuneburg belong to the decades between 540 and 480, especially the end of the sixth century.⁴³⁹³ It is hardly accidental that nothing appears here but components of drinking equipment (kraters, jugs, bowls, and beakers), whereas vessels for oils or ointments such as *aryballoi*, *alabastra*, or *exaleiptra* are absent. Thus the ceramic items too—like those of bronze—were used in banquets as festival equipment, and once in a while they were repaired when they broke (Kleinaspergle, Baden-Württemberg).⁴³⁹⁴

During the Late Hallstatt period, not only did the number of Mediterranean objects north of the Alps increase, but cultural influences were now clearly

evident. Thus from the beginning of Ha D, clothing north of the Alps was fastened Italic-style with a fibula, while the dress pin which stands in a Bronze Age tradition quickly lost its significance; the fibula was accepted during the sixth century as far as the region of the Central German highlands.⁴³⁹⁵ While the earliest fibulae were still imported, they soon began to be replaced by native pieces and forms. To what extent the new fashion with fibulae also brought about alterations in the cut and decoration of clothing is hard to determine because of the perishability of the material. The princely grave at Hochdorf yielded a red cloth-like textile, whose dye must have come from the scale insect *Kermes vermilio* native to the Mediterranean, and also the motifs of the textiles proven here show southern influence.⁴³⁹⁶ If the fibulae during the Late Hallstatt period become more and more delicate, this indicates the wearing of more delicate textiles and clothing. The golden sheets attached to the shoes from Hochdorf attest to the adoption of the Etruscan fashion of wearing pointed shoes.⁴³⁹⁷ The custom of decking out burial chambers with drapes, as at Hochdorf, was possibly also influenced by the furnishing of Etruscan chamber tombs.

Around 600, a new fortification wall was erected on the Heuneburg on the upper Danube, which was built using the Mediterranean technique from mud bricks on a base of Jura limestone.⁴³⁹⁸ Such construction seems unimaginable without the presence of a southern architect. The mud brick wall of the Heuneburg was in no way so unsuited to the Central European climate as is stated from time to time, since it existed longer than its successors, which were constructed in the traditional way as wood-stone-earth-walls. A protective plaster and the stone base, which prevented moisture from rising into the core, not only guaranteed it a long lifespan, but also at the same time made the wall into an imposing and prestigious edifice, whose effect on the contemporaries could not have been unsuccessful. Where the impulse came from to build such a fortification remains unclear, not least because Archaic period mud brick walls are fairly rare in the Mediterranean area (e.g. Siris/Policoro in Lucania, Himera in Sicily, Rusellae/Roselle in Etruria). In particular, the impressively thick and close-together rectangular towers of the main approach side find no contemporary parallels south of the Alps.⁴³⁹⁹ Even though no clear proof can be produced, the mud brick wall of the Heuneburg is most likely connected at the earliest with influences from the Italic-Etruscan area, though Greek imports north of the Alps appear in considerable number only after the mid sixth century.

The Heuneburg's mud brick wall remains isolated and had no influence on Iron Age fortification types in Central Europe. This is not the case for artistic crafts, where during the Late Hallstatt period a transfer of ideas from the south took place. Toward the end of the sixth century, the first life size, three-dimensional human sculptures in stone appear north of the Alps.⁴⁴⁰⁰ The oldest representative of this group, the warrior of Hirschlanden (Kr. Ludwigsburg, Baden-Württemberg), was found at the foot of a burial mound

not far from the Hohenasperg near Stuttgart.⁴⁴⁰¹ With his thick, broad collar—thought to be made of gold—and conical headgear, he recalls the equipment of contemporary princely graves like Eberdingen-Hochdorf.⁴⁴⁰² The gesture of the forearms on the body with extended thumbs is found in the same attitude in central Italic statues like that of Casale Marittimo (province of Pisa) from the seventh century and Capestrano (province of L’Aquila) from the sixth century.⁴⁴⁰³ About a century later—already in the Early La Tène period (Lt A)—there appear the four warrior statues from Glauberg (Wetteraukreis, Hesse).⁴⁴⁰⁴ They originally stood beside a large burial mound that covered two princely graves of the LT A period.⁴⁴⁰⁵ One of these statues has survived the millennia almost undamaged, because it was (ritually?) deposited in a ditch, whereas three others were shattered in antiquity and remain only in pieces. The similarities are striking between the equipment of the princely Grave 1 and the features of the statue(s), which, except for the Mediterranean composite cuirass, all together were found *realiter* in the grave. In their frontality and their flat, shelflike form, from which spatial depth appears to be absent, these statues are not dissimilar to the earliest Aegean stone portraits, such as the Nikandre of Delos from the mid seventh century, which stands at the beginning of large stone sculptures in Greece. On the basis of the great temporal distance between the Nikandre and the Hirschlanden or Glauberg statues, these similarities cannot be explained as direct influence on sculpture north of the Alps from Greek works (let alone sculptors). Instead, it is likely that in both cases already distinctive types of images were transferred to another medium, as from wood to stone. The oldest cult images of the Greek world—called *Xoana*—are made of wood,⁴⁴⁰⁶ and also for Hallstatt-period Central Europe wooden sculptures may be postulated, which would have temporally preceded those in stone. Because of the perishability of the material, they have been preserved only in the rarest of cases, so that their development cannot be reconstructed.

Direct evidence of the presence of an Etruscan craftsman on the upper Danube might be provided by the mold of a figural handle attachment from the Heuneburg that shows a bearded Silenus head.⁴⁴⁰⁷ The form, based on Etruscan models, is made of native clay, so that an import can be excluded. The mold dates to the early fifth century and throws a characteristic spotlight on how closely artworks south and north of the Alps were bound up with each other—at least in individual cases—at the end of the Late Hallstatt period. The grooved wheel-made pottery of the Late Hallstatt period points in the same direction; it appears to be influenced at least partly by Etruscan pottery and bronze vessels.⁴⁴⁰⁸ The Etruscan-Italic influence in the Late Hallstatt period thus was not limited to the influx of prestigious luxury goods for the symposium.

The most common Etruscan imports north of the Alps remain the bronze vessels. In the case of the “Rhodian” bronze jugs,⁴⁴⁰⁹ the origin—not what the name suggests—remains controversial, though at least some come from

central Italy.⁴⁴¹⁰ Christopher Pare was able to make an Etruscan origin plausible for the jugs from Kappel-Grafenhausen (Ortenaukreis, Baden-Württemberg) and Inzigkofen-Vilsingen (Kr. Sigmaringen, Baden-Württemberg); both burials contained material characteristic of the Ha D 1 phase.

According to Krause, the basins and bowls with embossed rims found north of the Alps all belong to the later types, with the example from Chavéria being the sole exception.⁴⁴¹¹ This long-lived shape originated in the second half of the eighth century in central Italy but also was later produced elsewhere, as evidenced, say, by their massive presence in Greek colonies of Sicily and their hinterland. North of the Alps, aside from a few examples from central Bohemia, bowls with embossed rims of the Imola-Hundersingen and Hohmichele types are found only in the Late Hallstatt-period princely graves of southwestern Germany.⁴⁴¹² To be sure, morphological distinctions appear to indicate that most representatives of the Hohmichele type were based on a central Italic model and produced north of the Alps.⁴⁴¹³

Already in the middle of the nineteenth century, in Sainte-Colombe “La Garenne” (département Côte-d’Or), not far from the princely site on Mont Lassois, a Late Hallstatt princely grave produced a rod tripod and a cauldron with griffin heads.⁴⁴¹⁴ Such cauldrons were produced in Greece under Oriental influence beginning in the late eighth century and were among the most valuable dedicatory offerings of the Archaic period in Greek sanctuaries. Production began later in Etruria as well, which stylistically cannot always be satisfactorily separated from Greek pieces. At least the cauldron from Sainte-Colombe is probably of Italic-Etruscan origin, as indicated by its guilloche decoration, which in this form is not found on (western) Greek cauldrons, but is very common in Etruscan works,⁴⁴¹⁵ such as a bronze basin from the princely grave of Vix.⁴⁴¹⁶ Recently, though, Ulrich Gehrig has suggested that three of the four griffin heads on the cauldron were cast in a western Greek workshop, but the fourth is to be seen as a local product.⁴⁴¹⁷ Gehrig further supposes that the griffins did not originally belong to the cauldron, which further complicates the question of its origin. A similar bronze cauldron, onto whose shoulder originally griffin heads were riveted, was found in a deposit in Hassle (Kirchspiel Glanshammar, Sweden), together with two swords, two ciste, and twelve disks with concentric ribs.⁴⁴¹⁸ This vessel is also probably of Italic-Etruscan origin, even though here the heads are not preserved. Certainly the cauldron did not arrive so far north directly, but—as the materials found with it suggest—via northern Italy and the western Hallstatt area.

A bronze jug of the type *Plumpe Kanne* from Hatten in Alsace (département Bas-Rhin) represents a rarity north of the Alps.⁴⁴¹⁹ It can be connected with the more numerous Etruscan beaked flagons (Ger. *Schnabelkannen*), an example of which was found in the same grave. The handle merges above into a lion’s head, and below into a palmette crowned with an anchor.

Similarly unusual is the bronze amphora from Conliège near Lons-le-Saunier (département Jura), whose handles are decorated with siren handle attachments and horse heads.⁴⁴²⁰ The poorly preserved vessel, paralleled in Vulci and Bomarzo, lay in a grave from the end of the Late Hallstatt period (Ha D 3).

There are also occasional pieces of jewelry that find their closest comparison in Etruria—especially granulated and filigreed gold jewelry. Long known are a bead with halfmoon-shaped pendants from Jegenstorf (Bern canton)⁴⁴²¹ and another from Ins (Bern canton), which hangs on a chain woven from gold wire. Both pieces come from grave contexts of the Ha C 2 phase; at least the one from Ins is a product of a workshop south of the Alps.⁴⁴²² Recently filigreed spheres from a newly discovered princely grave near the Heuneburg can be added.⁴⁴²³

Occasionally there are even Italo-Etruscan bronze statuettes, e.g. in Vézelay (département Yonne), although for these pieces as well, the circumstances of their discovery appear doubtful. Not far from the princely site on the Ipf near Bopfingen at Wallerstein-Ehringen (Lkr. Donau-Ries, Bavaria) a bronze statuette of a nude boy was found in 1990.⁴⁴²⁴ It finds its best parallels in the Etruscan figurines of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods and dates to the first quarter of the fifth century. According to Martin Guggisberg, it probably comes from the sphere of the Etrusco-Campanian bronze industry and was used as the top of a bronze cauldron.

3Early La Tène period (Lt A/B = ca. 450–280 BCE)

In the Early La Tène period, the importation of objects from Etruria into the region north of the Alps reached its peak. This is also consistent with the fact that in the late sixth century the Etruscans had broadened the reach of their power into the Po Plain and founded cities there, creating the basis for the increased transport of Etruscan objects to the north. Furthermore, it was primarily bronze vessels that were imported north of the Alps, customarily ascribed to the metal industry of south-Etruscan Vulci. Such prestigious goods appear to be concentrated in princely graves between Champagne and the Bohemian basin, especially in the Middle Rhine and Saar region, which beginning in the Ha D 3 phase, underwent dynamic development. Southwest Germany, still so dominant in Ha D, however, now strongly retreats and yields only a few Etruscan objects, e.g. from the burial chamber of the Kleinaspergle near Asperg (Kr. Ludwigsburg, Baden-Württemberg).⁴⁴²⁵

The “type fossil” for Etruscan imports of the Early La Tène period is represented by the bronze beaked flagons (*Schnabelkannen*) that were used for serving wine or other strong drink.⁴⁴²⁶ The oldest examples in Italy date to the last third of the sixth century. North of the Alps, they appear first in graves

of the Ha D 3 phase, e.g. in the princely grave of Vix,⁴⁴²⁷ and are especially common in princely graves of the Early La Tène period (Fig. 83.6). Typological distinctions can be brought out especially by reference to the form of handle attachment (anchor type, serpent type, volute type), from which it emerges that north of the Alps, jugs with volute handle attachments, rare in Italy, predominate. The great preference for this type of jug is also expressed in the fact that it was imitated in both bronze and clay, where the shape was not simply copied, but stylistically remodeled according to local tastes. Bronze jugs of this kind are known only from five findspots (Asperg “Kleinaspergle” [Kr. Ludwigsburg, Baden-Württemberg],⁴⁴²⁸ Dürrenberg near Hallein [Hallein, Salzburg],⁴⁴²⁹ Basse-Yutz [département Moselle],⁴⁴³⁰ Geisa-Borsch [Wartburgkreis, Thuringia],⁴⁴³¹ and Glauberg [Wetteraukreis, Hesse]⁴⁴³²). Out of the imagination of Celtic metalworkers was born also the beaked flagon from burial mound I of Weiskirchen (Kr. Merzig-Wadern, Saarland), which was put together from the bottom of a *stamnos* and the top of a beaked flagon.⁴⁴³³

Components of an Etruscan wine service likewise formed two-handled *stamnoi* with satyr handle attachments, which north of the Alps clearly occur less commonly than beaked flagons.⁴⁴³⁴ The largest concentration of such vessels, which were used from the end of the sixth into the fourth century, is observed between Lorraine and the Middle Rhine, a core region of the Early La Tène period princely grave custom.

Bronze sieves—known in Central Europe since the Late Bronze Age—in the Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods were only rarely part of drinking sets.⁴⁴³⁵ Aside from a few locally produced examples, the Etruscan straining ladle from Nonnweiler-Schwarzenbach (Kr. St. Wendel, Saarland) has long remained unique.⁴⁴³⁶ In the Mediterranean area, sieves were an indispensable banqueting utensil, since they were used to filter out the spices that had been added to the wine. It is certainly no accident that sieves found little acceptance north of the Alps. The native elites did imitate the Mediterranean drinking customs, but they altered them according to their own ideas. Thus they did not use the *infundibulum* (straining funnel) widespread in the Mediterranean,⁴⁴³⁷ or the “cheese grater” common in Italic graves and Greek sanctuaries, with which wine was sprinkled with cheese or other condiments.⁴⁴³⁸ This could also indicate that in Central Europe wine was not commonly consumed, but other intoxicants like mead or beer. Archaeobotanical investigations of the bronze jugs from the Glauberg indicate that at the time they were buried, they were filled with mead, as was the cauldron in the Hochdorf princely grave.⁴⁴³⁹ In the settlement of Hochdorf there are indications that beer was brewed there.⁴⁴⁴⁰ Greek or Italic wine must have flowed only relatively seldom down the throats of the local elites, even though it is still indicated as an important export to the Early Celtic “princely courts” of Central Europe.⁴⁴⁴¹

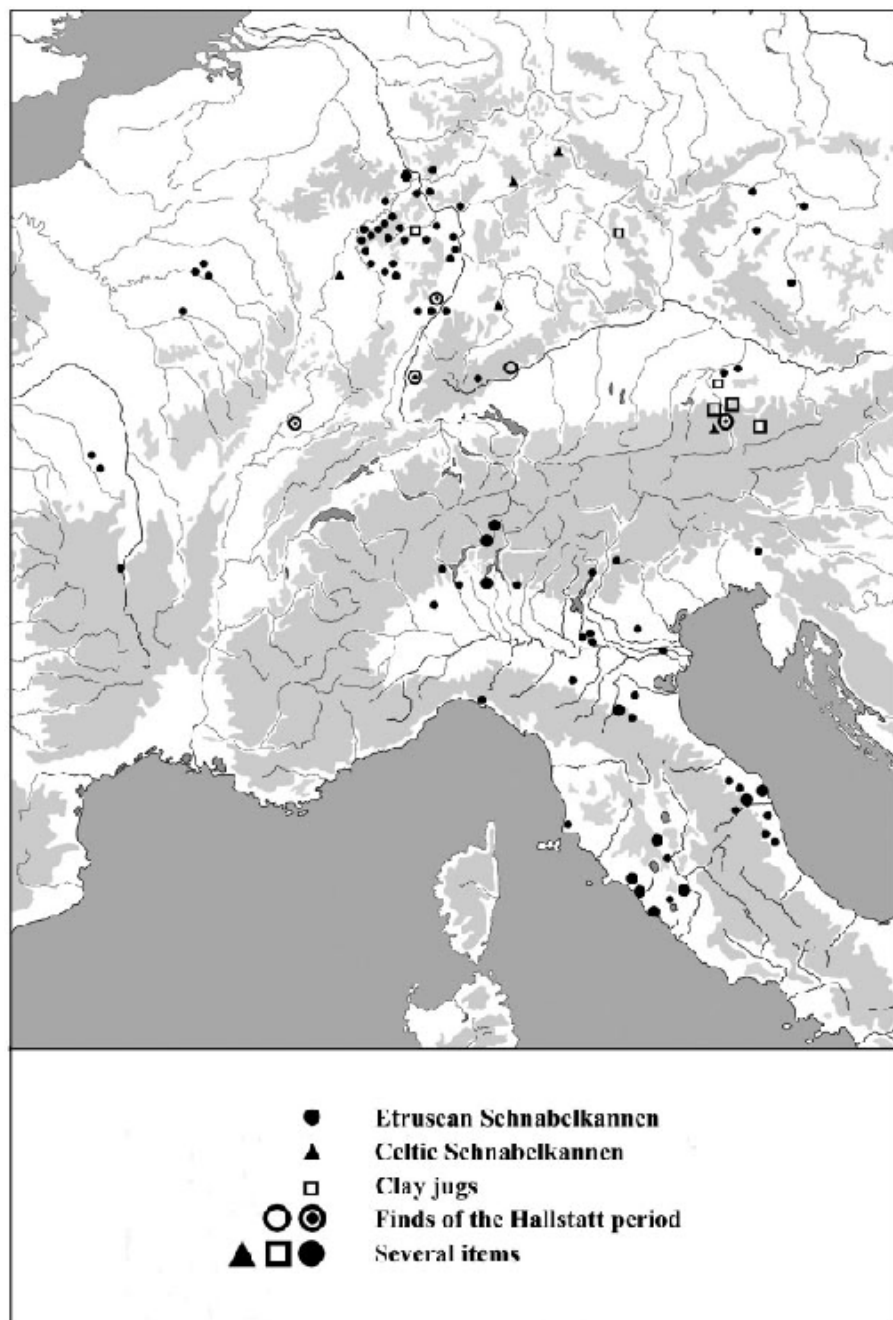


Fig. 83.6: Distribution of Etruscan beaked flagons (*Schnabelkannen*) (after Baitinger and Pinsker 2002, 52, fig. 29)

Flat, steep-sided bronze basins or bowls, some of which bear a circling decoration below the rim, were used for serving food.⁴⁴⁴² They often occur in graves in sets of two in different sizes. North of the Alps they are primarily

distributed in the Middle Rhine region and Bohemia (Fig. 83.7); the oldest representatives come from the Ha D 3 phase princely grave from Vix.⁴⁴⁴³ In Central Italy, such basins, which probably follow the basins with embossed rims (Ger. *Perlrandbecken*), were used from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fourth century.

Distinct from these is a basin from the fifth or early fourth century, of which only one of the massive handles has survived, in the form of two wrestling youths. This handle, which goes back to Greek models of the Late Archaic period, was found in about 1855 near Nidda-Borsdorf (Wetteraukreis, Hesse), only about 12 km from the princely site on the Glauberg.⁴⁴⁴⁴ Wolfgang Kimmig has suggested that this piece represents the last remnant of an unnoticed destroyed princely grave.

Etruscan beakers are represented north of the Alps only by the examples from Ferschweiler (Kr. Bitburg-Prüm, Rhineland-Palatinate) and Bescheid (Kr. Trier-Saarburg, Rhineland-Palatinate).⁴⁴⁴⁵ Comparable vessels are known from Etruscan tombs of the second half of the fifth and the early fourth century. In Etruria, beakers were not used as drinking vessels but as ladles with which wine was served from a *stamnos*.

As in the Late Hallstatt period, there were also bronze vessels in the Early La Tène period, which occur north of the Alps only once. The amphora with a pointed base from Grave 1 at Nonnweiler-Schwarzenbach (Kr. St. Wendel, Saarland) displays a tongue-shaped ornament on the shoulder and crouching Silenuses on the handle attachments.⁴⁴⁴⁶ This item dates to the first half of the fifth century but was found in a grave of the Lt A period. The best comparison comes from Vulci, which can also be assumed to be its place of manufacture.

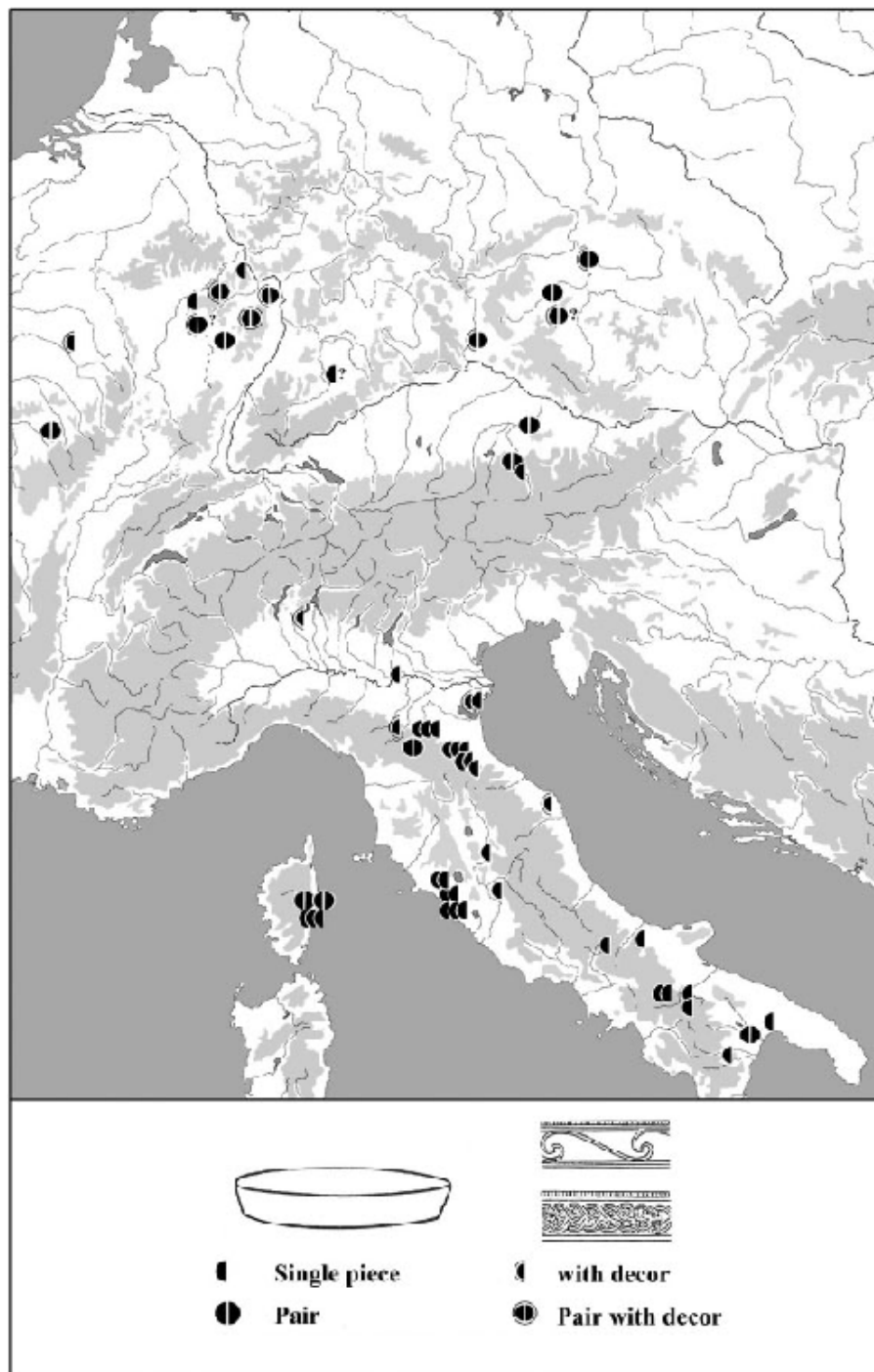


Fig. 83.7: Distribution of Etruscan bronze basins (after Schönfelder 2001, 324, fig. 8)

Also unique is an Etruscan *olpe* of Weber's type IIIB, which is said to have been discovered in 1897 in the *Riesenquelle* ("spring of giants") at Lahošť

(Okr. Teplice, Czech Republic) near Duchov/Dux in northwestern Bohemia, a decade and a half later than the famous Early La Tène bronze deposit.⁴⁴⁴⁷ The jug dates to the late sixth or first half of the fifth century and thus belongs to a series of Etruscan imports that reached Bohemia during the end of the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods.

The rod tripod from Bad Dürkheim (Kr. Bad Dürkheim, Rhineland-Palatinate) was found in a princely grave of the Lt A period that was excavated unsystematically as early as the 1860s. It also yielded an Etruscan *stamnos*, which like the tripod was made in ca. 500 or in the early fifth century in Vulci.⁴⁴⁴⁸ These are the highest quality Etruscan imports found north of the Alps.⁴⁴⁴⁹

At the end of our list shall stand an equal-armed bronze precision balance, which was found in a settlement not far from the large burial mound of Eberdingen-Hochdorf.⁴⁴⁵⁰ Additional Mediterranean imports were uncovered there, specifically fragments of Attic red-figure vases and even remains of figs, as have also been detected in a settlement in Bad Nauheim (Wetteraukreis, Hesse).⁴⁴⁵¹ The Hochdorf scale beam is by far the oldest find of this kind north of the Alps, and judging by its size it was used for weighing precious metals or coins. It could indicate the adoption of Mediterranean systems of weights and measures, just as Lorenz Rahmstorf and Christopher Pare have interpreted a series of objects as a set of weights.⁴⁴⁵²

Etruscan-Italic influences can now be seen more strongly in artistic crafts. Stone sculpture has already been mentioned, and in the Early La Tène period there arose in Central Europe a new artistic style, both original and unconventional, whose repertoire of motifs was nourished by Etruscan-Greek roots and translated into a native-Celtic language of form.⁴⁴⁵³ After a long continuous phase in which the populations north of the Alps were confronted with imports from the Mediterranean area, with the Lt A period, these took on a new quality, launched independent developments, and made their mark on an age that directly predates the Celtic invasions of Italy.

Attic vases, on the other hand, in Lt A only occasionally reached the north, probably via northern Italy (Adria, Spina) and the Alpine passes. They are distributed in a broad arc from Champagne to Bohemia. From a settlement at Chržín (Okr. Kladno) in central Bohemia even comes an imitation of an Attic bowl.⁴⁴⁵⁴ Astonishingly, in Bohemia—unlike in southern Germany and eastern France—Greek vases and Mediterranean glass vessels have been found only in lowland settlements, while Etruscan bronze vessels except the Dux *olpe* come from princely graves.⁴⁴⁵⁵ In the late sixth and fifth centuries, Etruscan imports reached Bohemia in greater numbers.⁴⁴⁵⁶ From the fortified hilltop settlement of Vladař near Záhोřice (Okr. Karlovy Vary) in West Bohemia comes an anthropomorphic foot of a vessel in the form of a male figure wearing a helmet of the Negau type. Miloslav Chytráček thinks it is the foot of a *pyxis* made in northern Italy or the eastern Alps that goes back to Etruscan models.⁴⁴⁵⁷

With the Lt B 1 phase, the custom of princely graves disappears in Central Europe, so the number of Italic-Etruscan imports drops off significantly. Their general absence in the Middle La Tène period is thus attributed to the changed sources of transmission. Only with the Late Celtic Oppida civilization in the second and first centuries BCE did Italic goods arrive north of the Alps in renewed numbers.

The question is continually raised as to which goods served as return presents to the south for the Mediterranean imports,⁴⁴⁵⁸ without achieving agreement. Suggestions include raw materials (e.g. salt, gold, tin, amber), animal products (hides, leather, wool) or “manpower” (slaves). The basic question is certainly wrongly put, as long as little is known of the structure of the contacts. Did Etruscans and Greeks maintain direct relations with representatives of the Central European elites, which presupposes a *modus vivendi* with culture groups between origin and endpoint? Was it a matter of expeditions that daring traveling salesmen undertook at their own risk, comparable to the lucrative journey of the Samian Kolaos to Tartessos, reported by Herodotus (4.152)? Or were the prestige goods brought to the north by a chain of exchanges, perhaps promoted by gift exchange between representatives of local elites, which causes great chronological inconsistencies between the times of creation and deposition?⁴⁴⁵⁹ How varied the picture can be is shown by the sometimes highly heterogeneous cargos of ancient shipwrecks in the Mediterranean.

It must also be kept in mind that the political and social relationships, both south and north of the Alps, changed considerably during the period treated here. This also had repercussions on the preferred trade routes. In particular, Ludwig Pauli has tried hard to grasp the time span and the displacements of these routes.⁴⁴⁶⁰ Obviously the Alpine passes played a major role very early on, while the Rhône-Saône-Doubs route was meaningful especially in the Late Hallstatt period (Ha D 2/3).⁴⁴⁶¹ Across the eastern Alps, already in Ha C/ D 1 Italic imports reached Poland and northern and central Germany, which were probably sent north via Moravia and southwestern Slovakia, while Bohemia with the Moldau-Elbe route appears to have come more sharply into focus only in Ha D 2/3.⁴⁴⁶² One cannot help thinking of a literal connection with the transport of amber, which was traded from the Baltic Sea to the south and that was transformed south of the Alps into gorgeous pieces of jewelry in centers like Verucchio.⁴⁴⁶³

4 Concluding remarks

It may be stated in conclusion that occasionally beginning in the Late Urnfield and Early Hallstatt periods, and more so in the Late Hallstatt / Early La Tène periods, central Italic–Etruscan imports reached the area north of the Alps.

They played an important role for the native elites, who also legitimated and distinguished themselves through the possession of such prestigious objects and endeavored to create a network of relationships and dependencies through their exchange with each other.

A considerable portion of the imported materials is connected with eating and drinking equipment and thus with festive elite symposia. Indeed the spectrum of imported tableware—such as Greek vases—is limited and in no way comprises the entire bandwidth of what was needed for a symposium in the Etruscan-Greek area. Equipment like “cheese graters” or straining funnels, which were needed for spicing wine, are not found north of the Alps, obviously because beer and mead were preferred; roasting spits and firedogs are also rarely found. Instead, containers for liquids and barware predominate, such as beaked flagons (*Schnabelkannen*), which toward the end of the Late Hallstatt period and in the Early La Tène period become a “type fossil” of Etruscan imports north of the Alps. With the increased arrival of Mediterranean goods in the north, increasing influence on native artistic crafts becomes noticeable, manifested in the emergence of the Celtic La Tène style, the development of stone sculpture, and the imitation of Etruscan bronze vessels (e.g. beaked flagons, mold from the Heuneburg). How deeply these influences might have affected daily life is shown by the appearance of the potter’s wheel (grooved wheel-made pottery), the adoption of Etruscan fashion (colored cloth, pointed shoes), the consumption of dried fruit from the Mediterranean area (remains of figs), and the use of a precision balance as in the settlement of Hochdorf. Other aspects can be adjudged only with difficulty, as they mostly elude archaeological proof, such as the cut and decoration of clothing. It is therefore not surprising that opinions in the scholarly world differ on how deeply Mediterranean-Etruscan influences were felt in Central Europe.

From the beginning, the Trans-Alpine communication routes above all appear to have possessed special significance. On one side, they ran via the western Padan Golasecca culture, on the other via the eastern Alps and through Bohemia/Moravia to Silesia, on routes that must have largely followed the legendary “amber road.” Beginning in the second half of the sixth century with the rise of Massalia/Marseille, the route via Rhône, Saône, and Doubs became increasingly significant and brought Mediterranean imports to eastern France and southwestern Germany. The contacts reached their apex in the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods, as Etruscan and Greek imports belonged among the indispensable components in princely graves of the native elites. With the abandonment of the custom of princely graves in Lt B 1, the number of Etruscan objects diminishes greatly. At the same time, Celtic bands were advancing on central Italy and were conquering Rome in 387 BCE. We then arrive at a historical turning point that is no longer the topic of this article.

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VI. Etruscans outside Etruria

Etruscan Finds in the Mediterranean

Olivier Jehasse

84Corsica

Abstract: Greek and Latin literary sources, ancient inscriptions and archaeological finds show that the relationships between the island of Corsica and the Etruscans were uninterrupted from the Iron Age to the Middle Republican period. The role of the Corsica is stressed by the mentioning of the island in the three treaties between Rome and Carthage.

Keywords: Kurnos, Aleria, Alaliè, Phocaeans, Etruscans

1Before the Etruscans

The history of Corsica and Etruria is that of two regions that have long been entangled in a fruitful network of large strategic relationships. Off the coasts of what was to become the Tyrrhenian Sea and during fruitful prehistoric times, Corsica had developed a highly developed rural civilization.⁴⁴⁶⁴

But Corsica is also the land of “Korsois,” a name that may be related to the myth of the girl Corsa, who came from Liguria to occupy the island. Another ancient etymology claims that the word Korsè is derived from the word Korsas—the “forested crests” quoted from Denys the Periegetan.⁴⁴⁶⁵ Thus, it was a useful territory at the disposal of the Etruscans when they emerged as a political and maritime power around the ninth century BCE.

Two kinds of sources condition the knowledge of this early period—the archaeological explorations of the prehistoric sites, and a written source dealing with the moves of Etruscan populations toward the shore.

Between 1500 and 800 BCE, the relations of the islanders with foreign lands broadened, both with the northern and eastern countries, specifically with the major Mediterranean islands. A bronze ingot from Cyprus shaped like a oxhide was discovered in Borgu, south of Bastia. Dating back to the seventeenth century, this type of object was well known in Italy and in nearby Sardinia, and is evidence that in Corsica the dealers’ and merchants’ had contacts with the far Western countries. A bronze fibula resembling a violin bow from eleventh century Sicily, shows that the relations were broadly opened to the whole Tyrrhenian basin⁴⁴⁶⁶. The presence of amber remains on the mountain site of Cucuruzzu in Levie in southern Corsica, together with a hypogeum of the Early Bronze Age in the area of Aleria on the eastern coast, attest that products from the Baltic penetrated the civilization of the *casteddi* that had been created in the previous centuries. The *casteddi* are fortified villages built in the valleys in order to control access to the beaches, the sea

and the roads leading to the peaks of mountains. The coincidence between the number of sites registered by the archaeologists and that mentioned in the classical sources (thirty-three, thirty-two or twenty-four—it varies according to the writer⁴⁴⁶⁷) is quite impressive.

In the Bronze Age ceramics copied the decorative motifs of the cultures from highland Italy, dubbed the Apenninic culture of Central Italy. The presence of stelae statues in arms is evidence that much stronger hierarchic features were developing in this society. The erect stelae are turned into real statues, with clearly depicted faces and varied expressions, and carefully decorated on both sides. The type of armament with which they are portrayed is definitely new and is linked to the increase in the number of Bronze Age weapons in continental Europe. Stelae statues can be found alone or in clusters and they are present in the *casteddi*. A large collection of bronze axes from several findspots reveals steady work in the mountain forests. And in this area of bronze-users one can note the widespread usage of adornment items for dress, such as fibulas, humble or showy hooks—more than 100 hooks have been recorded—buttons and solar rings. In the Bronze Age the metal was probably worked locally, not only thanks to the island's resources but also because foreign models were very often imitated and reproduced. The number of remaining stone molds supports the theory that these early Corsicans had thoroughly mastered the metal melting technique.⁴⁴⁶⁸ The high standard of metallurgic development is one of the major characteristics of the time and is no doubt the source of the relationships between the Etruscans and the island.

A text by Servius deals with the relationships between the Etruscans and Corsica. He relates that in the tenth–ninth centuries, “according to some people, after the twelve peoples from Etruria had already settled, Populonia was built by a people from the island of Corsica in Italy; for others it was a colony that belonged to the inhabitants of Volterra; still others claim that the inhabitants of Volterra had torn Populonia away from Corsican people.”⁴⁴⁶⁹

As early as the first centuries of the first millennium, this narrative stresses the structured presence of the islanders also out of the island and emphasizes a period of conflict over Populonia, which exploited the iron of Aethalia/Elba. This antagonism between the citizens of Volterra, a blossoming city, and the Corsi, whose attacks against each other in order to gain full control over this haven that connects all the commercial roads of the Mediterranean, is exemplary. And if this reveals a defeat for the islanders, it nevertheless did not put an end to their relationships with the Tyrrhenian Sea.

2The eighth–seventh centuries BCE

The development that began at the end of the second millennium saw a rapid

increase beginning in the eighth century, evidenced by the history and archaeology of Alaliè/Aleria, a large site on the island's eastern coast. This ancient site has recent been recognized as a real and own city at the center of the island's foreign relationships and a place which is characteristic for the whole island. We may assert, today, that the city receives external incomers only once the islanders have built it. It is not boiled down to a settlement in a specific place but it is, indeed, a site widely opened to the ancient Tyrrhenian. The town is backed up by a network of modern features. A road led to the island's south and two ports are in full play—the first of two ports is Tavignani, known in ancient times as Rhotanos (“the large and navigable river,” as the Rhodian sailors called it), the second one is on the northern bank of the pool of Urbinu, terminus of the archaic road.

This period corresponds to the erection of what Jean and Laurence Jehasse call the West Monument: this was a complex mix of architectural techniques. On a foundation of boulders, the walls are built with stones and carefully selected clay, including also elements of wood.⁴⁴⁷⁰ Here have been discovered stamped ceramic from the first millennium, *bucchero* and Etruscan amphorae from the seventh century, Punic ceramics, ceramics from eastern Greece (Ionia and Rhodes), and from the Euboean territory, as well as fibulas and molded ceramics made in Corsica. This first building appears as an adaptation of the model of the *casteddi* found in the island's other regions.

3The sixth century BCE

This century saw two great moments of evolution that directly affected the Etruscan world. According to Antiochus, it was under the leadership of Créontiadès that the Phocaeans went west—first to Massilia, and then to Kurnos.⁴⁴⁷¹ He would have sailed between Massilia and Alaliè between 600—the date of Massilia's foundation—and 565 BCE, the date when the first group of Phocaeans settled in Alaliè. Their settlement is well known because it is briefly described by Herodotus, who asserts that the Phocaeans “have raised the walls of a city named Alaliè.”⁴⁴⁷² Through archaeological exploration, we recognize mud brick superstructures, erected on top of a building from the previous period, similar to the pattern of ancient Hellenic fortifications. Behind a wall making a defense at the hillock, a series of probably military constructions made by earth with timber floors is standing; this hybrid defensive wall seems characteristic of an early stage of the warfare developed by the Greeks.

The arrival of a second group of Phocaeans in 545, a more expansionist group of pirates, gave a new impulse. Once more, according to Herodotus, in 540, “the Etruscans and the Carthaginians, in accordance with a concerted plan” prepared an expedition against the Phocaeans. The diplomatic and

military arrival of the Etruscans happened for two reasons—because of the dangers that threatened the maritime roads under the command of Caere (so that this city was directly concerned with these events), and because of the antiquity of the relationships in the western Mediterranean among Etruscans and Carthaginians. The Etruscans intervened because they couldn't leave this territory—which had become essential to their development—under the control of others. On Corsica and the Tyrrhenian Sea, the battle mobilized all of the powers at the only crossing of the east-west roads of Etruria at Tartessos in southern Spain, and the north-south roads between Sicily and Marseille, Sardinia and the Languedoc. This throws a new light on Herodotus's phrase "Cadmean victory," where the reference to Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, must be interpreted as an attempt to convey that these events ended up in a genuine negotiation, and a great treaty between the different protagonists. Caere's Etruscans flouted the treaty, but it allowed the Phocaeans to gather their goods and choose a new destination. This clearly suggests a certain diplomacy and a fundamental role played by Etruscan towns in the island's history.⁴⁴⁷³

If the role of Caere in Corsica seemed diminished after the battle, it is almost certain that Volterra, Tarquinia, and Etruscan Rome would have greatly benefitted. This is what the study of the *bucchero* found in Corsica continues to prove, the majority of registered items from this period being *bucchero pesante* produced in the interior of Etruria. Its presence in Corsica has naturally led scholars to believe that it was circulated via the great Etruscan ports of the sixth century.

4540–506: the Etruscan domination

Having become the "masters of the towns of Kurnos" according to Diodorus of Sicily,⁴⁴⁷⁴ which that is to say masters of the places from which the founding fathers of the first Alaliè originated, the Etruscans, as international victors, exploited Corsica thanks to an elaborate fiscal policy of drawing "tribute from resinous trees, wax and honey." This was the reason for the growth of the city of Alaliè. Some modern scholars mention the possibility of the existence of a temple overlooking the plain to the west, a theory supported by the fact that a statue of a lying lion was discovered. Thanks to their research at the back of the fortifications, they also stress the presence of a suburb organized around an East-West street, divided into two groups of small houses, which abutted the fortified edifice.⁴⁴⁷⁵ It was here that Etruscan, Punic and Ionian artifacts, and black-figure Attic ceramics from Athens, were discovered. The local productions are the best represented ones in the series of ceramics found at this fortification, and they reflect the richness, as shown by the building of the first monumental tombs of the necropolis around the end of

the century.

5The necropolis of Alaliè

Archaeologists have accurately analyzed the structures and furnishings that have been discovered, dating them to three periods—from the sixth–fourth centuries, from 350–259, and from 259–150 BCE.⁴⁴⁷⁶ The richness of the finds—including ceramics, stones, molten glass, bone, bronze, silver and gold—from the first two periods has been crucial to answering questions about the social organization and the values of the inhabitants of the city.

The tombs are monumental, with halls leading to antechambers shut by mud brick doors that separate them from the funeral rooms, which have three benches around a central pit. This kind of tomb is original in itself, but is closely linked to Etruscan models. It is the richness and the variety of the furnishings discovered that illustrates the connections between Mediterranean cultures and the interests and needs of the Corsican people. There were clearly many such connections since items from Etruria, Carthage, Athens, Iberia, Celtic countries, Latium, and Campania have been identified along with a high percentage—around 30% on average—of local ceramics, made according to traditional techniques. The bronze finds, jewels, helmets, gold and graffiti suggest that between 530 and 475 BCE, the necropolis was Etruscan. This phase corresponds to the presence of a group of Etruscans particularly active in the city of Alaliè. The collected graffiti show a predominance of Etruscan writing in the city.⁴⁴⁷⁷ Moreover, the belonging to the Etruscan world is historically confirmed by the role Corsica acquired in the first treaty between Rome and Carthage (509–508 BCE),⁴⁴⁷⁸ which significantly arrive at this period.

Corsica is mentioned in the three treaties between Rome and Carthage, and Servius calls it “neutral ... between the Romans and the Carthaginians.” It is certain that Etruscan hegemony was not limited to the territory of Alaliè, but had a presence in all of the key coastal sites—and no longer only on the eastern coast, with an settlement n the north surrounding what would become Roman Mariana, in the south with one or two settlements northwest of Balagna in the Gulf of Porto Vecchio, and in the southwest in what would become the Roman port of Tizzanu, which faces Sardinia. Hezychius explains the name of Kurnos with a twofold etymology—that of Kurnos, the son of Hercules, and that of *Kurniata*, which he defines as the most ancient Etruscan anchorage. Hence, we discover once more the essential link between the international politics carried out by the Etruscan confederation and its permanent use of exchanges and economic development.

6506–420 BCE: the place of Corsica in the international political issues at stake

Nearly thirty years after the treaties, in 480 BC, Herodotus writes that “an army including Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Elisyches, Sardonians, and Kurnians amounting to 300,000 soldiers under the command of Hamilcar, the son of Hannon, the king of the Carthaginians” fought in the battle of Himera. This battle, in which the Greeks and Syracusans managed to ward off Etruscan pressure from the Sicilian coasts, was a major turning point in the history of Etruscan and Corsican relations, which can be checked thanks to the archaeology of Alaliè.

What is surprising in the Syracusan politic is that, once again, the goal was not to take hold of the city, but merely to gain politic control over it, which happened for the first time in 458. According to Diodorus, Himera was under the reign of Hieron when the Syracusans suddenly rebelled against Etruscan domination in the occidental Mediterranean area and sent Apelles and a fleet to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Apelles attacked Etruria and Corsica, taking “back a great number of prisoners and tremendous spoils.” With such an achievement, Syracuse asserted itself as the most powerful Hellenic power between the Italic peninsula and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. Thus, Syracuse was slowly able to increase its control over Himera’s inhabitants, once Etruscan power had been hard hit. The East Monument in Alaliè was built according to the new Greek models, and was meant to be seen from the sea. Built to secure a defensive presence, this monument seems to be the work of a power that had succeeded in overcoming the Etruscans. The fortress demonstrates an evolution of the architectural standards. Resting on beds of well cut stones, it is testimony to a knowledge of the earth and brick used for a military building, and features a spectacular new innovation— a high dungeon tower that overlooking the entire site, clearly visible from the sea and land. The monument dates to the fifth century, but it is also obvious that the previous structures have merely been complemented by the addition of this monumental realization.

This is ascertained by a number of things—first, by the uninterrupted presence of dwellers in the houses behind the West Monument; second, by the discovery of the metallurgic zone on the other side of the plateau; and above all, by the extraordinary expansion of the necropolis, whose richness increased constantly with each passing generation. Indeed, between 475 and 420, the presence of Athens was felt, along with that of Naples—a former ally of the Etruscans—and Syracuse. The tombs from this period are rich as they were before, and featured items and adornments such as stone burial markers (It. *cippi*) from the region of Pisa, Iberian belt clasps, and iron swords with a clear Celtic influence. The tombs of two men contain drinking cups with Etruscan inscriptions. The first, *Kaile* from the *gens Caelia*, died in Aleria

between 450 and 425 BCE. The death the second, *Klavtie* from the *gens Claudia*, is dated by a graffito to 425 BCE. And we deeply feel that the Roman vision is changing. Plutarch wrote that “when the Romans were warring against the Etruscans, they elected Valerius Torquatus general. When he beheld the king’s daughter, whose name was Clusia, he asked the Etruscan for his daughter; but when he failed to obtain her, he attempted to sack the city. Clusia threw herself down from the battlements; but by the foresight of Venus her garment billowed out, and she came safely to the ground. The general violated her, and for all these reasons was banished by public decree of the Romans to Corsica, an island off Italy. So Theophilus in the third book of his *Italian History*.”⁴⁴⁷⁹

During the fifth century, when Rome decided to make its authority felt in Etruria—and more specifically in the territory of Chiusi—the first name of the king’s daughter can be recognized in the city’s name. Chiusi, a new Etruscan city, intervenes in Corsica’s history, a fact that the study of *bucchero pesante* in the previous century had already hinted. It is doubtless that the quotation of the Roman presence in the island is connected to later events.⁴⁴⁸⁰

7The fourth century BCE

7.1384–345 BCE: The Etruscan weakening

A notice written by Diodorus that dates to between 378–377 BCE ascertains the Roman interest for Sardinia, when he recalls that during those years “the Romans sent 500 settlers to Sardinia, freeing them from taxes.” Even though it is better to define the word “settlers” as “entrepreneurs,” the notice confirms the pursuance of the exchanges provided for in the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, which already mentioned potential mercantile exchange in Sardinia. Rome was not an Etruscan city any longer, but an autonomous power, eager to build new policies in full accordance with its own interests. Theophrastus, during the first half of the fourth century, relates: “But largest of all, they say, are the trees of Corsica; for whereas silver-fir and fir grow in Latium to a very great size, and are taller and finer than the silver-firs and firs of South Italy, these are said to be nothing to the trees of Corsica. For it is told how the Romans once made an expedition to that island with twenty-five ships, wishing to found a city there; and so great was the size of the trees that, as they sailed into certain bays and creeks, they got into difficulties through breaking their masts. And in general it is said that whole island is thickly wooded and, as it were, one wild forest; wherefore the Romans gave up the idea of founding their city; however some of them made an excursion into the island and cleared away a large quantity of trees from a small area, enough to make a raft with fifty sails; but this broke up in the open sea. Corsica then,

whether because of its uncultivated condition, or because of its soil and climate is very superior in trees to other countries.”⁴⁴⁸¹

The interest of Rome and the history of Etruria proves that Etruscan power had been seriously weakened on Corsica. The pressures from Rome, Carthage and Syracuse—once more—bear over the evidence of it.

Indeed, Syracuse’s influence was always present. In 384, Denys of Syracuse led a successful naval expedition against the Etruscans in Corsica. Corsica’s “Syracusan port,” located in the Gulf of Porto Vecchio, was subsequently created on the very place where there had previously been a *kurniata*, mentioned by Diodorus. Likewise, the appearance of a *Charax*—a small fort that would have been erected on the southern piedmont of the territory of Alaliè and is mentioned in Strabo’s *Geography*—might suggest the establishment of a structured strategic and economic cohesion after that victory. But the Syracusan presence is soon confronted with other cities, like Carthage, which would react not only in Sicily but especially in Sardinia, where its political presence was ever stronger, Naples and Campania, and above all Tarentum, whose role become even more important. As for the Etruscan cities, their indifference to the destruction of Veii, the extinction of Caere as a political power and the strengthening of the links between Tarquinia and Rome suggest that the Etruscan nation was no longer able to claim a strategic role, but went on exercising a well-defined commercial and cultural influence.

This influence is illustrated by the second phase of the necropolis and the superstrata of the two monuments on Alaliè’s plateau. Local items were still produced but the genuine Etruscan items were, from then on, in competition with products mostly from Rome, but also from Latium, Campania, and even Carthage, and as a result, the imports from Syracuse and Athens dried up. More precisely, the former group of partners, which included Tarquinia, Caere and Rome, was replaced by cities from Central and Southern Italy. This, however, did not alter the general richness of Alaliè in any way. The necropolis was indeed in full use during the fourth century. According to J. and L. Jehasse between 350 and 259 BCE, all the funerary interments contained Etruscan and Roman items, such as the Etruscan red-figured stemmed plates of the *Genucilia* class from Caere, or black-varnished cups of the “atelier des petites estampilles” from Rome. And from the Greek world, only Campania and the region of Tarentum had a close relationship with Alaliè, but this did not prevent the continued Etruscan cultural influence.

Six Etruscan graffiti and a collection of bronze mirrors, which are likely linked with Tarquinia,⁴⁴⁸² are the final clear evidence of the quality of the relationships between the inhabitants of Alaliè and the Etruscan cities.

7.2345–300 BCE: A world on standby

The second half of the fourth century shows a world on standby. On one side, as an obvious sign of the transformations still in progress, Carthage and Rome signed a new treaty that laid out an alliance and the organization of their respective areas. Polybius transmits a version that dates to 348 BCE. After the first treaty in 509–508 BCE, the Carthaginians signed a second, in which the Kurnians and the people of Utica were included. To the Fair Promontory quoted in the first treaty (probably just north of Carthage) are added Mastia and Tarseo, the boundaries beyond which, as it is stated, the Romans should neither sack nor found cities. Here is the text of the treaty without any frills: “In accordance with these conditions, the friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the peoples of Carthaginians, of Kurnians, and of the inhabitants of Utica and their allies is secured. The Romans will not proceed to sacks, will not trade and will not found cities beyond the Fair Promontory of Mastia and Tarseiou.”⁴⁴⁸³

The recognition of the Kurnians’ political weight generated, among other things, a reduction in the number of the historical protagonists. Former partners—Carthage and Rome—became enemies, and from then on were the only powers who may attempted to dominate the Tyrrhenian geographical area. The years that preceded the expeditions of Pyrrhus—the king of Epirus—show that in this area occur the events which will deeply change the previous equilibriums.

8300–259 BCE: The joint pressure of Rome and Carthage

Here again it is the history of the necropolis that offers the greatest amount of information, the archaeological knowledge about that period being still full of gaps. In the tombs that belong to the third phase of utilization, we observe a still-visible Etruscan presence. Etruscan was still spoken in Alaliè in the third century, as may be seen on thirteen graffiti datable to between 300 and 275 BCE.⁴⁴⁸⁴ The name of a Roman woman—Titula—has been discovered in one graffito at the center of a highly important funereal deposit. Although it has Latin origins, it still used the Etruscan alphabet. Later, between 275 and 250 BCE, the name *Klutius* appears, more testimony of a person of rank from the *gens* Claudia, even if the spelling of the name seems hesitating and is probably connected with the Etruscan writing of the Latin name. In the burials, items from Latium, Campania, and the region of Tarentum have been found. Evolving international relations were deeply felt. The Punic presence got stronger, based on the Sicilian coins from between 344 and 280 BCE that have been found, and with imports from Iberia. At that time even eulogies evolved, and rites as well as ornamental themes of the pieces of furnishings changed. Furthermore, the last tombs were dug during the second half of the

third century, when Corsica was at war and Alaliè had become the anchoring-ground of the Roman conquest. Consequently, the end of the Etruscan era in Kurnos dates to between 280 and 260 BCE.

To conclude, it is useful to provide an excerpt of book 5 of Diodorus of Sicily's *Historical Library*, which appears to be the clearest synthesis of the different moments the Etruscans and the Corsicans knew during the six centuries of their common history.

"After Aethaleia there is an island, some three hundred stades distant, which is called Cynus by the Greeks, but Corsica by the Romans and those who dwell upon it. This island, being easy to land on, has a most excellent harbour which is called Syracosium. There are also on it two notable cities, the one being known as Calaris and the other as Nicaea. Calaris was founded by Phocaeans, who made their home there for a time and were then driven out of the island by Tyrrhenians; but Nicaea was founded by Tyrrhenians at the time they were masters of the sea and were taking possession of the islands lying off Tyrrhenia. They were lords of the cities of Cynus for a considerable period and exacted tribute of the inhabitants in the form of resin, wax, and honey, since these things were found in the island in abundance. Slaves from Cynus are reputed to be superior to all others for every service which the life of man demands, nature herself giving them this characteristic. And the entire island, which is of great extent, has mountainous land over much of its area, which is thickly covered with continuous forests and traversed by small rivers."⁴⁴⁸⁵

All data concerning the history that is summarized in this chapter show the uninterrupted relationships between the Etruscans and the island of Corsica from the Iron Age to the Middle Republican period.

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Rosa Maria Albanese Procelli

85Sicily

Abstract: Geographic location is undoubtedly one of the elements that most affects a region's history. The central position and triangular shape of Sicily projected into the Mediterranean in such a way as to facilitate different contacts with the ethnic groups that populated it. For example, the northwestern point (the Phoenician-Punic hub of the Island) was naturally involved in the maritime routes between the Tyrrhenian world and northern Africa, and in the same way, the Aeolian archipelago was of crucial importance for the control over the lower Tyrrhenian Sea and transit towards the straight of Messina.

Contacts between the indigenous populations of Sicily (Sicani, Siculi, Elymi) and the Tyrrhenian part of the Italian mainland date back to the Proto-historic period, but they increased in frequency and changed in nature from the eighth century BCE, after the foundation of the Greek and Phoenician colonies on the island's coasts.

Keywords: Sicani, Siculi, Elymi, Greeks, trade

Introduction

Geographic location is undoubtedly one of the elements that most affects a region's history. The central position and triangular shape of Sicily (**Fig. 85.1**) projected into the Mediterranean in such a way as to facilitate different contacts with the ethnic groups that populated it. For example, the northwestern point (the Phoenician-Punic hub of the Island) was naturally involved in the maritime routes between the Tyrrhenian world and northern Africa, and in the same way, the Aeolian archipelago was of crucial importance for the control over the lower Tyrrhenian Sea and transit towards the straight of Messina.

Contacts between the indigenous populations of Sicily (Sicani, Siculi, Elymi) and the Tyrrhenian part of the Italian mainland date back to the Proto-historic period, but they increased in frequency and changed in nature from the eighth century BCE, after the foundation of the Greek and Phoenician colonies on the island's coasts.

1The literary and epigraphic sources

The key position of the Aeolian (Lipari) Islands allows us to understand why several conflicts between the Greeks and Etruscans crystallized around them,

in a complicated relationship that is referred to in the historical sources (Diod. Sic. 5.9.4–5; Strabo 6.2.10; Paus. 10.11.3–4; 16.7; Callim., fr. 93) and is also reflected in the mythological legend of the brothers Tyrrhenus and Liparus, who became mutual enemies (Serv., *ad Aen.* 1.52).

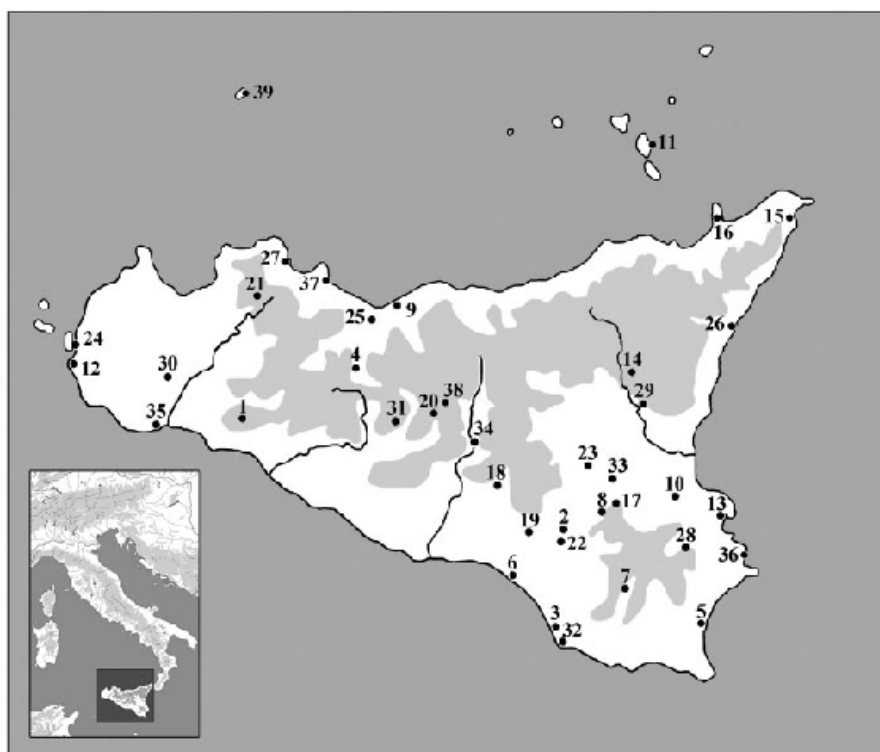


Fig. 85.1: Sicily. Map of the sites cited in the text. 1. Caltabellotta. 2. Caltagirone. 3. Camarina. 4. Colle Madore. 5. Helorus. 6. Gela. 7. Giaratana. 8. Grammichele. 9. Himera. 10. Lentini. 11. Lipari. 12. Marsala. 13. Megara Hyblaea. 14. Mendolito di Adrano. 15. Messina-Zancle. 16. Milazzo. 17. Mineo. 18. Montagna di Marzo. 19. Monte Bubbonia. 20. Monte Chibbò. 21. Monte Iato. 22. Monte San Mauro. 23. Morgantina. 24. Motya. 25. Mura Pregne. 26. Naxos. 27. Palermo. 28. Pantalica. 29. Paternò. 30. Poggioreale. 31. Polizzello. 32. Punta Braccetto. 33. Ramacca. 34. Sabucina. 35. Selinunte. 36. Syracuse. 37. Sòlanto. 38. Terravecchia di Cuti. 39. Ustica

One of the most debated problems for the eighth century is the historical reliability of the well known passage of Ephorus (in Strabo 6.2.2), which mentions the presence of Tyrrhenian pirates in the waters off Sicily's east coast prior to the foundation of the Greek colonies.

Although the connection between Etruscans and piracy is a leitmotif of official propaganda in Greek historiography, it probably masks the reality. It is known that piracy in the Archaic period had a double value: one, political-military, which related to organized forms of naval control in strategic areas; and the other, economic, as an activity connected to commercial transactions.

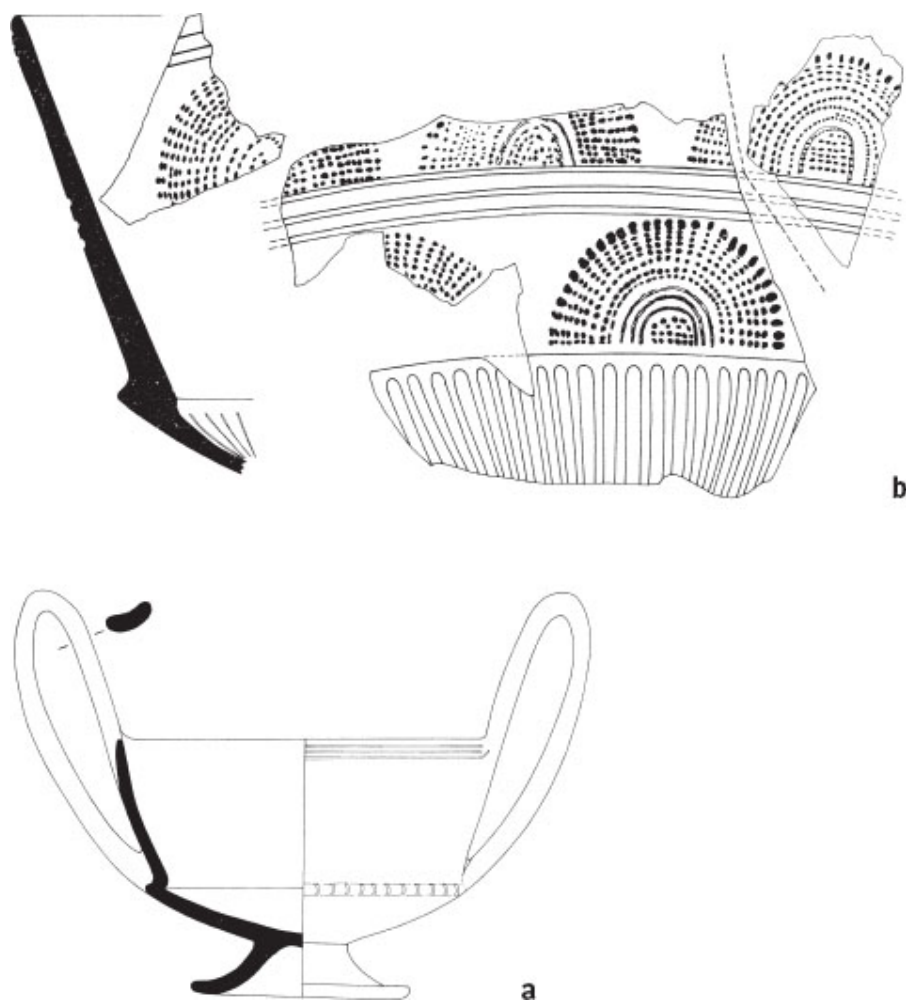


Fig. 85.2: Types of bucchero vases from Sicily: a–b. Kantharos and chalice (Megara Hyblaea, after Gras 1985, figs. 78, 72, no. 695)

In the Tyrrhenian area the situation radically changed at the beginning of the fifth century, when Hieron, the tyrant of Syracuse, defeated the Etruscans in the waters off Cumae (Diod. Sic. 11.51; Pin. *Pyth.* 1.140), a battle archaeologically attested by the inscribed Etruscan helmets which were dedicated by Hieron in Olympia (Fig. 87.2). The Syracusan fleet reached Etruria during the course of the fifth and fourth centuries, focusing on the mineral rich Etruscan coastal area of Elba.⁴⁴⁸⁶

The Latin inscriptions on marble tables at Tarquinia, dedicated to members of the Spurinna family in the first century CE who were known as “Elogia Tarquiniensia,” represent an important late Etruscan source. Among them, the one that refers to Velthur Spurinna appears to be especially important because it has been interpreted as a reference to the captain of the small Etruscan fleet that was sent in 413 BCE as allies of Athens against the common enemy

2The relationship between Sicily and the Tyrrhenian Sea

The interrelations in the Tyrrhenian Sea in the Archaic period are extremely complicated due to the ethnic diversity of the actors involved—Levantine, Greeks, Etruscans, Italics and Nuragics. The recent growth of archaeological documentation and new historical and methodological research has led to a better understanding of the exchange relationships, and has reminded us to be more cautious when attempting “global” interpretations. On the one hand, the interpretative fragility of modern notions—such as “Greek commerce,” “Phoenician commerce,” and “Etruscan commerce”—has been acknowledged, especially when considered in isolation. On the other, the complex nature of ancient trade—which was often conducted through multiple mediations, along long-distance routes that were followed with numerous calls along the way, in which “goods” were loaded and unloaded—has been clarified.⁴⁴⁸⁸

The latter conclusion is supported by the shipwrecks, the cargoes of which are often characterized by products of different origins and areas of production. In the case of Sicily, the archaic shipwreck of Gela I, which dates to the first quarter of the fifth century, is paradigmatic.⁴⁴⁸⁹

The legendary episode of Demaratus of Corinth, who moved to Tarquina, is exemplary of the commercial practices of the seventh century. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 3.46.3), Demaratus carried out his trade in western waters, “transporting Greek goods amongst the Tyrrhenians and Tyrrhenian goods amongst the Greeks.”

The history of the contacts and exchanges between Sicily and the middle-Tyrrhenian area, where the important Tuscan-Latium mining district is located, predates the Archaic period. The possible trade of raw or semi-worked metals (witnessed by the ingots of copper and lead found in the shipwreck off the island of Giglio, which dates to the beginning of the sixth century) is indirectly documented in Sicily for the first half of the eighth century by the import of finished products from central Italy (axes from the hoards at Polizzello, Monte San Mauro and Pantalica).⁴⁴⁹⁰

Ethnic mobility between Tyrrhenian Italy and Sicily was a complex phenomenon in the proto-historic and Archaic periods. It is important to remember that the ethnic identity of an individual is not easily discernable from an archaeological point of view. In this regard, some hints could derive from the rare sanguisuga and navicella fibulae of Italic type, which belong to the eighth and seventh centuries, and were found in Sicily at Giarratana, Megara Hyblaea, Mendolito, Milazzo, Mineo-Tre Portelle, Motya, Pantalica,

Paternò, Syracuse, as they are typical of certain clothing styles (especially female).⁴⁴⁹¹

The indications contained in the epigraphic documentation, albeit few in number, are more secure. Two persons with Etruscan names—*Romis*, son of *Kailios*, and a woman named *Turranâ*—are mentioned at the beginning of the fifth century on two lead sheets found at the sanctuary of the Malophoros at Selinunte. Each has a different social status and their presence is not surprising in a colony where Etruscan imports are documented from the seventh century. A Greek funerary inscription dating to the end of the sixth century, perhaps from Selinunte itself, has been read as follows: “I am Latinos. I am the son of Rheginos.”⁴⁴⁹²

3 The fine ware and the transport amphorae

The earliest imports of Etruscan pottery in eastern Sicily are attested in the first half of the seventh century. They are dishes with a sub-geometric decoration, also known as “ad aironi,” which were first produced in Caere in the first half of the seventh century BC, and have been found in Gela, Helorus and Syracuse (Fig. 50.8).⁴⁴⁹³ From the last quarter of the seventh century, a qualitative and quantitative growth in materials of Etruscan production in Sicily occurs, which includes not only fine table ware but also transport amphorae. Besides Caere, Vulci also assumes a primary role in this commercial trade.

Among the earliest pottery in bucchero it is worth mentioning two kantharoi with incised decoration from the settlement of Megara Hyblaea and from the sacred area of Naxos, linkable to fabrics from the area of Veii-Caere that are datable to 640/30. The bucchero vases with incised fans, dated to the seventh century and reported at the colonial sites of the eastern coast of Sicily (Leontini, Megara Hyblaea, Messina) and at Himera (linked with the commercial traffic between Etruria and northern Africa), could also come from the area of Caere, even if it is not possible to exclude other southern Etrurian centers of productions, such as Vulci.

The systematic analysis of the bucchero imports of a colony such as Megara Hyblaea has demonstrated that an extensively excavated settlement provides different shapes of vases (*kylikes*, *chalices*, *olpai*, *oinochoai*) and not only kantharoi, which are mainly attested in funerary contexts (Fig. 85.2a–b).⁴⁴⁹⁴

It is between the end of the seventh and the first half of the sixth century that the bucchero kantharos of transitional type (Rasmussen type 3e) becomes the preferred product among imports of fine table ware.⁴⁴⁹⁵ It constitutes a real fossil-type of Etruscan commerce in the Mediterranean in this period (Fig. 49.2). It is a standardized shape, for which it is difficult to identify

production centers without the aid of petrographic analyses.

In Sicily, the distribution of kantharoi of this type is prevalent in the Greek colonies and sub-colonies (Camarina, Helorus, Gela, Himera, Leontini, Lipari, Messina, Megara Hyblaea, Naxos, Selinunte, Syracuse). Only a few specimens are known in Punic sites (Marsala, Motya, Palermo, Solunto). Their presence in indigenous centers is also seemingly scarce (Colle Madore, Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Monte Iato, Monte San Mauro, Ramacca).

The Greeks from the colonies used this type of kantharoi mainly in funerary ceremonies, and thus the majority of the specimens found in Sicily were actually retrieved from funerary contexts. More than ninety kantharoi are known from the necropolises of Syracuse, where some tombs (Fusco 24, 372; Giardino Spagna 1, 44) provided four or five specimens. Tomb 551 from the Fusco necropolis stands out in terms of the quality and quantity of vases in the burial assemblage, which comprises twenty bucchero kantharoi, and also for the treatment of the body of the deceased, the ashes of which were deposited within a bronze cauldron.

The burial assemblage also attests a few exceptional shapes. Tomb 309 from the Fusco necropolis provided a miniature kyathos of the Rasmussen type 1e, isolated specimens of which have also been found at Lipari and Megara Hyblaea. The necropolises of Gela, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse provided a few giant kantharoi (Rasmussen type 3d), which in Etruria are attested in the area of Vulci and Caere. The grey fabric and the morphology of one of the two specimens from Gela allows to hypothesize a local production.⁴⁴⁹⁶

Bucchero vases have also been used as offerings in sacred places. They are generally kantharoi, as at Gela, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Selinunte, but in a few cases are also chalices and kyathoi, as in the sanctuary of the Malophoros at Selinunte. Recently, a votive graffito of the sixth century was identified on the wall of a chalice from a votive deposit of the sanctuary of contrada Alaimo at Leontini.⁴⁴⁹⁷ It is a boustrophedon inscription in three lines written in the Euboic alphabet, which was used locally. The choice of a bucchero vase and the status of the person who dedicated it—an *echseleutheros* (it. “liberto”) named *Leukios* (a Greek name that is close to one of the most common Oscan forenames)—could suggest an Italic origin.⁴⁴⁹⁸

Another Greek graffito (*Menonda*, genitive of the Doric name *Menondas*), was noted on a bucchero kantharos from Selinunte, which can be dated no later than the first half of the sixth century.⁴⁴⁹⁹

The predominance of the kantharos among the imports is due to the fact that it was the drinking vase par excellence, and thus complementary to the Etruscan wine amphorae that were produced in southern Etruria from the last quarter of the seventh century, which were also exported to Sicily, probably in a similar circuit of exchange as the bucchero.

The identification of the production centers of transport amphorae in southern Etruria and in the Etruscan areas of Campania is problematic. Some

fabrics have been located in Vulci and Caere. More specifically, Vulci seems to have produced both flat-bottomed (Gras EMA/Py1–2 types) and pointed-bottomed amphorae (Gras EMC/Py 3A–B types) (Fig. 10.2), while Caere seems to have produced amphorae only of the latter type.⁴⁵⁰⁰ These amphorae were generally used for wine, but the possibility of other contents cannot be excluded, as indicated by the olives found within an Etruscan amphora of the Campese shipwreck off the island of Giglio, dated to 590/580.⁴⁵⁰¹

Etruscan amphorae are documented in Sicily between the last quarter of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century, concurrent with the distribution of the bucchero, and belong mainly to Gras EMA type (Camarina, Himera, Lipari, Megara Hyblaea, Messina, Milazzo, Naxos, Selinunte) and Gras EMC type (Camarina, Himera, Megara Hyblaea, Naxos, Selinunte) (Fig. 85.3a–b). These amphorae are especially diffused in Vulci and its hinterland, and in Campania, where they were imported or produced locally (Pithecusae). Etruscan amphorae are little known, until now, in the Punic centers (Motya, Palermo) and in the indigenous sites of inner Sicily. In the latter case, they are centers either occupied by Greeks, such as Monte S. Mauro, or within the sphere of influence of the colonial areas, such as Colle Madore and Mura Pregne with regard to Himera, and Ramacca with regard to Leontini, a situation that coincides with the distribution of bucchero in the internal areas of the island.⁴⁵⁰²

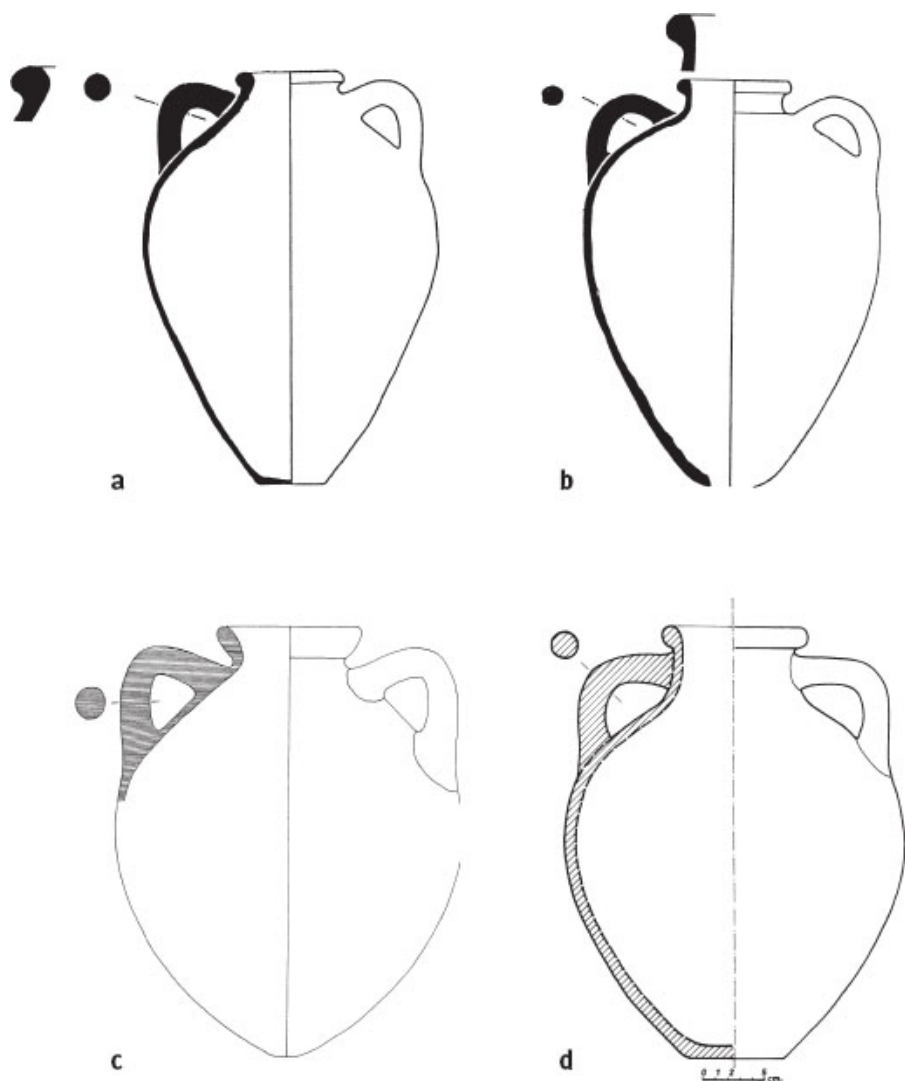


Fig. 85.3: Types of transport amphorae. a–b. Himera, EMA and EMC types (after Vassallo 1999, fig. 13: 48, 15: 57). c. Lipari, EMD type (after Cavalier 1985, fig. 13: 41). d. Ustica, fractional amphora (after Albanese Procelli 2009, fig. 193)

After the first half of the sixth century, with the end of the export of bucchero, the imports of Etruscan amphorae diminish notably, but do not cease. A few Etruscan amphorae of the Gras EMD/Py 4 type (Fig. 85.3c), which were produced in Southern Etruria and perhaps also in Campania, reached Camarina, Himera, Colle Madore and Lipari in the fifth century.⁴⁵⁰³

A fractional Etruscan amphora from Ustica (height cm 35), close to the EMA group of Michel Gras, was found in the waters off Punta Galéra (Fig. 85.3d).⁴⁵⁰⁴ Similar amphorae, of about 10 liters, are attested in Campania in several contexts, dated to between the beginning and the first half of the sixth century.⁴⁵⁰⁵

The imports of Etruscan transport amphorae in Sicily represent a minor percentage within the circulation of amphorae in the Archaic period. In Messina, for example, in the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, the sample of transport amphorae from insula S reveals a predominance of amphorae produced in Magna Graecia and only four Etruscan amphorae.⁴⁵⁰⁶ That the circulation of Etruscan wine was minor in comparison with Greek wine is confirmed by the data from the necropolises of the Greek colonies of the sixth century. Etruscan amphorae, reused for infant depositions, represent about four percent of the total at Camarina, and six percent at Himera. It is not surprising that over thirty Etruscan amphorae⁴⁵⁰⁷ have been found in the latter colony, which is in the orbit of the lower Tyrrhenian sea, a number that exceeds the group identified at Camarina (twenty-five specimens), in which it was possible to discern fabrics produced in southern Etruria and Campania.⁴⁵⁰⁸

The presence of a single Etruscan amphora (Gras EMC/Py 3B type) among twenty-one Greek amphorae attested in the cargo of the shipwreck of Punta Braccetto (Ragusa), of the first half of the sixth century,⁴⁵⁰⁹ might suggest that the traffic was controlled by the Greeks.

4Bronze vases

A progressive growth in the import of bronze vases, which were produced in Greece, in Southern Italy (Magna Graecia) and in Etruria, is also recorded in Sicily in the Archaic period together with isolated products from the north-Italic area. Their distribution, between the eighth and seventh centuries, is concentrated in the Greek colonies, where bronze vases were used in the funerary sphere as cinerary urns, and more rarely as part of the burial assemblage. From the sixth century onwards, these imports began to spread also in the island's internal centers, where they were mainly used as components of the burial assemblage, representing one of the privileged ways of expressing prestige and display on behalf of the acculturated indigenous elite.

Regarding the colonies, the series of bronze lebetes attested in the burials at Syracuse from the end of the eighth/beginning of the seventh centuries to the end of the sixth century, indicates that the embossed rim basins and a few *dinoi*, distinguishable from the Greek ones on the basis of their production technique, were produced in the Etruscan area. The analysis of the contexts is crucial for a better understanding of the provenance areas, such as in the case of tomb Isonzo 4 at Syracuse, where an embossed rim basin was used as a lid for a dinos that shows the typical features of Etruscan production, leading us to suppose a common area of production.⁴⁵¹⁰

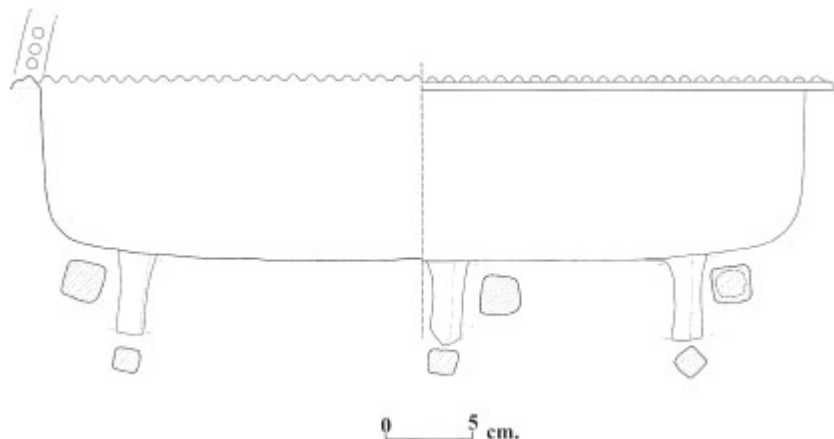


Fig. 85.4: Sabucina: Bronze embossed rim basin (drawing by R. M. Albanese)

As far as the distribution of embossed rim basins, which are part of a feasting set of vases destined for the consumption of meat and wine⁴⁵¹¹, Sicily shows a peculiar behavior that is different from that of other Mediterranean regions and also from that of southern Italy, probably due to selective requests from the relevant communities. These differences are also perceivable through the local reuse of this class of vase, as it occurs in Sicily with a specimen of the Pürgen type from tomb Ovest 120 at Sabucina (end of the sixth/first quarter of the fifth cent.), which was transformed into a low tripod through the addition of lead feet (Fig. 85.4). With a few exceptions, the basins retrieved from Sicilian funerary contexts that date to between the end of the eighth/beginning of the seventh and the first half of the fifth centuries have great dimensions. The types with omphalic bottom and a double row of knobs on the rim (Tarquinia type), dated to the end of the seventh/first half of the sixth centuries, and attested on the Italian mainland and in Europe, are absent.

The majority of the forty-two embossed rim basins so far known from Sicily come from Greek colonies (Gela, Megara Hyblaea, Selinunte, Syracuse). In the necropolises of the latter colony they were used throughout theseventh century until the second quarter of the sixth century, a picture that coincides with the period of the greatest attestation of Etruscan imports in eastern Sicily. From the last quarter of the sixth century, distribution is concentrated in the internal centers of central Sicily (Caltagirone, Montagna di Marzo, Monte Chibbò, Mineo, Morgantina, Sabucina, Terravecchia di Cuti).

They were apparently coveted by the indigenous acculturated elite, who celebrated their social prestige in feasting ceremonies inspired by Greek models. At Sabucina, three specimens attested in tombs of the last quarter of the sixth century indicate that they belong to sets of bronze vases of various fabrics. An embossed rim basin, bearing the inscription of the name of an indigenous woman, *Dyspseta*, was used in a tomb from the beginning of the



Fig. 85.5: Caltabellotta: bronze “Rhodian” oinochoe (after Panvini 1986–87, pl. XXX)

In contrast to mainland Italy, the “Rhodian” oinochoai—which were usually produced between the last quarter of the seventh/beginning of the sixth century—are so far documented in Sicily by a single specimen from Caltabellotta (Fig. 85.5), which probably arrived via the nearby colony of Selinunte.⁴⁵¹³ Retrieved from a dwelling from the second half of the sixth century, later than the production date, it can be ascribed to group B of Shefton’s classification, which has been linked to Tarquinia.⁴⁵¹⁴

Vases produced in northern Italy or Europe rarely reached Sicily, and only between the second half of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries, through the mediation of the Italian mainland. A situla from Leontini, the only one of its kind found in Sicily, was used as a cinerary urn and probably arrived via the Tyrrhenian area (Fig. 85.6). It can be related to the situlae of the Rhine-Ticino group, which are attributed to *ateliers* located in the area of Golasecca, between Lombardy and Piedmont, in periods IIB–IIIA.⁴⁵¹⁵

The *ciste a cordoni* (Ger. *Rippenzisten*) are also of northern Italian and central-European production. Only two specimens are known in Sicily at Terravecchia di Grammichele and at Civita di Paternò, in the province of Catania (Fig. 85.7). Both feature mobile handles, and belong to B. Stjernquist’s so-called “standard” group, the production of which began after the beginning of the second half of the sixth century.⁴⁵¹⁶

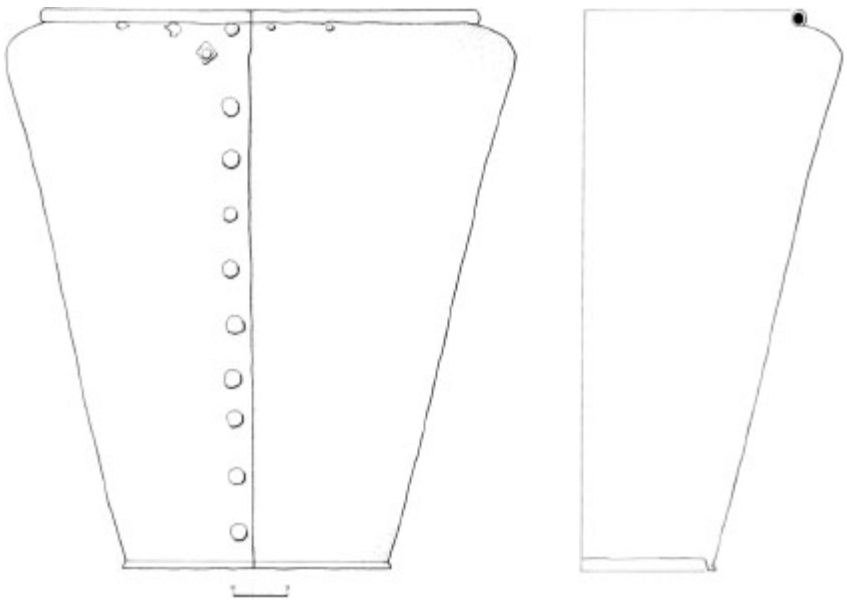


Fig. 85.6: Lentini: bronze situla (drawing by R. M. Albanese)

The complexity of circulation and of the possible intermediates increases in the late Archaic period, when sets of bronze vases and tools for the symposium and the *paideia*—which comprised products of different *ateliers* (Greek, Magna-Graecian and Etruscan)—are deposited in the burial assemblage of tombs of emerging groups in indigenous centres of Sicily.⁴⁵¹⁷

Clear evidence of the modality of circulation of bronze *instrumenta* for the symposium is provided by the retrieval of the handle of an *infundibulum* with a lyre termination datable to the late second half of the sixth century from the shipwreck of Gela I, which sank around 480. The lack of materials from the Tyrrhenian area in this shipwreck, and the presence of a similar *infundibulum* at San Martino in Gattara (Ravenna) in Romagna, suggests that the specimen was acquired through the mediation of the Adriatic area, especially if we take into consideration the ship's route, which, after Greece, probably reached the Ionian coasts of southern Italy and Sicily.

The circulation of similar symposium implements in the hinterland of Gela is documented in the indigenous site of Monte Bubbonia (Caltanissetta) by two specimens, one of which seems to be of local production (Fig. 88.5).⁴⁵¹⁸



Fig. 85.7: Civita di Paternò: Bronze *cista a cordoni* (after Lamagna 2005, 104)

The Etruscan products clearly document an archaeologically “invisible” commerce, which was reciprocated with Sicilian products, such as food-stuffs—cereals, in particular. It is not by chance that Demeter appears among the cults of the sanctuary at Gravisca.⁴⁵¹⁹

Between the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, new phenomena arise in the cities of the Tyrrhenian area of Sicily, which refer to architectural coroplastics, a sector of artistic production that was destined for public buildings. A series of antefixes at Himera and Lipari is linkable to examples elaborated in the Tyrrhenian area, from Campania to Etruria, and allows us to hypothesize a circulation not only of molds but also of artisans.⁴⁵²⁰

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Marco Rendeli

86Sardinia

Abstract: “The island of the silver veins” *Argyróphleps nésos*, is the name by which Sardinia was known in antiquity: the name underlines its richness in ores and metals (silver, copper, iron) and the fertility of its land. Since 1600 BCE it was interested by Nuragic civilization: more than 8.000 nuraghi and 900 giant’s tombs were built in about half a millennium.

As an island in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, Sardinia was a center of contacts and exchanges: since 16th century many merchants arrived on the island and engaged local people. The general crisis connected with the end of the Bronze Age in the Oriental part of the Mediterranean area created a blackout. By the end of the 12th century BCE new people, from the Levantine coasts, began again to trade with the Greek world: Philistines, Cypriot, North Syrian sailed in the Mediterranean Sea looking for metals, mainly silver.

By mid ninth century BCE the relationships between Levantine and Greek merchants and Sardinia became more and more intense: around 770–750 Sulci was founded by the Tirians and since then began a long phase of colonization. During this period the island played an important role in the Western Mediterranean for its richness and vitality.

The subject of the Villanovan and Etruscan finds in Sardinia needs of an interpretative premise on the different layers of presence as the pioneering studies demonstrate.

The layers are different because they mirror different economic patterns, ways of making trade, organization of local communities. For the Villanovan phase (925–730) the reciprocity of exchanges seems to advantage Sardinia for the quantity of objects found along the Tyrrhenian shores, mostly in the northern part of the island. During the Orientalizing and Archaic phases (730–480) the picture radically changes given the presence of Phoenician colonies which were the responsible of the trade with Etruria.

Taking this in account, some doubts arise on the direct participation of the Etruscans, with their ships coming from coastal cities, to the emporic phenomenon that begun after the mid seventh century BCE.

Keywords: trade, silver, transport amphorae, bucchero, Etrusco-Corinthian pottery

1Introduction

“The island of the silver veins” *Argyróphleps nésos*, is the name by which Sardinia was known in antiquity: the name underlines its richness in ores and metals (silver, copper, iron) and the fertility of its land. Since 1600 it was interested by Nuragic civilization: more than 8.000 nuraghi and 900 giant’s tombs were built in about half a millennium.

As an island in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, Sardinia was a center of contacts and exchanges: since 16th century many merchants arrived on the island and engaged local people. The general crisis connected with the end of the Bronze Age in the Oriental part of the Mediterranean area created a

blackout. By the end of the 12th century BCE new people, from the Levantine coasts, began again to trade with the Greek world: Philistines, Cypriot, North Syrian sailed in the Mediterranean Sea looking for metals, mainly silver. By mid ninth century BCE the relationships between Levantine and Greek merchants and Sardinia became more and more intense: around 770–750 Sulci was founded by the Tyrians and since then began a long phase of colonization. During this period the island played an important role in the Western Mediterranean for its richness and vitality (Fig. 86.1).



Fig. 86.1: Sardinia. Map of the main sites cited in the text

The subject of the Villanovan and Etruscan finds in Sardinia needs of an interpretative premise on the different layers of presence as the pioneering studies by Fran-cesco Nicosia and Fulvia Lo Schiavo for Iron Age, Giovanni

Ugas, Raimondo Zucca and Carlo Tronchetti demonstrate.

The layers are different because they mirror different economic patterns, ways of making trade, organization of local communities. For the Villanovan phase (925–730) the reciprocity of exchanges seems to advantage Sardinia for the quantity of objects found along the Tyrrhenian shores, mostly in the northern part of the island. During the Orientalizing and Archaic phases (730–480) the picture radically changes given the presence of Phoenician colonies which were the responsible of the trade with Etruria.

Taking this in account, some doubts arise on the direct participation of the Etruscans, with their ships coming from coastal cities, to the emporic phenomenon that begun after the mid seventh century.

2The Iron Age (1000–700)

There are not many signs of Villanovan presence in Sardinia and those that do exist amount to bronze objects: as a recent exposition at Villanovaforru has demonstrated⁴⁵²¹, single pieces or small groupings of items are found scattered in the northern and central part of island. The distribution of finds refers to settlements and sacred areas: they testify the mode of contact with coastal Northern Etruria and redistribution toward the internal districts.

The contexts are referred to settlements and sanctuaries with a wide redistribution in the internal areas showing social complexity by the groups involved. We can thus understand and interpret the discovery of Etruscan bronzes, as well as the Levantine and Greek ones, in the “federal sanctuaries” of Matzanni, in the Sulcis area, of Santa Vittoria at Serri, Santa Cristina at Paulilatino, Su Romanzesu at Bitti, Sa Sedda ‘e sos Carros at Oliena, Sant’Antonio at Siligo, Serra Niedda at Sorso.

The development all over the island of these sanctuaries, which are interpreted as the result of inter cantonal agreements, demonstrates the multiplicity and complexity of these “political” organizations since the Final Bronze Age.

The Etruscan bronze artifacts, as well as for the Levantine ones, represent the ending point of a circulation of “sumptuary goods” among the elites of the Nuragic societies: votive gifts testify the rich and complex relationships between the two Tyrrhenian shores. Levantine or Greek merchants acted as go-betweens but we cannot exclude a direct form of exchange between Villanovans and Nuragic people.

It seems not fortuitous that a critical change has happened during the second half of the ninth century when the Oriental marines had strong relations with some areas of Western Sardinia, the Southern Nurra (Alghero), the Gulf of Oristano, the Sulcis area. By now they begun a trade network which encompasses at different levels all the Mediterranean area with a strong

presence of the Levantine (Tyrian) and Greek (Euboic and Athenians) marines.

In this part of the Mediterranean area the organization of trade depended on its dimension: pan Mediterranean, inter regional, regional or internal. These levels were interconnected, as Susan and Andrew Sherrat have presented in an important contribution, or more recently as Maria Eugenia Aubet proposed for the relationships between the Near East and the western Mediterranean⁴⁵²².

For the pan Mediterranean level the Levantine marines, Tyre *in primis*, have had a guiding role since the ninth century. In this organization the role of Sardinia is central, for its geographic position and for the strength of local communities, in the Sulcis district, in the Northern part of the Gulf of Oristano and in Alghero area. Here the site of Sant’Imbenia seems to have had a leading and central role in a “political” organization of a wider territory: in a first phase the interlocutors are coming exclusively from the Levantine area and Greece. Since the mid eighth century BCE they change, being predominant the relations with western Mediterranean colonies (Sulki, Carthage, Gadir and Southern Spain, Pithekoussai and Cumae), as the direct heirs of trade and commerce of the first phase. At the same time, the diffusion of Sardinian vessels in the Western and Central Mediterranean area can be explained in the light of long distance and interregional trade.

3Orientalizing and archaic periods (730–500)

The organization of Phoenician colonies developed by Tyre in the Western Mediterranean area, has had in Sardinia its main settlement in Sulki. This site was part of the long distance network and then assumed a leading role in the creation of inter regional and regional circuits. On the other shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea, after a first phase of Euboic presence, since the end of the eighth century BCE the overwhelming Corinthian penetration, with its colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy, radically changed the trade relations between Phoenicians and Greeks. Following S. and A. Sherrat, for the interregional trade the role played by the carriers was not very important, nor the participation of a center to a circuit cannot be connected exclusively to a Phoenician or East Greek vector⁴⁵²³.

At a regional level the organization displayed by colonies was really important in relation with the role played by local communities. In all the areas interested by Phoenician colonies the “foreigners” were received and integrated in the local political system which gave the goods for the regional and interregional trade.

In this phase the Corinthian trade can be compared with the Phoenician one which was older, more structured and dedicated to the *emporìa*. Michel Gras thought that the emporic trade has cancelled the “Etruscan, Ionic, Corinthian

or Laconic trade” in order to create new streams and circuits in which many centers, local and colonial, participate⁴⁵²⁴. This implies the end of an exclusive relation between the merchant and buyers as it was in the preceding phase of the “gift-trade”.

Looking at the diffusions and distribution of amphorae and of fine wares, which constitute the accompany goods to the commercial transactions, we can try to reconstruct these trade streams in Central and Western Mediterranean area (Tyrrhenian, Carthaginian, Iberic, and Southern France).

In this framework the presence of Etruscan vessels in Sardinia covered a phase from the mid seventh to the end of the sixth century. This coincides with a mature organization of the Etruscan cities states that has been played an important role in the emporia. Since the Middle Orientalizing period bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, produced in Southern Etruria, have been found in Sardinia. During this phase (650–30/500–470) the vessels arrived in Sardinia are connected with the consumption of wine (to pour, amphorae, oinochoai and olpai; to drink, cups, chalices, kyathoi, kantharoi and skyphoi) with some exceptions for shapes for eating (Etrusco-Corinthian plates) and seldom for oil (standardized productions of aryballoi and alabastra in Etrusco-Corinthian ware). The Etruscan transport amphorae are very few (less than ten), attested in urban contexts or from the sea.

In this picture, dominated by the small shapes for consumption of wine, both in bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, the Phoenician colonies of southern and central Sardinia had an almost exclusive role in the importation. These vessels are attested both in the colonies and in the internal districts, in Sardinian settlements.

Very few finds from colonial centers are researched and edited on these phases (Sulcis, Monte Sirai, Nora, Bitia), even less are the Sardinian sites in which this phase can be recognized. We expect quick transformations, as it emerges from the PhD dissertation by Stefano Santocchini Gerg in comparison with the pioneering researches by G. Ugas and R. Zucca, or the *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques* by M. Gras, the *I Sardi* by C. Tronchetti and many papers by F. Nicosia and Paolo Bernardini⁴⁵²⁵.

Today the quantity and quality of finds coming from settlement contexts is huge with a wide morphological attestation in comparison with the old discoveries carried out in necropoleis.

In his recent work, S. Santocchini Gerg demonstrates that more than 50% of the Etruscan pottery found in Sardinia comes from settlements, while most of vases which comes from necropoleis was discovered between 1850 and 1950.

New contexts excavated in urban areas, together with the increasing knowledge on the pottery productions, both for the bucchero and the Etrusco-Corinthian ware, have sensibly modified the interpretation: recent discoveries demonstrate that in urban contexts pottery can be found from Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci as the Etrusco-Corinthian fabrics show.

The Etruscan importations in Sardinia between 630 and 500 are part of those “secondary composite burdens” assembled in the Etruscan cities and participating to the emporic model as well interpreted by M. Gras. In the emporic model the provenance of the carrier has a minor importance, using the ship to transport, sell and buy goods in all the cities along the circuit. It will be not surprising if, in the phase of maximum presence of Etruscan pottery in Sardinia, the carriers between the two shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea could be both Phoenicians and Greeks, mainly Ionian *naukleroi*.

The Greek phase of Olbia (630–500), according to Rubens D’Oriano on the basis of the exclusive presence of Corinthian and Ionian pottery in the colony, is part of this story: the total absence of Etruscan pottery from the excavations carried out under the modern city are not an obstacle to the direct participation, with a leading role, of Olbia in a Sardo-Tyrrhenian circuit.

The presence of Etruscan pottery in Sardinia is for the majority attested in the Phoenician colonies, from Sarcapòs to Tharros. The framework is incomplete because data are missing from some important sites: Karales (Cagliari) is the main one.

Karales was part of the Sardinian circuit playing a leading role in Southern Sardinia: it can be inferred by the rich presence of Etruscan importations in the Golfo degli Angeli (at Cuccureddu di Villasimius), Nora and Bitia.

At Nora, recent excavations in the Roman Forum and on the Eastern Sanctuary areas have brought into light a rich and articulated picture of Greek and Etruscan importations during this phase. The publication of the old excavation in the Bitia necropoli, the excavations carried out in the Cronicario at Sulcis, at Monte Sirai and Nuraghe Sirai, the surveys and excavations in the *emporikos kolpos* (the Gulf of Oristano) at Tharros, Othoca and Neapolis have returned Etruscan wares which shed a new light on the nature of the Etruscan presence.

The redistribution of Etruscan pottery reaches the internal districts of Sardinia: if at Nora and Bitia this phenomenon is virtually absent, in other districts it seems very active and testify intense relations between coastal centers (usually Phoenician colonies) and the hinterland controlled by local communities.

In the Sulcis district the irradiation of Etruscan pottery suggests a Phoenician interest for the territory organized with the “foundation” of satellites (Pani Loriga), the occupation and “re-foundation” of old Nuragic settlements (Monte Sirai) or the participation in a Sardinian settlement which maintained its urban planning (Nuraghe Sirai). In this framework of Phoenician presence, in which Sulcis had a leading role, the presence of Etruscan pottery is uniformly distributed both in settlements and necropoleis. We cannot know if the imported pottery was property of the colonists or, possibly, to the local elite to perform ceremonies of drinking. The bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian cups, the amphorae, oinochoai olpai and jugs could be seen as *exotica* to local communities which have accepted and integrate, in the

areas under their control, the Oriental “foreigners”.

The structured form of collaboration between the Sardinian people and the Phoenicians in the Sulcis district is an anomaly. Such a collaboration could be performed also in the territory around Tharros and the relation with S’Uraki (San Vero Milis), Su Monte (Sorradile), possibly S’Archittu (Cornus). In other Sardinian districts the phenomenon is evident and we observe the penetration of Etruscan pottery in local, Sardinian, areas. Some old “Nuragic” villages and sanctuaries in the Campidano of Ca-gliari have attested some bucchero or Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, rarely some bronze artifacts (Settimo San Pietro; San Sperate, Monte Olladiri, Monastir; M. Leonaxi, Nuraminis; Santu Brai e Dom’e s’Abis, Furtei; Nuraghe Piscu, Suelli; Tuppediti, Villanovafranca; Santa Vittoria di Serri, Santa Anastasia, Sardara).

These sites share the basin of the Riu Mannu-Samassi: from its mouth, near Nea-polis, it stretches some 50 km into the hinterland. This organization, as at Sulcis and Tharros, suggests, even if with very few data, the extraordinary vitality of the internal local villages and their relations with the coastal colonial sites. This leads us to believe that the Campidano di Cagliari, the Sulcis area and the Gulf of Oristano were not *agri deserti* during the seventh and sixth centuries just taking in account only the Etruscan and not the Phoenician or the Greek pottery.

Other Sardinian districts, which did not see Phoenician colonial settlements, were involved in these circuits: the basin of the Temo river (Pozzomaggiore; Santu Antine, Torralba; Monte Zuighe, Ittireddu) could be referred to a site at the mouth of the river where today lays Bosa; the Nurra, in the Alghero area, (Nuraghe Flumenelongu, Alghero; Camposanto at Olmedo; Nuraghe Su Igante, Uri; and, perhaps, Predda Niedda, Sorso) to the Nuragic village of Sant’Imbenia. The northern coastal area in the Coghinas valley (Perfugas) has a possible reference to the mouth of the river; the Nuraghe Albucciu (with a dubitative bronze situla) to the Greek Olbia; the pottery sherds from Posada, from the Grotta Duas Vaccas (Siniscola), the presences in the Nuoro area lay along the basin of the Posada River.

From the presence of Etruscan pottery all over Sardinia we know that the local communities are socially and economically vital. In Northern Sardinia, where the colonial phenomenon is absent, the uninterrupted relations between local political structures and merchants can be interpreted as an interest of Phoenician and the Greek marine for the trade in this part of the island.

From a local point of view there were many “peer polities” which have managed the exchange and participate to the commercial circuits moving their surplus all over the Western Mediterranean area. These “peer polities”, articulated in a urban or in ethnic organization, present a well segmented society, have the control of their territories, can construct solid relations with merchants.

The vases or bronzes found in sanctuaries all over the island testify the ending chapter of a story begun with gift-trade, continued with the circulation

of object in local polities, ended with a votive offering by local élites in a sanctuary.

Pottery and metal objects witness the vivacity of local polities which is not limited to the coastal areas but penetrate in the internal districts inhabited by Sardinian communities. These are phenomena of *long durée* which began during the Early Iron Age and continued until the end of the sixth century, when Carthage tried to impose its dominion on a third of the island.

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Alessandro Naso

87Greece, Aegean islands and Levant

Abstract: From the ninth to the fifth centuries BCE, Etruscan items, such as weapons and luxury goods, are among the inventory found in Greek sanctuaries and reflect relations between Italy and Greece. Because most of these votive offerings (Gk. *anathēmata*) are not inscribed, it must be presumed that they were dedicated both by Greeks returning home and by Etruscans who were admitted to Greek sanctuaries. This possibility is raised by the two buildings, or treasuries (Gk. *thesauroi*), that like several Greek cities, the Etruscan cities of Caere and Spina maintained in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi to hold the offerings to the gods. This privilege of the inhabitants of Caere and Spina is remarkable, because they were the only non-Greeks to have their own treasuries in the Delphic sanctuary. Bucchero, the Etruscan national pottery, was also appreciated by the Greeks, who adopted in their wine culture the shape of the most common Etruscan drinking cup, the *kantharos*. A few Etruscan finds reached the Levant as well. After the fifth century, there are no Etruscan finds in Greek contexts outside Italy.

Keywords: Etruscan, Greek, sanctuary, panhellenic, votive offering

Introduction

In contrast to the thousands of Greek artifacts found in Etruria, only a little over 400 Etruscan and Italic objects (about 270 of bronze, and 150 of clay and other materials) have been found in the ancient Greek world—which includes modern-day Greece, the Aegean islands, and Turkey, but excludes Sicily (see [chapter 85](#) Albanese Procelli) and North Africa (see [chapter 88](#) Naso), the Levant, and the Black Sea area ([Fig. 87.1](#)). Most were dedicated to the gods as votive offerings (Gk. *anathēmata*) in sanctuaries, both by Greeks returning home and by Etruscans, who were admitted to Greek sanctuaries even though they were foreigners. The finds date from the ninth to the fifth centuries BCE, but no later. The richest findspot is the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, where more than 120 Italic objects have been found. With very few exceptions—such as the three helmets from Olympia celebrating the victory of Hieron of Syracuse over the Etruscans in the sea battle of Cumae in Campania in 474 ([Fig. 87.2](#))⁴⁵²⁶—the offerings are not inscribed, so one can only speculate about the occasion of their dedication and the identity of the dedicator. In many cases general historical knowledge is too limited to allow precise hypotheses, and the objects can only be classified from an archaeological point of view. It is possible, however, to group finds with similar characteristics to try to connect them with historical events.

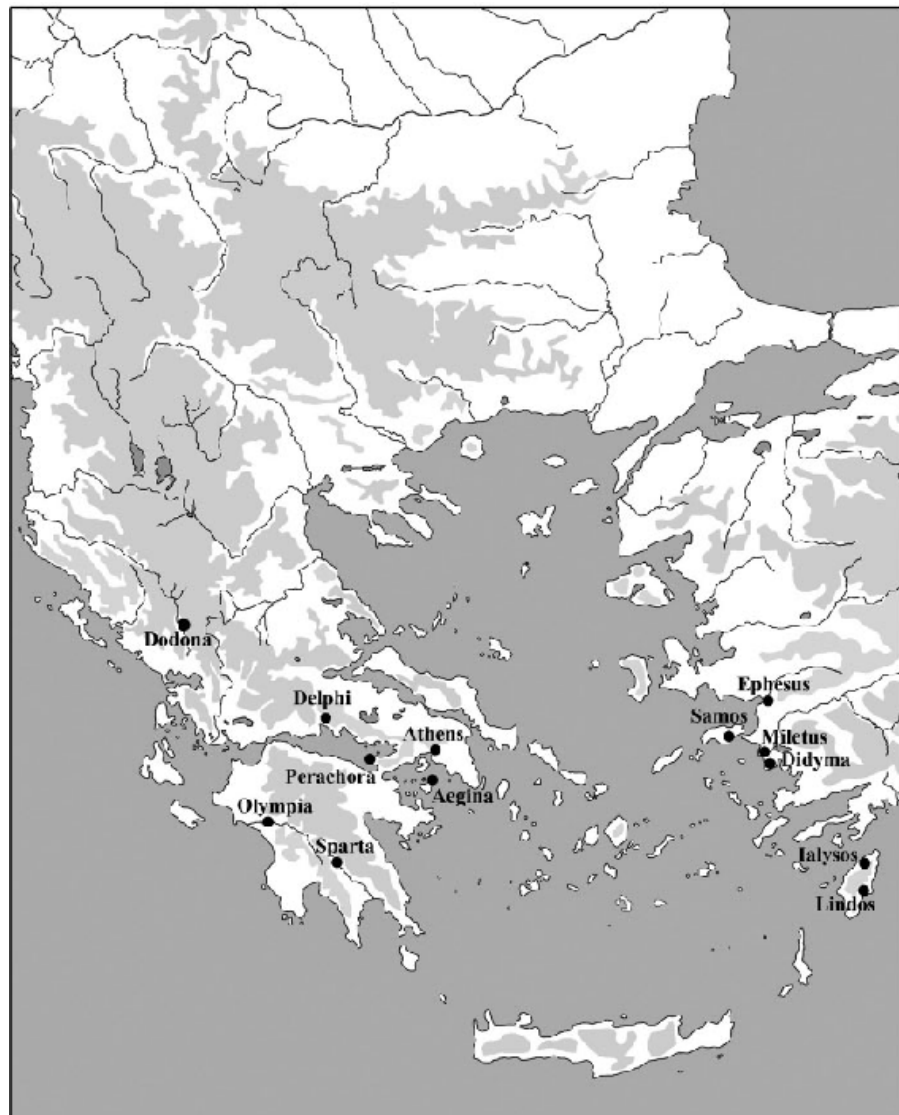


Fig. 87.1: Greece and western Turkey. Map of the main sites cited in the text. 87
Greece, Aegean islands and Levant



Fig. 87.2: Olympia: Etruscan bronze helmet with the dedication of Hieron of Syracuse (photo A. Naso)

1Late Bronze Age

Pottery and bronzes of Italic origin dating to the Late Bronze Age (twelfth–tenth centuries) found in Greece, especially on Crete, and conversely, Mycenaean pottery from Italy, demonstrate the existence of relationships between the two areas based on trade and the exchange of technology. The distribution and typology of the Italic objects in Greece suggest the existence of a large movement of specialized craftsmen, including metalworkers, from Italy to the Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age.⁴⁵²⁷ Nothing has yet been found dating to the period from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (the tenth and ninth centuries), but this does not necessarily reflect a real interruption in the well-established relations between the eastern and western Mediterranean and is due to accidents of discovery.

2Iron Age and Orientalizing period

Italic bronze weapons, which have mostly been found in the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi (but in other shrines as well), comprise a precise group in Greek sanctuaries. Offensive arms include

bronze spearheads, some axes, and one sword (from Samos). Among defensive weapons, shields predominate, but two helmets have also been found. The arms are not preserved intact but seem to have been intentionally cut up and rendered unusable before being dedicated. This was a typical Greek practice, which allows us to bypass the controversy over the interpretation of these materials in favor of the hypothesis that in general, Italic arms found in Greek sanctuaries represent weapons captured in battle by the Greeks in Italy and dedicated—in both Panhellenic and local sanctuaries—by Greeks who had returned home. We know that Greek settlers in Italy fought against indigenous peoples in various places, as Thucydides reports in Sicily for Syracuse and Leontinoi (Thuc. 6.3.2–3). On the other hand, archaeological evidence from Cumae in Campania and Epizephyrian Locris on the Ionian Sea in Calabria shows that earlier indigenous settlements were abandoned just after the Greek foundations, so that at least some battles may be assumed.

According to present knowledge, the typological characteristics of the Italic bronze spearheads from Olympia and Delphi fit with those of the spearheads used in both Calabria and Sicily.⁴⁵²⁸ Therefore, we can assume that they were dedicated by returning Greeks, to thank Zeus Olympios not only for his advice in the choice of the site for the new foundation, but also for his assistance in travel and fighting the enemy. This may also explain the distribution of spearheads in major and minor sanctuaries. In Olympia, the colonists (Gk. *apoikioi*) received help before leaving for Italy by consulting oracles, whom they then had to thank upon returning home. On the other hand, the local sanctuaries may have been at the birthplace of some colonists. This assumption is generally valid, but we can distinguish some exceptions.

A bronze spearhead from Olympia, more than 60 cm long and exceptionally decorated with fine engraved triangles and dots, has very few comparable pieces in Italy—and they are from Etruria. Its dimensions and decoration indicate that it was not only a weapon, but also a symbol of power, as spears often were in early societies.⁴⁵²⁹ If this is true, the most likely owner—and therefore the possible dedicator in Olympia—could have been an Etruscan, who, thanks to early Hellenization, knew the importance of the sanctuary of Zeus and wanted to behave like a Greek. As a result, he might have devoted to the Greek god his own symbol of power.

This is a possibility stated by Pausanias, who in the second century CE saw in Olympia “a throne donated by the Etruscan king Arimnestos, the first barbarian to honor Zeus with a votive offering” (Paus. 5.12.5). Unfortunately, Pausanias does not describe the throne or give us any indication of the date of the votive offering. Some finds and general knowledge help us to suggest a chronology. First, the bronze finds at Olympia also include two fragments of repoussé sheets belonging to at least one Etruscan throne, dating to the first half of the seventh century.⁴⁵³⁰ Second, *Arimnestos* is the Greek rendition of an Etruscan family name that sounds very similar to the Latin name of the

Ariminus River (modern-day Marecchia) in Romagna near the Adriatic, where the Romans founded the colony of Ariminum in 268 BCE. It is likely that the river name has Etruscan origins, because in that territory Etruscans had been settled around modern-day Verucchio since the early Iron Age (see [chapter 76](#) von Eles). The most flourishing period for the Etruscans in Verucchio was the eighth–seventh centuries; the tombs dating to this period have yielded some exceptional textiles (see [chapter 29](#) Gleba) and at least eleven engraved wooden thrones, the highest number known from any Etruscan cemetery. So it seems likely that in the seventh century a throne was donated to Zeus at Olympia by an Etruscan king from Verucchio whose name was **Arimneste* according to Carlo de Simone or **Ariemena* according to Giovanni Colonna.⁴⁵³¹ The throne was perhaps made of wood: on the one hand the lack of information in Pausanias, who normally describes the precious material (bronze, marble) of the most valuable votive offerings, and the archaeological evidence of thrones in Verucchio on the other, make the hypothesis regarding the material very likely.

Some bronze fibulae with amber panels that came to light in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus, where they were probably dedicated together with textiles or cloth suggest a possible role of the Etruscan community of Verucchio in trade relations in the eastern Mediterranean. The shapes of these fibulae are completely isolated among the finds from Ionia, so overseas origins can be presumed for the fibulae from Ephesus, where further amber finds are known. According to present knowledge, raw amber may have been imported from Verucchio to Ephesus to be worked in a local style.⁴⁵³² Fibulae with amber panels may have been involved in the raw amber trade; if this is true, they become the indicator for relationships that otherwise would be completely unknown for us.

The trade link between Verucchio and Ephesus, which can be connected to the highly specialized amber-working craft that had developed at Verucchio, is not a unique case, because other examples of probable direct relationships between cities in the western and eastern Mediterranean can be identified, which reveal further trade connections. Bronze workshops flourished at Vetulonia in the first half of the seventh century. Their broad production encompassed not only vessels, but also other objects, such as characteristic larger and smaller belt clasps that accompanied, respectively, male and female outfits. Characteristic bronze items from Vetulonia have been found in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, such as a small belt clasp and the remains of a handle decorated with lion heads and a flower from the top of a censer.⁴⁵³³ Correspondingly, Vetulonia has yielded typical Samian finds, dated to the first half of the seventh century (bronze cauldrons decorated with griffin or lion protomes⁴⁵³⁴) and to the second half of the seventh and the early sixth centuries (many clay vases).⁴⁵³⁵

How can we explain the existence of luxury object exchange between Vetulonia and Samos? A possible answer may be Etruria's metal resources.

The copper and iron minerals in northern Etruria were already being exploited in the seventh century, and the Vetulonia's elite were involved in the mining industry (see chapter 25 Zifferero). Trade in ingots or partly worked metals between Etruria and Samos or other eastern Greek communities can only be assumed as early as the first half of the seventh century; the wreck found off Giglio Island proves that around 600 BCE, metal ingots played a primary role in Mediterranean trade relations (see chapter 49 Nijboer) and implies personal relationships between the merchants, as shown by the Etruscan *tesserae hospitales* in the sixth and fifth centuries (see chapter 10 D'Ercole). All this allows us to imagine that gift exchange to establish new trade partnerships was probably going on in the early seventh century. The luxury objects from Vetulonia and Samos may well be the fruit of a gift exchange, which in Etruria is well attested in inscriptions.⁴⁵³⁶

In Olympia, women's jewelry also came to light, some of which is concentrated around the temple of Hera. Because the pieces were found during several campaigns carried out over many years—even before the Hera temple itself was found⁴⁵³⁷ —they have not yet been completely identified. They are from no later than 600 BCE, and include two joining fragments of a silver Etruscan plaque, probably from a diadem of the first half of the seventh century. The plaque shows a variety of stamped decoration, including animals like winged lions, depicted walking and crouching, motifs, such as a cable pattern, Phoenician palmettes, and concentric-circle ornaments (Fig.87.3). Because early stamped jewelry is characteristic of southern Etruria in both Tarquinia and Caere, it is likely that the votive offering comes from this district.⁴⁵³⁸



3Archaic and Late Archaic periods

From the early sixth to the mid fifth centuries, Etruscan pottery, such as bucchero, together with luxury goods such as bronzes and wooden shrines with ivory plaques, all played an active role in the framework of Archaic trade in both the western and eastern Mediterranean.

Bucchero, the national Etruscan pottery (see chapters 46 Micozzi and 52 Bentz), is widespread throughout the Mediterranean from Spain to Turkey and from southern France to North Africa, particularly in the form of the *kantharos*, a drinking cup with two high handles that allow the vessel to be handled easily (Fig. 49.2). Bucchero *kantharoi*—particularly the shape classified as 3e by Tom Rasmussen and used from the end of the seventh century to the first half of the sixth—are the real marker of the Etruscans all over the Mediterranean.⁴⁵³⁹

Etruscan *kantharoi* were highly appreciated in Greece. Herman Brijder notes that the low attachment of the handles on the body shows that the earliest Attic black-figure *kantharoi* around 580 derive directly from Etruscan bronze *kantharoi*.⁴⁵⁴⁰ The bronze handle of an Etruscan *kantharos* found in the temple of Apollo at Didyma proves that bronze *kantharoi* were also offered in Greek sanctuaries; later black-figure vase paintings, dating to the second half of the sixth century, show that the shape was adopted in Greek culture as an attribute of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine. Miletus is the richest bucchero findspot in the Aegean; the recent German excavations have produced more than 100 Etruscan bucchero sherds, mostly from *kantharoi*. Thin section and petrographic analysis allow us to identify the probable Etruscan production centers of the bucchero vases, which were dedicated in the local Aphrodite sanctuary. These centers were Caere and Tarquinia, which probably had direct relationships with Miletus.⁴⁵⁴¹ Greek votive inscriptions on bucchero *kantharoi* from Perachora in Greece, Ialysos on Rhodes, and some findspots in Sicily demonstrate that such votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries must be connected to Greeks (Fig. 87.4.1–4).⁴⁵⁴²



1



2



3



4

Fig. 87.4: Greek Inscriptions on Etruscan kantharoi from Greek sanctuaries 1: Perachora; 2: Ialysos; 3.–4: Lentini (after Naso 2006b, fig. 8)



1



2

Fig. 87.5: Etruscan Inscriptions from Greece: 1. Laconian cup from Aegina; 2: gem from Perachora (after Cristofani 1993, fig. 1)

Several votive offerings are surely Etruscan *anathemata*. Two inscriptions

from Aegina and Perachora suggest that the Etruscans wanted to act like Greeks and participated in the life of the sanctuaries. The first Etruscan inscription in Greece has been identified in the sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina; unfortunately it is incomplete: *mi pl [...]*x *inur*. The text, engraved on a stemless Laconian cup from the third quarter of the sixth century, names the cup's donor in the first person. After *mi* ("I") can be read *pl*, probably the beginning of the family name of the person making the dedication. For the restoration of the missing part there are several possibilities, but none of them is certain. The final letters]x *inur* indicate a plural, which may refer to an offering of more than one object (Fig. 87.5.1). Mauro Cristofani suggested connecting the inscription with the rituals carried out in the dining rooms of the sanctuary of Aphaia and assumed the presence of an Etruscan at these ceremonies. Recently, a second Etruscan inscription from Greece has been read on a Greek gem from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, probably datable around 500. (Fig. 87.5.2)⁴⁵⁴³

The most famous Etruscan *anathemata* in Greek sanctuaries belonging to 6th–5th cent. are concentrated in Delphi and are connected to the consultation of the oracle there.⁴⁵⁴⁴ An inscribed stone base recording a Greek dedication to Apollo by the Etruscans belongs to the early fifth century. According to the traces remaining on the top, the base probably held a *lebes* or a krater of bronze on a supporting column. The Greek text from Delphi raises some questions—primarily the mention of the Etruscans as a people, because it would be the only direct testimony of the Etruscan nation thought of as a whole (see [chapter 35](#) Cerchiai). The inscription is not complete, so doubts remain. We know from literacy sources that in the fifth century, two Etruscan cities—Caere and Spina—built their own treasuries in Delphi, as was the usual practice for several Greek city-states.⁴⁵⁴⁵ The purpose of a treasury is to commemorate victories and to thank the oracle of Apollo for her advice, which was thought to have contributed to the victories. The buildings are called treasuries (Gk. *thesauroi*), because they held the offerings made to the god of the sanctuary; these were frequently a tenth of the spoils of a battle. The only non-Greek cities with their own treasuries in Delphi were the Etruscan cities Caere and Spina. It is not by chance that these two cities are represented there; even though they were Etruscan, both were thought to have Pelasgic, i.e. Greek, origins.⁴⁵⁴⁶ They represented the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic coasts and the corresponding resources from each—the metals of Tuscany and the grain of the Po plain, both of them essential to the Greek economy. It can therefore be suggested that all this played a role in the permission and/or invitation for the two non-Greek *poleis* to build their own treasuries at Delphi, both in the fifth century. The identification of the Etruscan buildings within the sanctuary is uncertain. G. Colonna suggested identifying the *thesauros* of Caere with the remains of a building at Marmaria in the sanctuary of Athena near the treasury of Massalia (the Greek city corresponding to modern-day Marseille in France) and to date it to the second

half of the sixth century; epigraphic texts are lacking.⁴⁵⁴⁷ Regarding the treasury of Spina, two characteristic bronze leg caps belonging to a wooden Etruscan folding chair were found in Delphi and compare well with similar finds from Etruria Padana of the first half of the fifth century. The side palmette on the top of the leg caps is a characteristic of the folding chairs from Etruria Padana, whereas the leg caps of the folding chairs from southern Etruria end with an ivy leaf. In Etruria such chairs were probably a symbol of a magistrate and as such were transmitted by the Etruscans to Roman culture (*sella curulis*). If this is true, the chair from Delphi may have been offered on an unknown occasion in the *thesauros* of Spina by a magistrate from Etruria Padana. Actually the two bronze fragments are the only remains that may be connected to the *thesauros* of Spina (Fig. 87.6).⁴⁵⁴⁸

The great skills of Etruscan bronze workers were highly appreciated in Greece, as the literary tradition of the Late Archaic shows and several finds confirm, including incense-burners, a tripod, and *infundibula*.⁴⁵⁴⁹ *Infundibula* are utensils of genuine Etruscan invention, which were used as both funnel and strainer to filter wine (see chapter 88 Naso). They were imported to Greece from Etruria and were probably also imitated by Greek utensil-makers. Special attention is due to an *infundibulum* from Olympia that is part of a wine set, which includes three other Greek bronze vessels (a cauldron, a fragment of a basin, and an *oinochoe*), all four of which were inscribed in the late sixth century with the same dedication to Zeus Olympios by the Eleans, inhabitants of Elis/Eleia, an ancient district of the Peloponnese.⁴⁵⁵⁰ We know neither how the Etruscan *infundibulum* came to Olympia nor the occasion for its offering along with the other bronzes. What we know is that it was part of a Greek wine set that was used in ceremonies in the sanctuary of Zeus.



Fig. 87.6: Delphi: Etruscan bronze revetments from a folding chair (photo A. Naso)

Some specific Etruscan products delighted Greek customers. According to the Athenian comic poet Cratinus, Etruscan bronze sandals with thick soles were known and appreciated in fifth-century Athens. The mention of the sole connects this remark to a specific model of sandal, which in Etruria was a woman's platform shoe. The sole was thick enough to bear a bronze sheet with embossed figural decoration, as can be seen on an earlier pair of Etruscan sandals from Grave 119 of the cemetery of Campovalano in Abruzzo (Teramo province), which dates to the early sixth century.⁴⁵⁵¹ Etruscan bronze vases were also appreciated in the Levant. In Hauran, in southern Syria, at Tell Sukas and Al-Mina on the coast of northern Syria respectively, have been found one *olpe*, one foot from a *cista* (small casket) and an *oinochoe*, dating to different decades of the fifth century.⁴⁵⁵²

These bronzes, and some wooden Etruscan shrines with ivory plaques from the first quarter of the fifth century have been found in several places in Greece, including Athens,⁴⁵⁵³ and show the broad—if quantitatively limited—diffusion of Etruscan handicraft items in the Greek world. Together, they can be interpreted as traces of a trade based on Athenian figured vases, which was in Greek hands, and as the alphabetic trademarks show.⁴⁵⁵⁴ However, involvement of Etruscans in the vase trade is possible. Greek potters and painters, such as the Athenian potter Nikosthenes, whose amphorae were

produced expressly for Etruria,⁴⁵⁵⁵ were so willing to adapt their production to Etruscan tastes that the presence of Greek agents in Etruria and Etruscan agents in Athens can be assumed. It has recently been suggested that an Etruscan painter could have been active in the workshop of Nikosthenes in Athens around 520.⁴⁵⁵⁶ The importance of Etruscan business for the Greek vase traders is evidenced in the fifth century too. A mid fifth-century red-figure cup sherd from Populonia, attributed by John Beazley to the workshop of the Penthesilea Painter, bears a painted Etruscan inscription: *metru menece*, “Metru made (me).” The Etruscan personal name Metru derives from the Greek Metron. A variety of interpretations of this sherd have been offered, but is likely that Metru/Metron was an Athenian potter, who by translating his name stressed the destination of the vase in Etruria.⁴⁵⁵⁷

4Epilogue

A number of items, from the throne of Arimnestos in Olympia, to the magistrate's folding chair in Delphi, establish that the Etruscan elite in Tyrrhenian and Adriatic city-states—which had a favored position within the Greek world—participated in the life and ceremonies of Greek sanctuaries, consulting oracles and giving votive offerings. Etruscans probably played a role in the production and distribution of Athenian pottery in Etruria in the sixth and fifth centuries. The presumed presence of Etruscans in Greek cities was a limited phenomenon, chronologically restricted to the age of more intense relations between Greece and Etruria, the sixth and fifth centuries. Athenian vases dating to the fourth century were exported to Adriatic Italy, particularly Spina, but the general historical frame is completely new.

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Alessandro Naso

88North Africa

Abstract: North Africa has yielded Etruscan and Italic finds dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, which are particularly concentrated in Carthage. Carthaginians and Etruscans were both *barbaroi* and natural allies against the Greeks, as the literary tradition confirms. The quantity and the nature of the pottery and bronzes found here show that the Punic city had direct and intense trade relationships with Etruscan partners such as Caere. Etruscan artifacts have also been found in Greek colonies such as Cyrene and Naucratis, probably brought along the complex trade routes connecting the western and eastern Mediterranean in the Archaic period. Good relations between Carthaginians and Etruscans continued for many centuries, since in Tunisia and Algeria there are isolated finds until the second and first centuries, including inscriptions revealing the presence of Etruscans, who probably escaped from their homeland when it was conquered by Roman armies.

Keywords: Trade, personal relationship, Carthage, Cyrene, Tunisia

Introduction

Etruscan finds in North Africa are concentrated particularly in Carthage, as has been noted by several scholars, but Etruscan objects have also been found in other places, such as the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Naucratis.⁴⁵⁵⁸ For a general and reliable overview, then, it is necessary to extend the field of research to all of North Africa and to compare the large amount of data from the Punic city *par excellence* with finds from elsewhere. After a very few finds that date to the Early Iron Age, two main phases can be distinguished. The first corresponds to the Late Orientalizing to Archaic period, and the second to the Late Archaic to Hellenistic period (Fig. 88.1).

1The Iron Age

In the early 1870s, the Marquess of Courtance bought a bronze *antenna* sword in Egypt and gave it as a gift to the king of Italy for the Armeria Reale of Turin, where it is still preserved (Fig. 88.2). There is no record of the sword's original provenance,⁴⁵⁵⁹ but the type is widely distributed in Italy and Central Europe in ninth- and eighth-century BCE contexts. Raffaele Carlo de Marinis has recently discussed the various typologies that have been developed for these swords. The exemplar in Turin belongs to the oldest type, known as the

Tarquiniia-Vetulonia type, and dates to the ninth century.⁴⁵⁶⁰ This chronology makes it highly improbable that this Italic sword, a ceremonial weapon, could have come from North Africa, but of course the question is still open to debate.

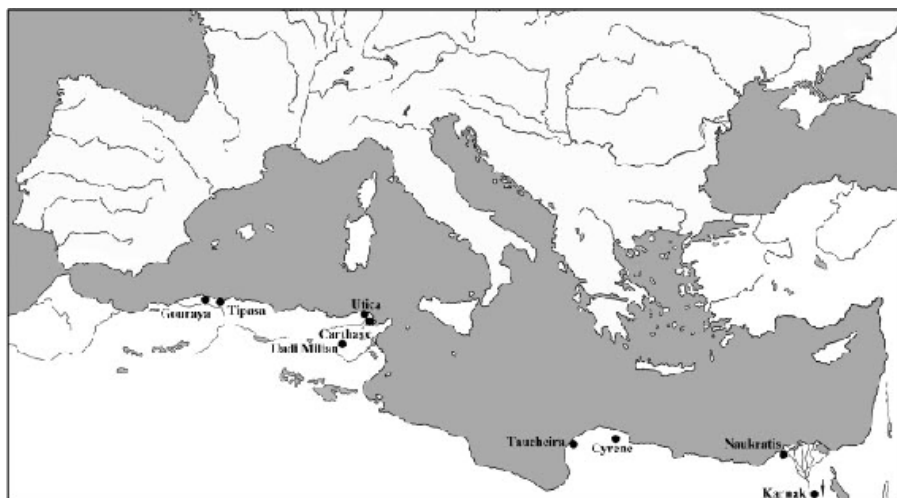


Fig. 88.1: North Africa. Map of the sites cited in the text

Trade relationships between North Africa and the Italic regions are, however, evidenced by three pottery sherds found in disturbed layers in Carthage. They belong to a particular shape of Sardinian jug, the *brocche askoidi*. Outside Sardinia, where they were popular from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, jugs of this shape are known in Etruria (especially in Vetulonia, but also in Vulci, Tarquinii, and Caere), Sicily (Mozia and Dessucri), Crete (Khaniale Tekke), and Spain (Huelva, Carambolo, and Cadiz).⁴⁵⁶¹ Perhaps they were used for a specific commodity, which may explain their wide distribution. Iron Age Pottery from central Italy has been found at Utica both in the french-tunisian and spanish excavations⁴⁵⁶².

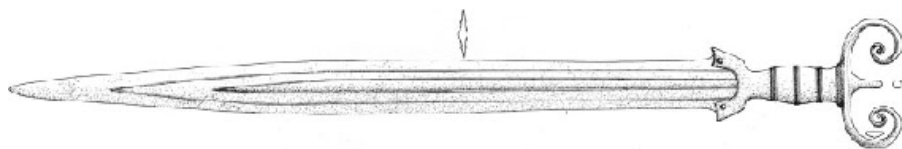


Fig. 88.2: Bronze antenna sword (after Bianco Peroni 1970, pl. 45, no. 305)

2Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods

From the second half of the seventh century, the founding of Greek colonies

such as Cyrene (with its subcolonies including Taucheira—modern Tocra—and Apollonia) and Euhesperides in western North Africa, and Naucratis, in Egypt, brought not only Greek colonists but also new connections and new waves of trade. At that time, Carthage had not yet begun its expansion into western North Africa, but had already established trade relations with the Etruscans, as the many finds indicate, and probably also with the Italic populations in Sicily, as reported by ancient authors. In its tombs, both old and new excavations have found more than sixty bucchero vases dating from the third quarter of the seventh century onward.⁴⁵⁶³ Among these early finds, an *oinochoe* in thin bucchero (It. *bucchero sottile*) is particularly notable. The form is quite typical for Caere and its district, and dates to just after 650. Twenty-eight small amphorae and twelve *oinochoai* or jugs, found in many graves and probably connected to wine consumption, also indicate contact with southern Etruria in the second half of the seventh century. In Carthage, there are also bucchero drinking cups: 2 *kotylai*, 11 *kylikes*, and 11 *kantharoi* (Fig. 88.3). The bucchero *kantharos* is the number one sign all over the Mediterranean of Etruscan presence, from Spain to Turkey, and from southern France to North Africa, particularly Tom Rasmussen's type 3e, which was used from the end of the seventh to the first half of the sixth century. To the distribution map of this shape compiled by Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase can be added further finds from the Aegean Sea (see chapter 87 Naso and Fig. 49.2).

This map can include Taucheira in Libya and Naucratis in Egypt as well. At Naucratis, at least two *kantharos* sherds have been found, belonging to type Rasmussen 3e.⁴⁵⁶⁴ The first sherd is relevant because—according to its publisher Erika Prins de Jong—some traces of silvering are still preserved on it⁴⁵⁶⁵. “Silvering” refers to a particular treatment of the surface, which may have been achieved in two different ways. The first method, which is older, quite rare, and more expensive, applies a thin layer of metal (silver or gold) to the pottery using a particular type of clay (bole, It. *bolo*) as an adhesive. According to Klaus Burkhardt, the second method was cheaper and more frequent, and involved burnishing the surface before and during firing the pot to achieve a silver appearance.⁴⁵⁶⁶ Because both methods were exclusive to workshops in Caere, we can assume provenance from that city for the bucchero *kantharos* found at Naucratis. The presence in Naucratis of bucchero with silver decoration is all the more significant, since throughout the Mediterranean only one other sherd with such decoration is known, from the Heraion in Samos. According to Bernard Bouloumié, some bucchero *kantharoi* with silver decoration were probably found in the La Love wreck off Cap d'Antibes; but it is impossible to verify this.⁴⁵⁶⁷

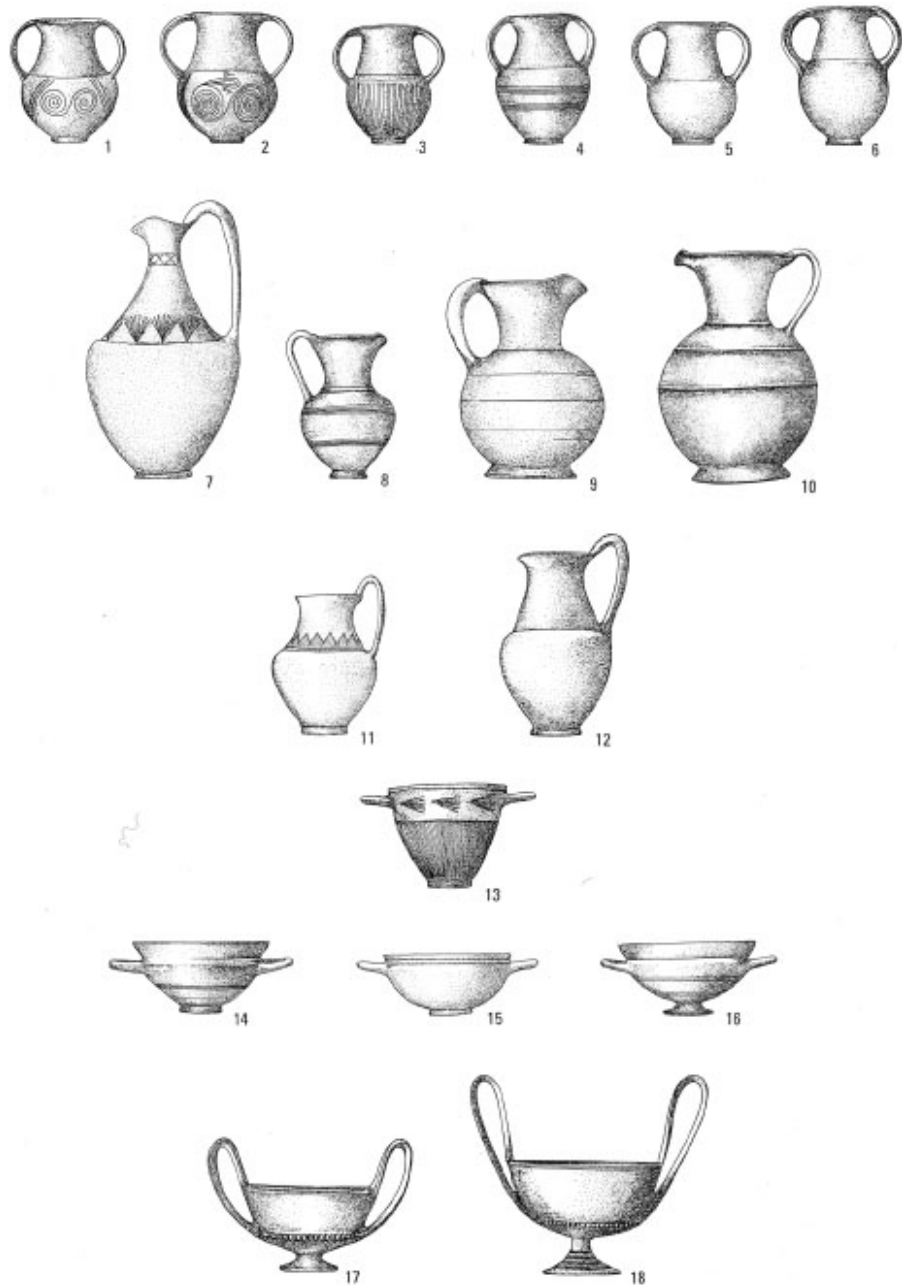


Fig. 88.3: Bucchero pottery from Carthage (after von Hase 1989, fig. 29)

The Caeretan origin of bucchero vases found in Naucratis and Samos is not surprising. As we have seen, many bucchero vases found at Carthage probably came from Caere. Other evidence suggests that some bucchero vases found in Miletos were also made in Caere. Thin section and petrological analyses of bucchero samples found in the Aphrodite sanctuary on Zeytintepe

in Miletos show values very close to those of similar analyses by Burkhardt in his major research project on bucchero pottery from southern Etruria.⁴⁵⁶⁸

It is noteworthy that the older excavations of Carthage yielded more than twenty Etrusco-Corinthian vases. These are Etruscan imitations of Corinthian pottery that were very popular in Vulci and Tarquinia but less so in Caere, the Etruscan city that imported the largest quantity of Corinthian pottery and therefore had less interest in imitations. Janos-Györgi Szilágyi classified the Etrusco-Corinthian vases found in Carthage as imports from Vulci and Tarquinia, all of which date to the first half of the sixth century. These classifications have recently been confirmed by some new Etrusco-Corinthian fragments found during two German excavations near the Decumanus Maximus of Roman Carthage, led respectively by Friedrich Rakob and Hans-Georg Niemeyer. The number of imports from Tarquinia, and particularly for the vases of the “Pittore senza Graffiti,” has thus increased.⁴⁵⁶⁹ In Carthage, Etruscan transport amphorae have yet to be found, but it would not be surprising if they do appear.⁴⁵⁷⁰ These results are again compatible with the Etruscan finds from Miletos, where some bucchero sherds may belong to vases from Tarquinia. Miletos is the findspot of the only Etruscan transport amphora identified up to now in the entire eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 14.1).

How can we interpret the bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian vases found in Carthage? They were probably more than simple objects of trade or exotic pieces for deposition as grave goods, especially if we connect these pots, whose numbers increase between the third quarter of the seventh century and 550, to the events of the second half of the sixth century. Thanks to many historians, we know that in that time relations between Carthage and the southern Etrurian cities were particularly good and intense. The role of the Etruscans was not secondary in the mid sixth century, when the expansionist policies of Carthage, which was destined to become almost an empire in the following years, began with the expedition led by Malcus in Sicily and Sardinia.⁴⁵⁷¹

Herodotus explicitly mentions the alliance between Caere and Carthage against the Greeks of Phocaea in the battle of the Sardinian Sea in about 540 (Hdt. 1.166.1–2). It is widely accepted that the Carthaginians achieved control of Sardinia only after this battle, in the second half of the sixth century, while the Etruscans began their domination of Corsica. This alliance was probably in force at least until the second half of the fourth century, because in his *Politica*, Aristotle cited a deliberate, official treaty between Etruscans and the Punic empire, probably between Caere and Carthage. His references seem to indicate the existence of written documents (*graphai*) concerning trade and military agreements (Arist. *Pol.* 3.5.10–11). The existence of such treaties between Caere and Carthage can be supported by other historical traditions, such as the information from Polybius on the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, dated about 509 (Polyb. 3.22.4–13). Scholars currently accept the existence of this first treaty, and only a few are convinced that this is an

invention, a projection into the past of the treaty between Rome and Carthage dating to 348. Carmine Ampolo stresses the authenticity of this early treaty and dates it to the end of the sixth century⁴⁵⁷². This period at Caere is the age of Thefarie Velianas, the king of the city responsible for the construction of the temple now known as Temple B in the sanctuary of Pyrgi, the main harbor of Caere. Thefarie Velianas is expressly named in the gold tablets from Pyrgi—two in Etruscan and one in Punic—that also record the deities of the sanctuary, the Etruscan Uni and the Punic Astarte. According to many scholars, the honor of putting a Punic inscription in one of the main sanctuaries near Caere—and of consecrating it to a Punic deity—is closely connected to the alliance described by Herodotus. Perhaps to become king of Caere, Thefarie also received Carthaginian support.⁴⁵⁷³

An important find shows the existence of close personal relationships between Etruscans and Carthaginians, and probably also reflects the custom of the two peoples meeting one another in their respective cities. One of the few Archaic Etruscan inscriptions outside Etruria was found in a tomb of the Santa Monica necropolis in Carthage. Inscribed on the reverse of an ivory *tessera* in the form of a quadruped (Fig. 88.4) is *mi puinel karthazies vesqu[vacat]na* (“I belong to Puinel the Carthaginian...”). This little tablet, dating to the last quarter of the sixth century, has been identified as a *tessera hospitalis*—almost an identity card, intended to match another similar piece belonging to an Etruscan. Palaeography indicates that the tablet was inscribed in Tarquinii or Vulci. Only a few other ivory *tesserae hospitales* are known; it is not by accident that one in the form of a panther was found outside Etruria, in Rome (see chapter 79 Naso). In another tablet, only partially preserved, from the Etruscan residence of Murlo (Siena), Adriano Maggiani suggested restoring the name *puinel*[---]. If his interpretation is correct, this could be further evidence concerning relations between Etruscans and Carthaginians.⁴⁵⁷⁴ In the last quarter of the sixth century, then, after the battle of the Sardinian Sea, we can clearly see direct and personal contacts between southern Etruscans and Carthaginians, both of them *barbaroi* and therefore natural allies against the Greeks. It is also possible to accept a proposal by Dietrich Berges, who included Etruscan people among the possible clients visiting the state archive in Carthage.⁴⁵⁷⁵



Fig. 88.4: *Tessera hospitalis* from Carthage (after Pugliese Carratelli 1986, fig. 55)

We may therefore conclude that the presence of rich Etruscan Archaic finds in western North Africa was due not only to trade, but in some cases also to direct relations with Etruria, particularly with Caere.

In the Greek colonies of North Africa, in contrast, we can ascribe the Etruscan finds to indirect contacts through trade. This may be the case of the bucchero *kantharoi* in Taucheira and Naucratis and of the other bucchero vases from Naucratis recently published by Phil Perkins. Bucchero sherds are known to have been found at Karnak in Egypt and Tipasa in Algeria. Thanks to information kindly provided by Pierre Rouillard, we know that only one Etruscan sherd has been found at Karnak—of a small amphora dated to 600.⁴⁵⁷⁶ The Etruscan bucchero vases found in Greek sanctuaries can generally be considered gifts from merchants returning home, as can be seen from the Greek names inscribed on bucchero vases dating to the first half of the sixth century found in Perachora, Ialisos (on Rhodes), and Sicily (in Selinous and now in Leontinoi). These include a Nearchos in Perachora and probably a Leukios in Leontinoi (see [chapter 87](#) Naso).

What is quite surprising in North Africa is the absence of Etruscan bucchero at Cyrene. This may be due to the scarcity of Archaic pottery published from the site. What has been found in Cyrene, however, is a bronze fragment belonging to an Etruscan utensil, which Mario Zuffa identified as an *infundibulum*,⁴⁵⁷⁷ a very elaborate funnel that was part of a wine set. It is in

the form of a small bronze frog with a hole bored through it and a cutaway to fit a tang by which the frog could be attached to a bronze handle. The frog held a strainer that was originally fixed with rivets. Both frog and strainer could be lifted up and the funnel used alone. *Infundibula* usually have a handle in the form of a lyre that ends in a duck's head with a long bill, or more rarely in a ram's head. It is quite common for the hinge to be T-shaped, or, if representational, a lion couchant, a frog, or occasionally a sphinx. These utensils are a typical Etruscan invention, and were used for pouring wine, for instance from a krater into a *oinochoe* or from a *oinochoe* into a *kantharos*. In the second half of the sixth century they were very popular all over the Mediterranean (Fig. 88.5). *Infundibula* from that period are the counterpart in bronze of the bucchero *kantharoi* from the first half of the same century; they are a real Etruscan marker, one of the valued *tyrrhenoi chalkoi* celebrated in ancient Greek literature. Since Zuffa's article, which listed twenty-eight of them, many new finds have surfaced. We can now list more than 100 *infundibula* belonging to at least four main types: (1) lyre-handled (the most common, with subtypes); (2) similar but without tang, known from San Martino in Gattara; (3) palmette-handled; (4) special forms, including non-Etruscan examples.

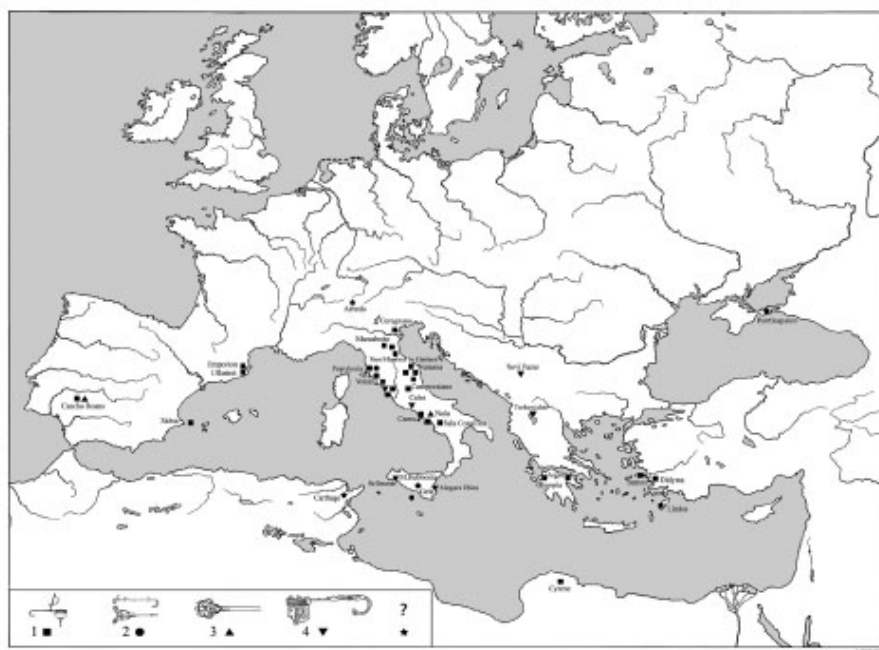


Fig. 88.5: Diffusion of bronze *infundibula* (map compiled by A. Naso)

Although many have appeared on the art market with no provenance, the findspots, when known, are significant. In Italy they are quite widespread. The main source is southern Etruria, but they have also been found in

Campania, Umbria, ancient Picenum (corresponding to the modern-day southern Marche and northern Abruzzo), and the modern-day Veneto; several examples have been found in Sicily. Outside Italy there are four from Spain, one from Cyrene, three (or more) from Olympia (one with a Greek inscription), one from Argos, one from Ialisos on Rhodes, one from Thasos, one from Samos, and one from Didyma. Another funnel was found in Switzerland, in the Arbedo hoard. Two further bronze fragments that represent ducks' heads, from Carthage and from Didyma, may belong to *infundibula* or to ladles, which have also been found in Greece. This wide distribution, including not only Italic regions but also the Mediterranean basin and central Europe, and the provenance of many pieces from illegal excavations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, seems reason enough to localize the workshop in southern Etruria. Against current opinion, which assumes only one workshop in Volsinii, the different forms (or subtypes) of the lyre-handled utensils suffice to postulate the existence in southern Etruria of more than one workshop.⁴⁵⁷⁸ One of these may have been in Vulci, where the most famous Etruscan bronze workshops flourished, which were responsible both for masterpieces, such as the rod tripods found on the Athenian Acropolis and in a Celtic grave in Bad Dürkheim near Speyer in Germany, and for everyday vases, such as the countless bronze beak-spouted jugs (Ger. *Schnabelkannen*) that were destined for long-distance trade in the territories north of the Alps (see [chapter 82](#) Baitinger). Seven *Schnabelkannen* have also been found in Carthage.

An Etruscan archaic bronze mirror from Sestino (prov. Arezzo) has stylistic influences of a mirror group from Mit Rahineh in Egypt, dated to the end of 7th cent. BCE. Two Egyptian mirrors of this group have been found in Greek sanctuaries and show the distribution in the Mediterranean of these artefacts; one can presume Egyptian mirrors arrived to Etruria through direct or indirect contacts⁴⁵⁷⁹.

3From the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic period

Herodotus reports that in the early fifth century, Dionysios of Phocaea fought against Etruscans and Carthaginians (Hdt. 6.17), who, according to the same historian, shared a common fate in the battles lost against the Greeks of Syracuse (the Carthaginians in Sicily at Himera in 480, the Etruscans in the Sea of Cumae in Campania in 474). From Diodorus Siculus we learn that at the end of the fourth century, Samnite, Etruscan, and Celtic mercenaries fought for Agathocles of Syracuse against the Carthaginian army (Diod. Sic. 20.11.1). The few, but relevant, archaeological finds may confirm the relationships that underlie these encounters.

In this context we must mention a find that is not Etruscan. A chamber

tomb in Tunisia near Ksour es-Saaf, not far from Mahdia, yielded an impressive triple-disc cuirass of gilded bronze, perfectly preserved, in 1909. Similar cuirasses, datable to the end of the fourth century, are common in southern Italy among Samnites, Lucanians, and other Italic populations.⁴⁵⁸⁰ The interpretation of the cuirass is not clear: is it war booty? Or is it the ceremonial attire of an Italic soldier, or rather officer, of Agathocles? Both are possibilities.

In Carthage and Cyrene, there are also some red-figure Etruscan plates of the Genucilia class, dating to the end of the fourth–early third century.⁴⁵⁸¹ This pottery was produced in several workshops, one of which was in Caere. The find of a 50 cm high marble *cippus* in the “Salammbô *tophet*” shows the probable presence of an Etruscan from Caere in Carthage. Such *cippi* are typical markers for male tombs in Caere from the fourth century onward. It would seem very probable that this *cippus* was the gravestone of an Etruscan who died in Carthage, perhaps in the early third century.⁴⁵⁸² Relationships between Etruscans and Punic people may also be presumed in the second century, thanks to a small bronze disc with an Etruscan inscription found in a Punic grave near Gouraya in Algeria. The Etruscan inscription mentions an Etruscan personal name, *pumpun larthal*, meaning “Pumpun (son) of Larth.” Can the absence of a praenomen for Pumpun mean that the relationships stated on the disc were with all the male members of the Pumpun family, i.e. with all the sons of Larth? According to Dominique Briquel, this is a possibility.⁴⁵⁸³

It is not coincidental that, in the fourth and third centuries, when the Roman armies were conquering Etruria city by city, some northern Etruscans fled their land to find a new homeland in Africa. This could explain how the longest Etruscan inscription, the *liber linteus* (now in the Zagreb National Museum), written on linen cloth carbon-dated to within twenty-five years of 390, came to be found in Egypt. The palaeography suggests that the inscription dates from the end of the third to the second century. We do not know whether the Etruscan book was written in Egypt or, as seems more likely, was taken to Egypt, where it was used to wrap a mummy. This is presumed to have happened quite late, perhaps after the Perusine War (41–40), because its characteristics suggest that the book was written by a scribe from a north Etruscan area such as Perugia (Perugia).⁴⁵⁸⁴

Finally, eight Etruscan inscriptions on three boundary stones, found in Tunisia in the hinterland of Carthage, name the same person, the Etruscan Marce Unata Zutas (Fig. 38.6). Because Unata is a typical name from Clusium and its district, they probably relate to the escape from Clusium in 82 of the Roman consul Cn. Papirius Carbo and his Etruscan friends mentioned by Appian.⁴⁵⁸⁵

Thus the presence of Etruscans in North Africa was a persistent phenomenon, a feature of the *histoire de longue durée* of this region.

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Claire Joncheray

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Abstract: The presence of Etruscans in southern Gaul, from Liguria to Catalonia, raises the problem of the articulation between the physical facts of commerce (coins and imported amphorae, bucchero, and bronze) and the weak indications of the physical presence of Etruscans living in the area (cooking pottery, inscriptions). Given the current state of knowledge, only the site of Lattes, between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth cent. BCE, offers an example of Etruscan settlement in a house-warehouse near the city wall, just when the importation of Etruscan products began a severe decline all across the shores of Gaul. The chronological presentation of the sources on the presence of Etruscans on the Gaulish coast, from the seventh to the third century, recalls the various controversies about the relationships between commerce and the origin of the merchants, the conflicts over control of the seaways between the various participants in trade, and the motives that might have led some Etruscans to live in southern Gaul.

Keywords : commerce, settlement, Gaul, migration

Introduction

To approach the theme of the Etruscan presence in the Gaulish Midi is to confront the problem of the “installation” of the Etruscans or of a possible permanent settlement (“stanziamiento stabile”), all the more so since there is now a great deal of evidence—notably graffiti and cooking Etruscan pottery—that suggests the presence of individuals of Etruscan culture who had immigrated to the area.⁴⁵⁸⁶

The increasing number of discoveries complicates the problem of these migrations and modes of trade but does not fundamentally alter it.⁴⁵⁸⁷ In fact, the chronology and the historical framework, as they were presented in 2002 at the Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici colloquium “The Etruscans from Genova to Ampurias” are fully up to date.⁴⁵⁸⁸ This meeting, published in 2006, was accompanied by two exhibitions whose catalogues also provide a series of syntheses, under the titles “The Etruscans in France” and “The Etruscans and the Sea”.⁴⁵⁸⁹

From the quantity of materials that have been found, the geographic arc from Liguria to Catalonia appears to have been the main outlet for Etruscan products in the western Mediterranean (Fig. 89.1). The chief markers of this trade are the amphorae, the bucchero, and some bronzes. The height of their distribution occurred in the sixth century, in both dwellings and necropolises. This physical evidence begins to appear toward the middle of the seventh

century (despite a few reservations) and lasted until the third. For the most part associated with the distribution of wine, they surely represent payment for purchases of metals, salt, or slaves. The absence of literary texts obliges scholars to rely on archaeological data that pose chronological problems and fail to resolve questions on the origin of the people, the reasons for their migration, the modalities of their presence, and their local impact,⁴⁵⁹⁰ such as the controversial question as to whether the Etruscans were the initiators of the distribution of their own products.⁴⁵⁹¹



Fig. 89.1: Southern France. Map of the sites quoted in the text

Two lines of research, however, have advanced considerably over the last few years, concerning the structuring of the Gaulish populations⁴⁵⁹² and the place of the Phocaeans in the history of the western Mediterranean.⁴⁵⁹³ The historical reconstruction of relations between southern Gaul and the Etruscans must in fact be resituated in the contexts of commercial competition in the

Tyrrhenian Sea and the ability of local populations to open to the Mediterranean on the basis of the length, vitality, and development of their contacts.

The present synthesis is based on the presentation of archaeological data both chronologically and regionally (western Languedoc, eastern Languedoc, Rhône delta, lower Provence, and Liguria), in order to gain an idea of the dynamics of the traffic and the modalities of the Etruscan presence.

1Early indications of the opening of the Gauls to the Mediterranean (eighth–seventh centuries)

The eighth century corresponds to the beginning of Archaic trafficking in the western Mediterranean, but southern Gaul is marked by only sporadic contacts from the seventh century. The local populations followed a relatively homogeneous cultural model that began to regionalize into two groups: the *suspendien's* culture to the east of the Hérault, following a more continental pattern, and the Grand Bassin I's culture to the west of that river, which was more open to the Mediterranean.⁴⁵⁹⁴ These settled populations, characterized by the import and adaptation of metallurgical technology, were at that point experiencing a crisis, to an extent.

According to Michel Gras, this development could not have been unrelated to possible trade with Etruscan populations.⁴⁵⁹⁵ Some very scarce indications for this trade have been found in Languedoc, including native imitations of products from Italy such as the bronze *simpula*, roasting spits, and anthropomorphic ceramic vases. There were also luxury goods from Greece, such as some pottery from the Grand Bassin I necropolis at Mailhac, or Etrusco-geometric items imitating proto-Corinthian ware dating to the third quarter of the seventh century in the Peyrou necropolis at Agde.⁴⁵⁹⁶ These distributions are contemporary with the presence of the first commercial establishments on the Ligurian coast, north of Etruria. The Chiavari necropolis at Genoa (eighth–seventh century) is the example for this trade, with the same sorts of imports that are found in the necropolis of Agde.⁴⁵⁹⁷

There is not general agreement about this Orientalizing atmosphere and the processes of distribution of these products. The absence of clear signs of trade, such as the bucchero *kantharoi* of the later period, makes it difficult to reconstruct traffic in southern Gaul and to place the Etruscans in a distribution system where, among the imported materials, materials from eastern Greece predominate. On the basis of isolated objects, the use of tableware and the emergence of the banquet theme suggest *chieftain's trade*, a system of exchange based on gifts and counter-gifts in societies dominated by an elite ruling class. This reciprocity between geographically distant elites implies a low frequency of contact, the absence of the socio-professional category of

merchants, and the acquisition of a social position linked to the possession of imported goods that are considered luxury goods because of their rarity.⁴⁵⁹⁸

2The earliest imports, and controversy over the role of the Etruscans in their trade(very end of the seventh and early sixth century)

Archaeological items, whose Etrurian provenance is undoubted, arrive in southern Gaul toward the end of the seventh century or around 600—that is, at the time when Massilia (modern-day Marseille) was founded by the Phocaeans. This period corresponds to the arrival of a new kind of trade, in the form of *emporion*, namely large-scale commerce, characteristic of Phocaean operations but not unknown to the Etruscan system already familiar from the sites of Genoa and Gravisca. The local populations at that time saw the beginnings of urbanism. Major cultural and regional gaps were created.⁴⁵⁹⁹

The pivotal period in the founding of Massilia was marked by the arrival of Greek and Etruscan products on the Gaulish coast. This phenomenon is confirmed in western Languedoc, where Etruscan amphorae are rare in the dwellings, the necropolises, and some of the Launacian hoards of metals.⁴⁶⁰⁰ They are concentrated on the coast at Pech Maho, Ruscino, and Montlaurès. In the lower and middle Hérault Valley, bucchero vessels and embossed rim basins arrived at the same time as Greek products, around 600, at Florensac, Pézenas, and even Bessan. Under the same conditions, objects of Etruscan origin are found in the Rhône delta and Provence, mostly in dwellings and primarily along the coast. The earliest levels relevant for imports, at Saint Blaise, Massalia, Tamaris, and L'Arquet, show from the beginning the simultaneous presence of Greek and Etruscan products dating no earlier than the 600s.

The only sites showing a chronological distinction with respect to the types of imports are found in central Languedoc, namely, the *oppidum* of La Liquière and the lagoon deposit of Tonnerre I. Michel Py proposes a chronological distinction between a first phase characterized by Etruscan imports (625–600) and a second phase (600–575) during which Greek material appears, while at the same time distinguishing two commercial phases and the priority of Etruscan commerce.⁴⁶⁰¹ Michel Bats suggests lowering this chronology by a quarter-century, to make it correspond with the other situations of southern Gaul, where the arrival of imports includes both Etruscan and Greek products simultaneously.⁴⁶⁰² Trade was based on meeting places stimulated and encouraged by the Phocaeans, from Naucratis to Massilia via Gravisca, with no accords or conventions to regulate travel and commerce.

The types of trade in this period thus involve both *praxis*, with the importation of bronze basins, and the *emporion*, with the massive distribution of wine, following various sea routes and various organizations of local populations, up until about 540/530. The Etruscan amphorae come from Vulci, Caere, and at least one other center that has not yet been identified.⁴⁶⁰³ The Rochelongue wreck on the Agde coast held nearly 800 kg of copper that might have been part of this trade.⁴⁶⁰⁴ As for the actual presence of Etruscans, the question remains open and focuses on the controversy over the existence of a primary Etruscan commerce or a commerce stimulated by the Phocaeans. The forms of bucchero vases between Saint Blaise and Massilia vary and suggest at least two different Mediterranean systems of consignment. Despite the idea of an Etruscan establishment at Saint Blaise, it seems that the *oppidum* was a native construction, which is not contradicted by the presence of an Etruscan graffito on an amphora.⁴⁶⁰⁵ For Massilia, the possible existence of an Etruscan quarter within the city has been suggested, because of the density of Etruscan products and the presence of ordinary pottery, which reinforces the idea of commerce right from the founding of Marseille.⁴⁶⁰⁶ As for Tamaris, the site has only one level of occupation, beginning in 600, and a house whose plan is unlike that of buildings known in the region. The urban organization of Tamaris suggests foreign elements but it is not possible to determine if these are the result of Etruscan migration, because the principal traders were Greek.

3The first half of the sixth century: Wide distribution of Etruscan products

The problem of the motivations of the first merchants to participate massively in trade on the southern coast of Gaul was succeeded by a less controversial situation with most imported products being Etruscan. The region between Massilia and Ampurias was the main outlet for this commerce.

On the Roussillon shore and in the lower Aude Valley, up to 70 km inland, Etruscan products have been found, albeit in small quantities. Amphorae, associated with transition bucchero and metal items, are rare but may have reached as far as the Atlantic via Languedoc, starting from Agde, Florensac, Bessan, and maybe even Béziers. The dynamism of the coast was then influenced by the view of the role of Agde and Bessan in the framework of the Greek network. Of the amphorae discovered at Agde dating between 560 and 520, 58% come from Etruria.⁴⁶⁰⁷ Relations with eastern Languedoc were not uniform: amphorae have been found mostly on the coast, but tableware has been found in the inland. The local populations gradually abandoned the lagoon sites and gathered around the Lez river. The period between 570–530 saw the arrival of a higher number of Etruscan than Greek imports,

demonstrating lasting and regular relations with Etruria. In the area of Massilia, Etruscan links were favored, but there were also links with the Greeks and Phoenicio-Carthaginians of the eastern Mediterranean basin. The manufacture of ceramics at Massilia began during the first quarter of the sixth century, and imports of Etruscan and Greek ceramics in the hinterland are fairly rare. As for the Massif des Maures, Esterel, and Liguria, commerce used the maritime route, as is shown by the number of wrecks, but the absence of power centers places this region off the beaten path.

Two wrecks from this period illustrate the coexistence of different types of traffic, one from the Cap d'Antibes and one from the Isola del Giglio. The first, dated to between 600 and 540/530, carried 180 Etruscan amphorae versus only three of a Greek type, and Etruscan *kantharoi*, pitchers, *kylikes*, and plates. The homogeneity of the cargo is reinforced by ship's fittings that were also of Etruscan or Etrusco-Punic origin whose culture resembles those of Massilia from the same period. Conversely, despite a predominance of amphorae from Caere and Vulci, the boat from Giglio (dated to 590–580) shows greater heterogeneity in Greek provenance and a larger quantity of this type of material. A hallmark of commerce in the first half of the sixth century is traffic that is mixed and quite varied, ranging from lengthy shopping trips, as the homogeneity of the cargo from Cap d'Antibes suggests, to hugging the coast, as exemplified by the ship from Giglio.⁴⁶⁰⁸

4From 540/530 to 480: Etruscan presence and Massilian competition

This was a decisive period in the consolidation of the local populations, with the creation of many sites and an economic and social transformation of the populations.⁴⁶⁰⁹ These changes are also visible in the significant fall-off in Etruscan imports to Gaulish sites in favor of products from Massilia. The commercial advantage seized by Marseille is definitely linked to the establishment around 540/530 of its own vineyard and the arrival of Phocaean populations in the wake of the destruction of Phocaea and the defeat of Aleria (535) by the Etrusco-Carthaginian coalition.⁴⁶¹⁰

Beginning in 525, 70–95% of all amphorae imports into southern Gaul were from Massilia, more quickly or less depending on the region. In Roussillon, bucchero was not found in Ibero-Languedoc dwellings after the third quarter of the sixth century except residually. Amphorae were still found, but in reduced quantities compared with Iberian and Greek products and, paradoxically, were more widely distributed in the interior country. In the new sites of Pech Maho and Montlaurès, the imports are above all Iberian and Massilian, and less often Etrurian. In the Agde area as far as the Rhône delta, sites spread toward the shore between 525 and 500 and became stopovers in

the wholesale trade primarily from Massilia. The symbolic Etruscan drinking vessel, however, is found in the necropolises of central Languedoc in the second and third quarters of the sixth century, with Etruscan amphorae used for a very short time as ossuaries, notably at Pézenas. In the area around Massilia, the native dwelling became fixed around 500, and a change can be observed in the typology of both Etruscan bucchero and amphorae, with a considerable reduction in quantity.

The only exception to this process concerns the site of Lattes, founded around 500, when the site of Cougourludé at the mouth of the Lez (abandoned around 450) was still operating, which around 600 had both Greek and Etruscan imports. The earliest levels of the founding of the fortified site of Lattes had mostly homogeneous Etruscan imports and a considerable presence of Etruscophones.⁴⁶¹¹ The house, or warehouse, occupied by these Etruscans, judging by the pottery and the inscriptions, burned around 475, and the site thus lost its uniqueness concerning the provenance of its Mediterranean provisions.⁴⁶¹² In the immediate countryside of Lattes, thanks to the role of the *oppidum* Sextansio (and maybe of Béziers as well), the proportion of amphorae during this period was thus considerably higher than in the rest of Gaul.

This period of “democratization” of trade is also marked by a larger number of discovered wrecks. The Grand Ribaud F ship, beached on the island of Porquerolles, bore a cargo of more than 800—and as many as 1000—Etruscan amphorae, metal items such as bronze basins, and fittings with graffiti indicating Etruscan provenance. This ship may have been used in trade with Lattes and Liguria, an area into which Etruscan territory was expanding at that time. The wrecks of Bon Porté 1, Dattier, and Pointe Lequin IB display mixed cargoes, mostly from Massilia.⁴⁶¹³

At the end of the sixth century, it is thus possible to identify the individual presence of Etruscans at least in Languedoc at a time when the distribution of their products was considerably reduced in the face of Massilian commercial strength but was nonetheless at its peak in the countryside. Furthermore, contact with southern Gaul favored the spread of the merchandise to other regions, notably along the Rhône Valley and toward the Atlantic. The material is sporadic, but it demonstrates a heavy demand, on the part of local elites, for Mediterranean products since the Villanovan period, as shown by an eighth century razor, shaped like a half-moon, found at Bourges, or fibulae found at several sites in the Loire region. Archaic statuettes, often without context, or pieces of furniture are also found at several sites in the area. In the Rhône Valley, Etruscan products are a minority of the imports but they reach as far as Lyon. Etruscan tableware, notably bucchero *kantharoi*, was imported from the beginning to the third quarter of the sixth century. Then, until the end of the fifth century, amphorae continued to go up the river but the tableware disappeared. At the end of the fifth century, Mediterranean material no longer appears in the northern Rhône-Alps area. However, there could be several

sources of supply of these imports, and merchandise crossing the Alps complements the coastal trade of southern Gaul. For the Atlantic regions, the question of direct contacts with the Mediterranean dealers has been raised. In the necropolises of Morbihan and maritime Charente, basins of Etruscan type and *situlae* from Italy have been found alongside Greek material dating to the fifth and fourth centuries.⁴⁶¹⁴

5The fifth century (480–396): Weak indications of Etruscan presence in trade dominated by Massilia

Beginning in 480, the ascendancy of quality Massilian ceramics over the imported amphorae became unequivocal, even in the area of Lattes. Roussillon, however, continued to import mostly Iberian products. The Etruscans, though, never went away, as shown not only by their products but also by inscriptions on lead from Catalonia, graffiti from Ensérune and Béziers, and by the types of millstones and mortars.⁴⁶¹⁵ These changes are related in part to the stepping up of competition from Syracuse in the Tyrrhenian Sea. This was indeed the time of disappearance of the bucchero that had until then been the chief type-fossil of Etruscan trade.

In western Languedoc, the inscription of Pech Maho, dating to the middle of the fifth century, provides evidence of an Etruscan presence. Men called Venel and Utavu are named in this commercial treaty recording the sale of a ship involving the city of Marseille and perhaps Ampurias.⁴⁶¹⁶ The marketing of Etruscan products thus continued in Languedoc with an increasing role for Béziers, Monédière, and Agde. If the strengthening of the habitat took place around these poles, the strength of the commercial stopovers remained in the framework of principally Greek networks. Lattes continued to import Etruscan goods until the fourth century, but the quantities were greatly reduced in comparison with those from Massilia. Around the mid fifth century, the number of Etruscan graffiti falls off strongly. At La Liquière, Greek imports tripled between the beginning and end of the fifth century. The Rhône delta and the area around Massilia passed completely under Massilia's control, and Greek imports took over all the settlements in the countryside.

6The final Etruscan imports (fourth–third centuries)

In Languedoc, the fourth century saw a limited revival of Etruscan contact, with the presence of Etruscan material at Mailhac, Béziers, and Ensérune in

both dwellings and necropolises. The provisioning of Béziers, however, remained 70% Greek. Two vases that can be assigned to the Sokra group arrived between 350 and 300. The term “Sokra group” refers to a collection of ceramics overpainted with typical decoration in pink that was made in southern Etruria and the Faliscan area. This technique, in use during the fourth century, originated with the Greek painter Sokrates, who emigrated to Falerii after the Peloponnesian War.⁴⁶¹⁷

As for Agde, the city underwent a Greek reestablishment and centralized the flows of commerce, in the context of the settlements from Massilia along the coast.⁴⁶¹⁸ At Massilia, a few Etruscan commercial amphorae were still arriving along with both black-glazed and overpainted ware. Etruscan material was thus not entirely absent from commercial circulation in the Hellenistic period, but the types of products changed. They were mostly overpainted ware dating to the second half of the fourth century and black-glazed ware that primarily came from Caere. The few forms of fine tableware, standardized *skyphoi* and *kylikes*, are found in limited quantity and do not imply direct contact with the Etruscans.

7Conclusion

The preferred area of Etruscan imports on the shore of the Gaulish Midi corresponds to Basse Provence and eastern Languedoc. Imports begin toward the end of the seventh century or in the environs of 600, in keeping with an open *emporium* system, strongly marked by Phocaeen influence. Etruscan commerce did not result in a real economic network but concentrated on the exportation of products relating to the banquet (wine and drinking service) and not necessarily excluding Greek products.

The presence of Etruscans in southern Gaul is thus linked to favored and continuous trade but did not give rise to colonization. Not all the cities of the Tyrrhenian front were involved in these dealings, and the competition unrolled primarily between Caere and Vulci. Since the number of graffiti found so far remains quite small, it seems that the Etruscan establishments went from the area of Saint Blaise and L'Arquet at the beginning of the sixth century to the area of Lattes at the beginning of the fifth.

The peak of trade took place between the sixth century and around 480, the year of the beginning of Massilia's and of the organization of the seas, which did not favor the Etruscans. The Etruscans participated in trade, but their degree of involvement and the modes of their establishment on the Gaulish coasts are not yet entirely understood.

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Raimon Graells i Fabregat

90The Iberian peninsula

Abstract: The geography, the cultural distinctions and the various historical events of the Iberian peninsula play an important role in the definition of the presence of the Etruscans and their commercial activity in the peninsula itself.

Keywords: Spain, Phoenician, Iron Age, Archaic Age, trade

Introduction

Up-to-date insights into the presence of the Etruscans and their commercial activity in the Iberian peninsula can be gained only after some preliminary considerations regarding the geography, the cultural distinctions and the various historical events of the peninsula itself.

1New approaches

Recent investigations have been based on the study of specific objects or on the typology of artifacts, focusing in particular on pottery and metalware.⁴⁶¹⁹ General reviews of the relationships between the Iberian peninsula and Etruria are limited,⁴⁶²⁰ but the Barcelona Congress⁴⁶²¹ must be mentioned as representing a turning point in the research. Although a continuous stream of contributions did not ensue, the general works of Massimo Botto and James Vives-Ferrándiz⁴⁶²² or Giacomo Bardelli and the present author,⁴⁶²³ the Catalan synthesis,⁴⁶²⁴ and some specific articles should be recognized.⁴⁶²⁵ Despite the limited attention this subject has received, the number of findings increases constantly and a comprehensive review (including a catalogue of Etruscan objects from the Iberian peninsula) appears to be necessary to improve our knowledge. Such a catalogue will not be presented here, but we offer a general overview and illustrate the state of our knowledge about the relationship between Etruria and Iberia, with special attention devoted to its leading actors.

As for the geographical situation, the Iberian peninsula shows great variation in topography and climate as well as fertile soil and several deposits of mineral resources, mostly in the south, in modern Andalusia (Fig. 90.1). A series of mountain ranges appear to divide the country, but important river

valleys, such as the Ebro, Segura, and Guadalquivir allow communication among different cultural regions, from the coast to the interior.

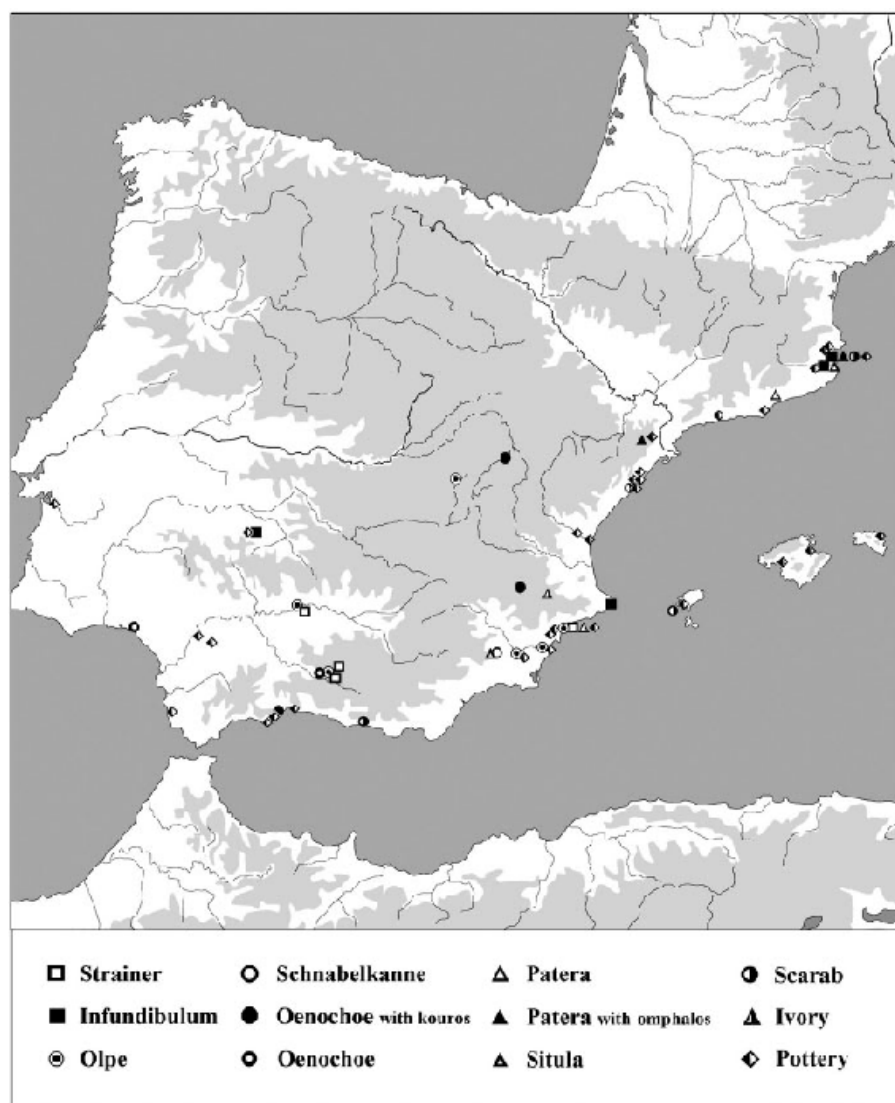


Fig. 90.1: Distribution map of the Etruscan imports in the Iberian peninsula

From a cultural point of view, the well-studied indigenous dynamics developed from the Bronze Age on allow us to recognize a varied range of cultural phenomena, which influenced the exploitation of the resources and contact with peoples of the Mediterranean, including their local development. In the southern part of the Iberian peninsula, the Bronze Age communities rapidly built hierarchical societies that turned into “monarchies” during the Iron Age. These societies took advantage of access to resources, especially in

Andalusia, thus representing an early interest in establishing wide-ranging Mediterranean contacts with both Phoenician and Italic populations. The Tartessian culture, mythicized through Argantonios and Kolaïos (Hdt. 4.152), reveals an image of an orientalized society, midway between local traditions and Phoenician influences, the latter being spread through colonies and factories at the mouths of many Andalusian rivers. Conversely, the northeast of the Iberian peninsula was linked to southern France as a prolongation of the routes that connected the peninsula to central Europe and northern Italy, hence allowing the circulation of people and ideas. Contacts with southeastern France and with the dynamic local entity Aquitania (which meant access to tin resources) represented an interest and an external pole of attraction that led later to the founding of the phocaeen-massaliote colony of Emporion (Strabo 3.4.8). The eastern regions of the Iberian peninsula, set between these two areas, show features of both groups that intermingle and develop in different ways over time, even though the mouth of the river would shortly reveal a specific aspect. This seacoast was more and more influenced by Phoenician trade and broadened from the south towards the Ebro valley, and so it has traditionally been connected with the impact that supposedly followed the founding of Ibiza by the Phoenicians around 635 BCE (Diod. Sic. 5.16.23). Finally, the inland of the peninsula, apparently not as developed as the coastal regions during the Bronze Age, grew quickly and became attractive during the fifth century.

Finally, the historical circumstances of the western Mediterranean and their interpretive paradigms must be considered. Unfortunately, research has often mistaken Italic materials found on the Iberian peninsula for evidence of contacts with the Etruscans (the same misunderstanding involving the southern part of France), both for the precolonial and the archaic and late archaic periods. Even if the presence of Etruscan objects is marginal, their arrival on the Iberian peninsula must be interpreted as the result of circuits that varied according to period and region: natives, Semitic (Phoenician or Punic) dealers, Etruscans, and Greeks. A parallel is found in the archaeological evidence. The local intermediation began between the seventh and sixth centuries, and constituted the ultimate termination of the relations with the Golfe du Lion in the west. Immediately afterward, the western part of the peninsula began to participate in the great historical events from the late archaic to romanization, according to both historical and archaeological sources. From a historical perspective, the role played by the Iberian peninsula (especially the southern part) is considerable as an area strongly influenced by the Punic world, not to mention some well-known *topoi* of the history of the ancient Mediterranean. The phocaeen-massaliote colony of Emporion, the city of Saguntum, and the Ebro river were the setting, limit, and reason for the beginning of the Second Punic War and, afterward, for the romanization of the Mediterranean.

This is the explanation provided by current information and interpretation

for the arrival of Etruscan objects in the Iberian peninsula by means of native distribution, Punic or Greek intermediation, and direct Etruscan trade.

2Chronological sequence

The following chronologically organized interpretation is based strictly on the analysis of archaeological data, since there is no written account of Etruscan presence in the western Mediterranean.⁴⁶²⁶

2.1Before the sixth century

According to the available data, the presence of Etruscan materials on the Iberian peninsula before the sixth century is demonstrated only by two fragments of Villanovan pottery found in the Phoenician enclave of Huelva from the first quarter of the eighth century, which can undoubtedly be interpreted as a result of wide-ranging Phoenician trade, including even Sardinia.⁴⁶²⁷ It is possible to add to these fragments three bronze *oinochoes* of Rhodian type from a Phoenician-andalusian milieu dating slightly later, from Granada and the necropolis of La Joya, in Huelva.⁴⁶²⁸ These finds must be seen as later evidence of the orientalizing trade that expressed the richness of the Tartessian aristocracy as well as the power gained by those aristocracies who kept up relationships with Phoenician colonizers. Another result of this process is the ceramic imitation of a ribbed bowl from Peña Negra and the hybridization between a ribbed bowl and an Orientalizing *thymiaterion* stand from Peñon de la Reina.⁴⁶²⁹

Outside the southern peninsula, no evidence is found, while some other items, traditionally considered as such, now need to be expunged. An Italic bronze sword of the Terni type, allegedly from Bétera or Tortosa and dating around the eighth century, has been interpreted as the most ancient evidence of contact with the Etruscan (or Villanovan) world, but recently it has been proven to be a false provenance and proposed an explanation for the presence of the sword in the Iberian peninsula as the result of a nineteenth-century antiques sale.⁴⁶³⁰

Very surprising is the rarity, in some places, and the absence, in others, of small ornaments, in particular fibulae, which are quite common outside Italy beginning in the sixth century. Even if fibulae dating earlier than the sixth century are still under discussion for the northeast and are completely absent from archaeological evidence in the rest of the peninsula, the problem persists for those dating to the first half of the sixth century, mostly as to their filiation. A short catalogue of these fibulae is available. They are of North Italic type, or at least not exclusively Etruscan, and have been found around

Empúries, dating to the sixth century.⁴⁶³¹ Thus they have been interpreted in connection with overland relations with the communities of Golasecca or Liguria, rather than with Etruscans. These contacts, noted in southern France, did not represent a form of precolonial relations,⁴⁶³² but are most likely to be interpreted as the result of the circulation of Italic items in the Golfe du Lion within a system of “native” exchange.⁴⁶³³ This situation explains a particular distribution of types and some associations of materials during the sixth century in the northeast, which turns out to be different from the rest of the peninsula, as demonstrated by their interaction in subsequent times.

2.2The sixth century

A very different impression emerges for the sixth century from excavations, which increased after a review and the identification of some Etrusco-Corinthian and Etruscan materials found in nineteenth-century excavations in the necropolis of Empúries.⁴⁶³⁴ Some imported Etruscan pottery found around the future colony of Emporion, settled in 575, can be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century. This first pottery, which is very rare, includes for the most part, amphorae of Py type 3a/3b⁴⁶³⁵ and bucchero *kantharoi* of Rasmussen type 3e,⁴⁶³⁶ typologically old, but from a context to be placed after the settlement of the Phocaean colony. From this very moment on, after an initial decline in Etruscan imports, the percentage of Etruscan trade amphorae increases, overtaking the percentage of Greek trade amphorae, whose numbers increase only at the beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁶³⁷ Pottery, always in a modest amount, can be included among the series distributed in the Golfe du Lion during the same period, mostly *kantharoi* and bucchero *oinochoes* and other artifacts including mortars and Etrusco-Corinthian vases (Fig. 90.2). The limited import of Etruscan pottery in the interior of Empúries includes a minor presence in the Vallés area, which had contacts with the district of Empúries and southern France, and in the Ebro zone, where the imports have been wrongly interpreted as a consequence of Phoenician trade.⁴⁶³⁸ In the south, Huelva continues to be the point of reference for some Phoenician workshops where Etruscan imports are reduced to a group of *kantharoi* of Rasmussen type 3e and some trade amphorae associated with Greek objects. This case falls within a Greek-Ionian trade dynamic, according to scholarly interpretation, although an active Phoenician commercial web could be imagined that involved Sardinia and the harbors of Tyrrhenian Etruria.



Fig. 90.2: Etrusco-Corinthian vase from Puig de Sant Andreu, Ullastret, Girona (after Sanmartí, Asensio and Martín 2006, fig. 3)

On the other hand, metal objects have been found in the northeast. From the interior of Empúries come respectively a chariot pole tip in the shape of a lion's head (Fig. 90.3), which has been considered a find from the necropolis of Portitxol (with many problems concerning the interpretation),⁴⁶³⁹ and a small number of metal items. In both Emporion and Ullastret, remains of *infundibula* have been found, in Ullastret two situlas,⁴⁶⁴⁰ and in Emporion possibly an *omphalos* bowl of the Cook type,⁴⁶⁴¹ which includes both Greek and Etruscan banquet elements.



Fig. 90.3: Bronze lion's head from Emporion, l'Escala, Girona. MAC-Barcelona (Photo Graells)

Outside this area, only an *omphalos* bowl of the Cook type,⁴⁶⁴² another bowl imitating Etruscan models, and a ribbed pail (which cannot be considered Etruscan but rather North-italic)⁴⁶⁴³ were found inside a warrior's grave of the second half of the sixth century, as seen in southeastern France, hence showing a native interest in including this kind of element among grave goods. This dynamic is normally disconnected from Mediterranean trade circuits and represents an indigenous initiative connected to land routes along the Golfe du Lion.⁴⁶⁴⁴

On the other hand, direct Etruscan trade could explain the circulation of some ceramic (amphorae and bucchero) spread along the coast from Castellón to the area of Vallés (Fig. 49.2). It is interesting to underline the coincidence of some Naucratic elements, such as scarabs and new year's flasks (It. *fiache di Capodanno*), with parallels in Gravisca and Pyrgi, especially if we consider relations between Naucratis and this part of Etruria.⁴⁶⁴⁵

2.3The fifth century

In the fifth century, we observe a change in the process of Etruscan imports. Pottery is reduced and confined to Punic contexts, with considerable representation of amphorae of Py type 4, while the amount of tableware decreases and metal vessels are strictly limited and assigned only to local

elites. For this reason, this metal ware is found neither in colonial contexts nor in the area under Punic influence, but solely in emerging local contexts, associated with imports that can be connected to beverage consumption⁴⁶⁴⁶ and toiletries.⁴⁶⁴⁷

While the first ceramic imports were localized in the interior of Emporion and the first metal ware is found—following a model typical of southern France—inside local contexts, during the fifth century we encounter emporic trade addressed to the needs and tastes of the Iberian peninsula, which was possibly controlled by Etruscans, as the considerable number of amphorae seems to suggest. This statement is confirmed by the typological differences between the Etruscan metal vessels from southern France and the ones from the Iberian peninsula during the second half of the sixth and the entire fifth century, where neither embossed rim basins nor *Schnabelkannen* (with one exception) nor a similar quantity of *kantharoi* or amphorae have been found, but only certain types, including *infundibula*, strainers and *olpai*.

The *infundibulum*, perhaps produced in *Volsinii* (Orvieto) or Vulci, is the most frequent Etruscan metal utensil among known objects,⁴⁶⁴⁸ but its distribution seems complex, since we know two from the northeast (Ullastret, Girona;⁴⁶⁴⁹ Empúries, Girona), while the other three examples come from the southeastern part of the peninsula one from Xàbia, Alicante,⁴⁶⁵⁰ an area with a predominant role in the reception of Etruscan pottery; and two more from the palace-sanctuary of Cancho Roano (Fig.90.4).⁴⁶⁵¹ Apart from these objects, the strainers stand out because they were all found in the southeastern region, in inner Andalusia, while only one is present on the coast. This, found in tomb 32 of the necropolis of Poble Nou (Villajoyosa, Alicante), is associated with Attic black-figure pottery of the Haimon Group of the second quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁶⁵² This example allows the dating of the others (Alcurrucén – Pedro

Abad, Cordoba;⁴⁶⁵³ Mirador de Rolando, Granada;⁴⁶⁵⁴ Iznalloz, Granada⁴⁶⁵⁵) and falls into an emporium manner of trade, whose promoters can hardly be identified, although the wreck from Sec strongly suggests a Punic⁴⁶⁵⁶ leading role in dealing exclusively with local aristocracies. The discovery of various Etruscan jugs support this statement. Some of the finds that supporting this are the series of jugs with *kouros* handles,⁴⁶⁵⁷ (Fig. 90.5) the *Schnabelkanne* from tomb 57 in the necropolis of Cigarrelejo,⁴⁶⁵⁸ and the contexts of the *olpai* with raised handles (El Oral;⁴⁶⁵⁹ Alcurrucén-Pedro Abad, Cordoba;⁴⁶⁶⁰ Escuera, Alicante;⁴⁶⁶¹ Mirador de Rolando, Granada;⁴⁶⁶² two examples from the ancient collection Saavedra, probably of Andalusian origin;⁴⁶⁶³ Segóbriga, Cuenca; and tomb 255 in the necropolis of Cabecico del Tesoro, Murcia⁴⁶⁶⁴). The significance of this distribution is the prominent role of inland Iberian elites, who are the only ones who accumulate and exhibit objects related to drinking. This should not be underestimated, since it shows a particular ideology of social achievement restricted to the southeast of the Iberian

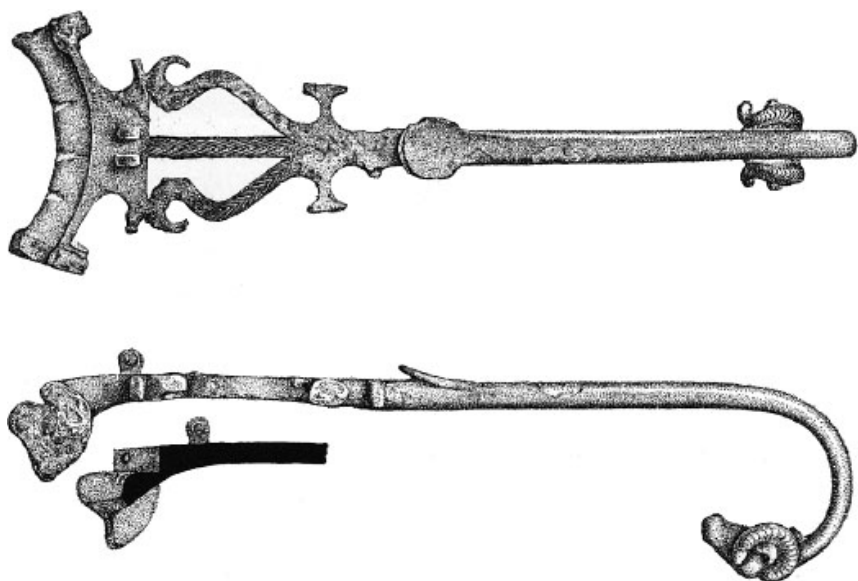


Fig. 90.4: *Infundibulum* from Cancho Roano, Zalamea de la Serena, Badajoz (after Gran-Aymerich 2006, fig. 3)



Fig. 90.5: Oinochoe handle from Málaga (after Blanco 1965, pl. 31)

2.4The fourth century

In Punic colonies on the peninsula, in the fourth century the Etruscan component is replaced by Punic products, which could rapidly supply even the interior of Emporion. In Emporion itself a certain degree of Etruscan activity and presence remained, as is demonstrated by a mirror engraved with the judgment of Paris⁴⁶⁶⁶ (Fig. 90.6) and by a series of bronze votive figures⁴⁶⁶⁷ and a candelabrum foot with a votive inscription (Fig. 90.7).⁴⁶⁶⁸ In this century the Etruscans are almost absent from the western Mediterranean, so this should be considered the time of the end of relations with them, versus increasing Campanian and Punic trade. Nevertheless, the Etruscan presence is demonstrated through important evidence of the circulation of mercenaries between Etruria and the Iberian peninsula, such as two exceptional helmets found in a wreck at the mouth of the Llobregat River, near Gavà.⁴⁶⁶⁹ (Figs.

90.8.–90.9). This explains the diffusion and the use of the *falcata*, an Iberian weapon for which Etruscan origin and subsequent local development have been proposed.⁴⁶⁷⁰ This topic cannot be discussed here, and these weapons are in no way direct or material evidence of Etruscan presence in the west. Finally, contemporary with the helmets are some Etruscan scarabs *aglobolo* found along the peninsular coast.⁴⁶⁷¹



Fig. 90.6: Etruscan mirror with image of Paris from Emporion, l'Escala, Girona. MAC-Barcelona (Photo Graells)



Fig. 90.7: Etruscan inscription on the foot of a candelabrum from Emporion, l'Escala, Girona. MAC-Empúries (Photo Graells)



Fig. 90.8: Lateral view of the bronze Etruscan helmet from Les Sorres Shipwreck, Gavà, Barcelona (after von Bothmer 1990, 113)



Fig. 90.9: Lateral view of the bronze Etruscan helmet from Les Sorres Shipwreck, Gavà, Barcelona (DAI-Madrid archive)

2.5 The third century and the Roman conquest

The course of historical events in the Mediterranean influenced the western regions in the third century, when we begin to find considerable amounts of imported Campanian pottery, while Etruscan trade is very rarely present and then only in isolated cases, in the late third and the second centuries, underlining even in the west the end of the Etruscan world and the beginning of Roman domination.⁴⁶⁷²

3 Conclusions

The shortage of Etruscan archaeological evidence and its scattered distribution, consisting of a mixed selection of pottery and other materials, have hindered analysis of complex relations. The fact of Etruscan objects in the Iberian peninsula forces us to consider every possible variable, depending only on the historical moment and the region.

Therefore, while we cannot date an Etruscan presence before the middle of the seventh century, the earliest evidence can be interpreted in connection with native peoples regarding metal ware in the northeast—Etruscan for the interior of Emporion and Phoenician for the area of Tartessos. Immediately afterward, beginning in the middle of the sixth century, and with the growth of the influence of Emporion, Phocaeen trade monopolizes Etruscan imports and redistributes them in the northeast, while in the southern area the volume of imports decreases and is shown only by some amphorae in Phoenician colonies. This situation changes rapidly during the fifth century, as Iberian elites begin to accumulate metal vessels and symposium items, combining them with Greek vessels, as a result of an emporium style of trade. Only in the fourth century does the limited number of Etruscan materials outside Emporion mark the end of these relations, if they had not already been interrupted at the end of the sixth century. In fact, after the beginning of the fifth century, the reduced number of Etruscan objects gives way to a selection of refined items, representing the prolongation of relationships based on gifts, supported by the success of the Phocaeans and the development of the Punic enclave on the peninsula.

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Plate 2: Populonia, tridrachm, silver. O/wild-boar 5th cent.



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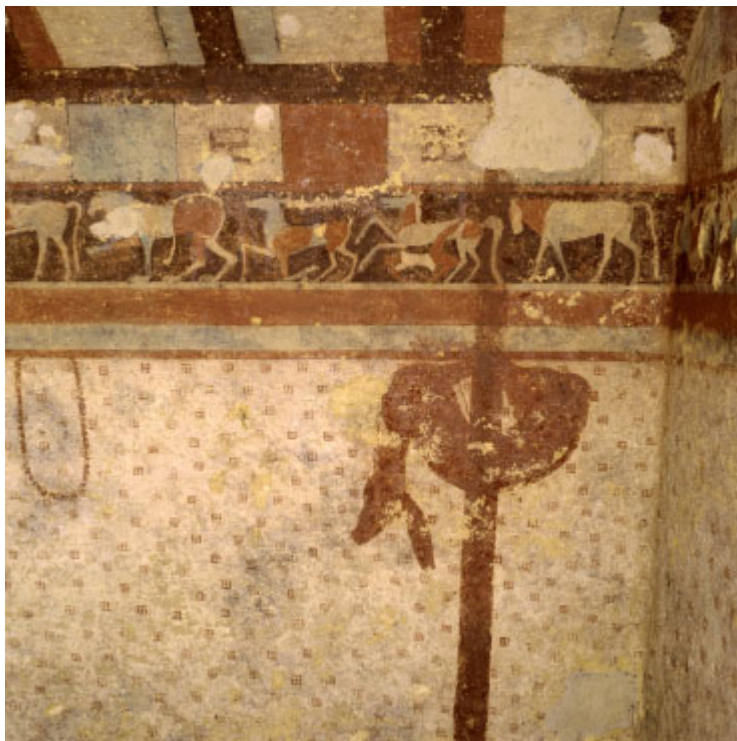


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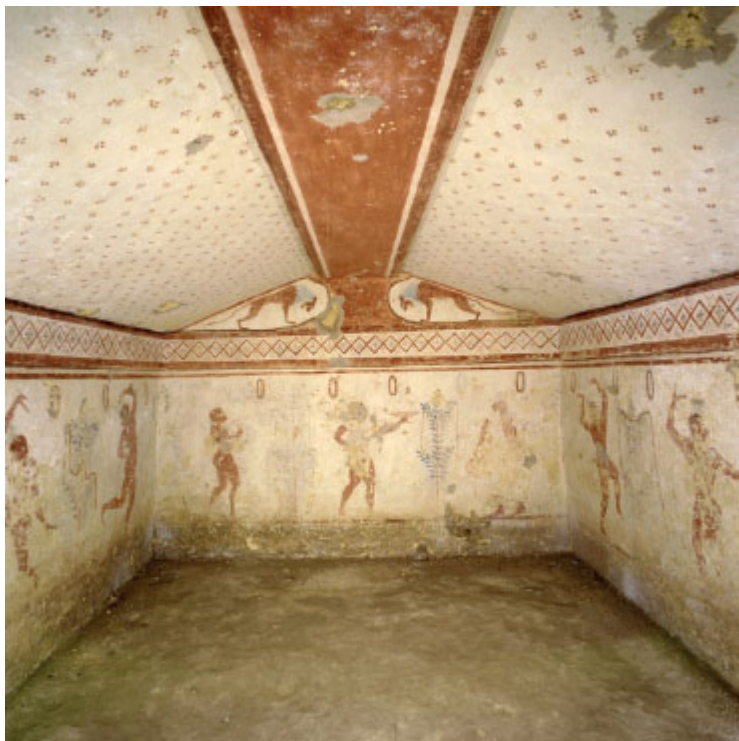


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CIE Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum

8: 1
437: 1
1288: 1
2647: 1
3962: 1
5167: 1
5427: 1
5430: 1
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6314: 1
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11134: 1
11135: 1
11178: 1
11445: 1
12023–12078: 1

CII Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum

446: 1

ET Etruskische Texte. Editio minor, edited by H. Rix, 1991. Tübingen: Narr.

Ar 4.4: 1
AS 7.2: 1
AT 1.32: 1
CI 2.8: 1
Co 1.5: 1
La 2.2: 1
Pe 1.313: 1
Po 0.2: 1

Ta 1.16: 1
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Ta 6.1: 1
Ta 8.1: 1
Um 1.7: 359f.
Vc 2.33: 1
Vc 2.34: 1
Vs 0.23: 1
Vs 4.8: 1

ET² Etruskische Texte. Editio minor, edited by G. Meiser, 2014. Hamburg: Baar.

Af 8.1–8: 1
AS 7.2: 1
AT 1.30: 1
AT 1.138: 1
AT 1.140: 1
AT 1.141: 1
AT 1.148: 1
AV 1.13: 1
Cl. 1.777: 1
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Vs 3.12: **1, 2**
Vs 7.11–12: **1**
Vs 7.38: **1**
Vt 3.3: **1**

REE Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca (in *StEtr*)

56, 1991, 82: **1**
61, 1995, 22: **1**
63, 1997, 47: **1**
75, 2009, 87: **1**
76, 2010–2013, 370: **1**

TLE Testimonia Linguae Etruscae, ed. M. Pallottino, 1968². Florence: La Nuova Italia.

34: **1**
36: **1**
38: **1**
155: 149 n. **1, 2**
204: **1**
421: **1**
470: **1**
487: **1**
634: **1**
692: **1**
694: **1, 2**
761: **1**
829: **1**
866: **1**
898: **1**

Greek Inscriptions

IG Inscriptiones Graecae

II, **1**
1263: **1**

XI

148, 73–74: **1**

Latin Inscriptions

AE L'Année épigraphique

1930, 52: **1**
1994, 612: **1**

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

I
440: **1**
651: **1**
990: **1**
2037: **1**
3903 d: **1**

II

5439: **1**

VI

537.4: 1
1105: 1
1964: 1
1965: 1
2161: 1
10213: 1

XI

1848: 1
1905: 1
1963: 1
1990: 1
2203: 1
5854: 1
6708.2: 1
7287: 1
7979: 1

XIII

1668: 1

ILLRP Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, ed. A. Degrassi, 1957–63.
Florence: La Nuova Italia.

40: 1
186: 1
237: 1
511: 1
1197: 1

ILS Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau, 1892–1916. Berlin: Weidmann.

18: 1
1334: 1
3038: 1
5019: 1
6790: 1
8833: 1

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87 Naso

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2. Populonia, tridrachm, silver
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3. Populonia, didrachm, silver
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6. Populonia, didrachm, silver
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Endnote

- 1 See for English <http://www.mysteriousetruscans.com/library.html> (accessed April 27, 2015).
- 2 Th. Dempster, *De Etruria regali libri VII*, vols. 1–2. Florentiae 1723–1724: apud Joannem Cajetanum Tartinium.
- 3 *Erudizione e antiquaria a Perugia nell'Ottocento*, edited by L. Polverini. Naples 1998: ESI.
- 4 M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia*. Milan 1942; Hoepli, 7th ed. 1984, latest reprint, 2006.
- 5 *Introduzione all'etruscologia*, edited by G. Bartoloni. Milan 2011: Hoepli.
- 6 S. Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization. A Cultural History*, London and Los Angeles 2000, British Museum Press and the J. Paul Getty Trust 2000; S. Stoddart, *Historical dictionary of the Etruscans*, Lanham, MD 2009, Scarecrow Press; *The Etruscan world*, edited by J. MacIntosh Turfa, London 2013, Routledge; *A Companion to the Etruscans*, edited by S. Bell and A. A. Carpino, Chichester, West Sussex 2016, Wiley Blackwell.
- 7 The number of Etruscologists in Italy affiliated with the sector called L-ANT/06 will probably decrease in coming years as retiring scholars are not replaced.
- 8 As noted in D. Ridgway, "Greece, Etruria and Rome: relationships and receptions." *Ancient West & East* 9, 2010: 50.
- 9 Since 1994 the American section has published the journal *Etruscan Studies*.
- 10 R. Peroni, *L'Italia alle soglie della storia*, Rome, Bari 1996: Laterza.
- 11 See the concise and still valuable description of the situation by Banti 1959.
- 12 This direction is indicated by Cristofani 2000; Camporeale 2011; de Simone 2011.
- 13 There is no doubt that Herodotus' Creston is to be placed in Thrace; Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to an alleged mistake made by Hellanicus to transfer Creston to Italy. A comprehensive overview about the ancient debate and the manuscripts is provided by Asheri et al. 2007, 118–119.
- 14 Cf. Sieberer 1995, 50–58; for a map see Bichler 2000, 413.
- 15 Only here is Tyrsenos added to the genealogy of the Lydian kings on which Herodotus' chronology is based; it looks like an ad-hoc invention.
- 16 This holds true even if one reckons like Briquel (1991, esp. 69–74) with a Lydian story invented at the court of Croesus following the pattern of the common descent (*syngeneia*), which Herodotus took as the model for his narrative.
- 17 FGrH 4 F 3 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.
- 18 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17–18 knows of an additional and different genealogy. Pelasgus is the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoronis. In the sixth generation the Pelasgians left the Peloponnese and came to the country Haimonia (= Thessaly) from which they drove out the barbarians; the country was then named Pelasgiotis, after the Pelasgians. Six generations later, the Pelasgians themselves were driven away by the Leleges (= the Aetolians) and Curetes (= the Locri); some of the Pelasgians fled to Crete, the Cyclades and to the region close to Olympus and Ossa (= Hestiatotis), some to Boeotia, Phokis and Euboea; and some to Asia next to the Hellespontus and the islands there. Most, however, arrived at Dodona, and after a while crossed the Ionian Sea to settle at the mouth of the River Po. Later, they were driven out by the barbarians, who in turn, still later, were driven out by the Romans.
- 19 For the various ways to locate the Pelasgians cf. Sammartano 2012, 56–65.
- 20 Cf. Dionysius Periegeta 100–103, presumably dating to the second century CE.
- 21 FGrH 140 F 21 = Strabo 5.2.4.
- 22 For the aim of Dionysius's history cf. Scullard 1966 and Gabba 1991. Wiater 2011 convincingly analyzes Dionysius's conception of Rome as a continuation of Classical Athens, whereas Schultze 2000 seems to underestimate this point and therefore argues for his

(historical) “reliability.”

23 Similar to Sammartano 2012. The narratives refer to the appearance of the Lydians in Asia, the conflict of the Lydians with the Greek cities in Asia Minor, the conflict between Sparta and Athens and the formation of ethnic identities involved in it, and the Persian Wars; cf. Hall 1997; Hall 2005; Osborne 2009.

24 See Bichler 2004.

25 An overview of the sources is provided by Briquel 1984 and Sammartano 2012, 71–75.

26 Creston cannot be separated from the context in Herodotus’s story (1.56–57); cf. n. 5 above. To identify Creston with Umbrian Cortona presupposes the immigration of the Etruscans in Italy and the equation of Pelasgians and Tyrsenoi; pro: Schultze 2000, contra: Camporeale 2004.

27 Cf. Schmitz 2002, 94–97; Allen 2011; Orr 2003.

28 See e.g. Della Fina 2009; Camporeale 2011, 13–38.

29 Thomson de Grummond 1986; Cristofani 1978, 598–599; 1983; 1992.

30 Cf. Govi 1992; Haynes 1992; Sannibale 2011.

31 Micali 1810; 1836; cf. Desideri 2011; Cristofani 2001; Barocchi and Gallo 1985; Colonna 1992.

32 The myth is shaped according to the place the author comes from; cf. Torelli 2011; Colonna 2011.

33 Müller 1828, III.

34 Overviews can be found in Pallottino 1984 and Pffiffig 1969.

35 Recent finds and discussion are summarized by de Simone 2008, 2011.

36 Cf. Pallottino 1984, 57–69.

37 Cf. e.g. Ducati 1927b; Giglioli 1935; for literature see Pallottino 1984, 17–18.

38 Devoto 1931.

39 An example for the longevity of this reasoning is Devoto et al. 1954.

40 Meyer 1893, 500–504; Beloch 1913, 50–54; Gras 1985; de Simone 1996.

41 Cf. Trümpler 2008; Etienne 2000; Korka 2005; Valavanis 2007.

42 A small number of publications of some impact like Dennis 1848 only corroborates this view; cf. Strong 1968, 140: “But the English-speaking countries have produced few Etruscologists in recent times and the bulk of English reading on the subject is made up of translations of important works by foreign scholars.”; Haynes 1992, 310–319.

43 The influential German archaeologist Eduard Gerhard was one of the founders of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in 1829; cf. Delpino 1992, esp. 342; Platz-Horster 1992; Blanck 2000.

44 Fréret 1753; cf. Homo 1953, 68–69; Briquel 1991, 49–51.

45 Niebuhr 1811, 66, 73; cf. XIII.

46 Niebuhr 1811, 70.

47 Niebuhr 1811, 73.

48 Helbig 1879, 99–107.

49 Pigorini 1882.

50 Cf. e.g. von Duhn (1924, 120, 201, 349) who took it as a matter of fact that the “Indo-Germans” were superior to all other peoples; he thought that the “embryonic germ of the subsequent Roman stately feeling” [der embryonale Keim des späteren römischen Staatsgefühls] was to be located as early as in this phenomenon.

- 51** An overview is offered by Pffiffig 1969, 10–12.
- 52** Kretschmer 1925; similarly, Vetter 1937.
- 53** Pareti 1926; Pareti 1952, 63–128.
- 54** The equation of Terramare and Italics is presupposed already by Duhn 1924.
- 55** Matz published his theses first in 1938 in the journal *Neue Jahrbücher für Antike und deutsche Bildung*, which promoted Nazi-ideology and was edited by the Party member Helmut Berve; cf. also Matz 1942.
- 56** Pittioni 1962.
- 57** De Sanctis 1956, 114–137; cf. Pallottino 1984, 89–90.
- 58** Woudhuizen 2006.
- 59** Cf. Pallottino 1984, 88–9, 103, 149–50.
- 60** Körte 1907, 731–735, with reference to K.O. Müller.
- 61** For an overview on the so-called “Sea Peoples,” see Sandars 1985; Ward and Jukowski 1992; Gitin, Mazar, and Stern 1998; Oren 2000; and Aigner Foresti 2001, 121.
- 62** Schachermeyr 1929, 65.
- 63** This construction was picked up by Hencken 1968, 603–646.
- 64** Krahe 1949, 38–39, calls all contradicting opinions laic; an overview about the most important names is offered by Pallottino 1984, 87–89.
- 65** A^okerstro^m 1943, 156–158.
- 66** Homo 1953; similarly, Ward-Perkins 1959 and Hawkes 1959.
- 67** Säflund 1957.
- 68** Pffiffig 1989, 8; Piganiol 1953, 328–352.
- 69** Beekes 2002.
- 70** La Regina 2004, esp. 88–91; he stresses the isolated sentence in Sen. *Helv.* 7.2: “Tuscos Asia sibi vindicate”; Torelli 2009, esp. 142–143.
- 71** Bloch 1954, 13–14, 23–24; cf. also Bloch 1972.
- 72** Heurgon 1961.
- 73** Irollo 2010, 54.
- 74** Cuno 1888, esp. 17, 778, 826–829.
- 75** Bérard 1949; 1957, 470–486.
- 76** Thuillier 1992.
- 77** Cf. Pallottino 1984, 19–21.
- 78** Ducati 1927a; 1938; Nogara 1933; Renard 1941; Altheim 1950.
- 79** Pallottino 1942; 1947.
- 80** Pallottino 1948–49.
- 81** For the various strands of the ongoing debate cf. Steinbauer 1999 (“indogermanische Vorgängersprache”) and de Simone 1996; 2008; 2011, and **chapters 7 and 17** Benelli.
- 82** Pallottino 1984, 110. This thesis was supported from the beginning e.g. by Hawkes 1959.
- 83** For the lasting influence of this view see the 1986 book edited by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli *Rasenna*, which has the motto “antiquam exquirite matrem” (Verg. *Aen.* 3.96).
- 84** Aigner Foresti 2001, 122; Aigner Foresti (2009, 18–19) refers to Meiser 1996; see also Campanile 1991.
- 85** Wolstenholme and O’Connor 1959; cf. Aigner Foresti 1974, 55–57.
- 86** Heurgon 1964.
- 87** Ward-Perkins 1959.
- 88** Perkins 2009; Jones 2006, 46–48; see also **chapter 8** Perkins.
- 89** Pohl and Mehofer 2010; Curta 2005; Pohl 1998; Freitag 2007; de Simone 2008, 179.
- 90** These questions of fundamental methodological significance are discussed by Anderson 2006; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Gehrke 2010.
- 91** Presumably the best analogy, the name *Germans*, is discussed by Timpe 1991; 2006.
- 92** See e.g. Snodgrass 2006.
- 93** These questions are wittily treated by Aigner Foresti and Siewert 2006.
- 94** For religion, cf. de Grummond 2006; regarding divination in particular, many sources are

discussed in Thulin 1906, Bloch 1977, 43–128, and vols. 4–9 of Briquel and Guittard 1985–; on piracy, see Giuffrida Ientile 1983; on Latium and Etruria, McKay 1986.

95 For historiography, see Musti 1989.

96 Buonamici 1939. The index of sources in Colonna 2005, vol. 4, 2553–66, can be used to fill some of Buonamici's gaps. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 85–116 combine a cursory overview of literary and epigraphic sources with one of Etruscan society.

97 See recently Bonfante 2002; de Simone 2004, 85–93.

98 Some opinions on the question are discussed in Giuffrida Ientile 1983, 9–11. Bader 2003 deduces the appellations from Indo-European *trh₂*-, “to cross,” but her argument is wildly speculative.

99 A number of sources for the names of the Etruscans and their country, together with some further etymological speculation, are cited in Buonamici 1939, 1–2, 140–43; on the ancient etymologies, see also Drews 1992, 36–37.

100 West 1966 prints the passage in question, where the *Τυρσηνοί* are called subjects of Agrius and Latinus and said to live “in the recess of holy islands,” as genuine but dates it significantly later than the rest of the text, namely to the middle of the sixth century B.C.E., in his introduction and commentary (40–48, 435–36). See also Horsfall 1973, 78; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 84.

- 101** Horsfall 1973, 78. Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.25.5) attests that Italy as a whole was still called *Τυρρηνία* in the fifth century BCE.
- 102** Cf. Giuffrida Lentile 1983, 33–47.
- 103** On the ancient tradition about the Etruscans as Pelasgians, see Briquel 1984 and the brief but illuminating remarks in Musti 1989, 34–36. Some instances are cited below in part 2.
- 104** On the gradual clarification of an originally vague concept, see Musti 1989, 30.
- 105** See, e.g., Giuffrida Lentile 1983, 9–32. For some examples, see below, part 2.
- 106** Cf. Mansuelli 1984, 355.
- 107** See [chapter 2](#) Ulf.
- 108** But see also Thuc. 4.109, where Etruscans, identified with Pelasgians, are located on Lemnos, in Athens and on Mount Athos (cf. Giuffrida Lentile 1983, 17–19).
- 109** Cf. Giuffrida Lentile 1983, 51–54.
- 110** As Amann 1999 shows, he is more interested in a colorful “Herodotean” portrait of a barbarian ethnos than, as often assumed, in exposing the negative effects of *τροπή*.
- 111** On the whole complex “Etruscans / Pelasgians / Athens,” see Briquel 1984, 283–95.
- 112** For the interpretation of Lycophron’s cryptic text, see the new edition by Hurst and Kolde 2008. The respective scholia can be interesting, too.
- 113** Felix Jacoby later changed his mind and attributed the piece to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 1), but his view did not gain general acceptance. On Posidonius and the Etruscans, see Heurgon 1962.
- 114** Firpo 1997.
- 115** On the Dionysian tradition of Etruscan autochthony, see, e.g., Linderski 1992 and Briquel 1993, on the much-discussed controversy between Herodotus and Dionysius Scullard 1966 and Drews 1992, 31–33.
- 116** Cf., e.g., Bloch 1967; for an interesting episode, Firpo 1998, 251–56.
- 117** On Varro and Etruscan divination, see Capdeville 1998, 395–97.
- 118** On part of Strabo’s overview, see Musti 1989, 19–25.
- 119** Cf., e.g., Pease 1963; Guillaumont 2006.
- 120** On the orientation of religious buildings in Vitruvius, see Chevallier 1993.
- 121** Cf. Firpo 1998. For remarks on divination, see Guittard and Briquel 1991; Macfarlane 1996.
- 122** Horsfall 1973; Pallottino 1985; Wilhelm 1992.
- 123** Felix Jacoby seems to think that this name is made up (cf. his commentary on *FGrH* 22–23), but he does not explain his reasons.
- 124** See Maras 2010; against attribution to the *Τυρρηνικά*, Briquel 1995a, 91. How well-informed Claudius probably was has been underlined by Heurgon 1953. His predecessor and nephew Caligula apparently was an Etruscophile, too (Bonfante 1990).
- 125** Cf. Briquel 1995a, 89–91. On Tacitus and haruspicy in general, Briquel 1995.
- 126** Whether this is anticipated by Cicero (*Div.* 1.92) is disputed and depends on the text of the latter.
- 127** On their view of Etruscan divination, see the relevant items in Briquel and Guittard 1995.
- 128** Guillaumont 1995 (who also treats the extispicy scene in Sen. *Oed.* 291–402); Capdeville 1998, 403–09.
- 129** Tassi Scandone 2009.
- 130** See, e.g., Heurgon 1959, Santini 2002 and the [chapter 37](#) Marcone in this volume.
- 131** See, e.g., Capdeville 1998, 409–13; Cotta Ramosino 2003.
- 132** Cf. Champeaux 1996.
- 133** Grandazzi 1993.
- 134** Freyburger 1999.
- 135** Champeaux 1999.
- 136** Berger 2005.
- 137** Guittard 1994.
- 138** Weinstock 1946.

- 139** Domenici and Maderna 2007, 20–27, 40–41 n. 34.
- 140** Domenici and Maderna 2007. For further bibliography on the brontoscopic calendar, the most famous piece, see there 43 n. 62, 149 n. 101; cf. also MacIntosh Turfa 2006. On John and the Etruscans in general, Briquel 1991, 489–554.
- 141** Maras and Michetti 2011.
- 142** *Lanista* and *cassis* could really be of Etruscan origin, *veles* is not (Briquel 1991, 355–59).
- 143** De Grummond 2006, 202.
- 144** The late antique scholia seem to have it the other way around (Athenian woman, Etruscan prisoner), but their text is corrupt and the version of Eustathius appears more plausible.
- 145** Cf., e.g., Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 92–93. However, most of these writings may have been quite late (first century BCE?). For part of a *liber tonitruialis*, preserved in John the Lydian, see above, part 2.
- 146** Cf. the *Tuscae historiae* cited, through Varro, in Censorinus, *De die natali* 17.6, whose account was organized according to the doctrine of the *saecula*; in general, Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 111–16. – Whether the *tragoediae Tuscae* of a Volnius mentioned by Varro (*Ling.* 5.55) were tragedies in Etruscan, as commonly supposed, or just about Etruscan subjects, we do not know.
- 147** Cf. Horsfall 1973, 79 n. 99 and Capdeville 1998, 395–97, with older literature; on Labeo, Briquel 1998.
- 148** Rallo 1989, esp. 26–33.
- 149** On differences between the Greek and the Roman perspective, see Musti 1989, 36–39.
- 150** On Etruscan piracy, see Giuffrida Ientile 1983; later, e.g., Musti 1989, 28–34 (also on its complex relationship to Etruscan thalassocracy); Firpo 1997, 108 n. 22 with further literature.

- 151** See, e.g., Mansuelli 1984. This could owe something to the fact that the putative ancestors of the Etruscans, the Lydians, were also seen as paragons of refinement and *savoir vivre*, as is clear, for example, from Sappho.
- 152** Cf., e.g., Bloch 1967. Bittarello 2009 one-sidedly emphasizes Roman hostility against the Etruscans at the expense of interest and sympathy.
- 153** Cf., e.g., Musti 1989, 22 n. 8 with older literature; add the list in Flor. 1.5.6.
- 154** Briquel 1990.
- 155** For a number of sources and secondary literature, see, e.g., Firpo 1997, 105 n. 10.
- 156** Musti 1989, 36.
- 157** Piracy could however also be seen as a symptom of decadence (Strabo 5.2.2). Its relationship to the τρῳή topos to be mentioned presently is well explained in Musti 1989.
- 158** A number of relevant articles can be found in Briquel and Guittard 1999.
- 159** Cf. West 1984.
- 160** See Musti 1989, 22 n. 8 with sources and further literature.
- 161** See, e.g., Prayon 1996, 14.
- 162** For example, the story of the emigration of Demaratus from Corinth to Tarquinia illustrates and specifies the archeological picture of intense Greek influence on Etruscan culture during the Archaic period (Blakeway 1935, esp. 147–49; Ridgway and Ridgway 1994).
- 163** For the primacy of the literary sources regarding the topic of piracy, see Giuffrida Lentila 1983, 4.
- 164** Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 91.
- 165** Bonucci Caporali 1981; Pallottino 1984a, 10; Cristofani 1992, 4–5; Camporeale 2011, 18–19.
- 166** Camporeale 2011, 18–19.
- 167** Cipriani 1980; Camporeale 2011, 16.
- 168** Cipriani 1980; Camporeale 2011, 17.
- 169** Cristofani 1985, 6; Camporeale 2011, 20–21.
- 170** Cristofani 1985, 6–7; Cristofani 1992, 4; Borsi 1985, 36–54.
- 171** Cristofani 1985, 7.
- 172** Cipriani 1980; Cristofani 1992, 4; Camporeale 2011, 21.
- 173** Cipriani 1980; Camporeale 2011, 21.
- 174** Cristofani 1985, 8; Camporeale 2011, 21–22.
- 175** Cristofani 1992, 6–7; Camporeale 2011, 21.
- 176** Postel 1986; Cristofani 1992, 7–8; Camporeale 2011, 21–22.
- 177** Cristofani 1983, 15–43; 1992, 9–10; Camporeale 2011, 25.
- 178** Cristofani 1992, 10–11; Camporeale 2011, 26.
- 179** Cristofani 1983, 15–43; 1992, 12–14.
- 180** Cristofani 1983, 89–103; 1992, 15–18; Atti 2003.
- 181** Cristofani 1983, 36–43, 89–94; 1992, 18–22.
- 182** Cristofani 1983, 53–64; Camporeale 2011, 25–26.
- 183** Cristofani 1983, 103–19; 1985, 10; 1992, 16–17.
- 184** Cristofani 1983, 123–29.
- 185** Cristofani 1983, 115–19, 142–56, 161–66; 1985, 10–11; 1992, 18; Camporeale 2011, 28.
- 186** Cristofani 1983, 167–81; 1985, 9–14; 1992, 22–26; Paci 2008; Camporeale 2011, 28–29.
- 187** Cristofani 1983, 167–81; 1985, 9–14; 1992, 22–26; Paci 2008; Camporeale 2011, 28–29.
- 188** Cristofani 1983, 161–66; 1985, 11–12; Camporeale 2011, 28.
- 189** Pallottino 1984b, 15–19; Cristofani 1992, 26–28; Camporeale 2011, 29; Desideri 2011.
- 190** Cristofani 1985, 15–16; Camporeale 2011, 29.
- 191** Della Fina 2004; 2005.
- 192** Della Fina 2005.
- 193** Mandolesi and Naso 1999; Colonna 2005.
- 194** Cristofani 1975, 11–35; Paolucci 2005.

195 Cenciaioli 2011.

196 Cristofani 2001; Colonna 2005.

197 Cherici 2011; Sannibale 2011.

198 Haynes 1992; Cristofani 2001, 1290–92; Rhodes 1973.

199 Della Fina 2003; 2011.

200 Cristofani 1985, 15–17.

- 201** Camporeale 2011, 32–34.
- 202** Michetti 2007.
- 203** Camporeale 2011, 33–34.
- 204** On this point see Cristofani 1978, 11–12; 1983, 165. Also Harari 2012a, 21, 26–27.
- 205** Most recently, Maggiani 2009; Iozzo et al. 2009. On Vasari's opinion see Pallottino 1977; Cristofani 1978, 6–8; Harari 2012a, 22–24.
- 206** Cristofani 1978, 10–14; Cristofani 1983, 142–81; also Harari 2012a, 26–28.
- 207** Harari 1988.
- 208** Cristofani 1978, 14–17; Harari 2012a, 28–32.
- 209** Martha 1889.
- 210** See Sciolla 1993.
- 211** Harari 2012b.
- 212** Harari 1993; 2000a; 2000b.
- 213** Harari 1993. See also Cristofani 1978, 18–20.
- 214** Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 1973, 343–52. See Harari 2012a, 34.
- 215** Harari 1992.
- 216** Cristofani 1978, 18–19.
- 217** Harari 2000a, 30–31; 2012a, 35.
- 218** In Arezzo, Chiusi, Cortona, Florence, etc.; one may name, among a number of catalogues, Colonna 1985 and Cristofani 1985. On Etruscan exhibitions in the second half of the twentieth century, see Harari 2012a.
- 219** Cristofani 1978; Torelli 1985.
- 220** Massa-Pairault 1985, xiii–xvii; 1992, 7–14.
- 221** Brendel 1995 (with updated bibliography), originally published in 1978.
- 222** Principi 2000. See [chapter 45](#) Menichetti.
- 223** Colonna 2000. See [chapter 51](#) Spivey and Harari.
- 224** Harari 2014.
- 225** Massa-Pairault 1985.
- 226** Domenici 2009; de Angelis 2015.
- 227** Summary of Etruscan wall-painting scholarship in Arias 1989, followed up for the next decade by Rouveret 2000–2001.
- 228** For a recent presentation of the non-funerary orientation of the Etruscan iconography on vase painting, see Bonaudo 1999.
- 229** See the web site *Iconographie et Archéologie pour l'Italie préromaine* (ICAR): <http://icar.huma-num.fr/icar/sdb/support.php?idsupport=TARQ69> and Martelli 1987, 327.
- 230** Gerhard 1831, p. 111. Gerhard founded the German archaeological association the *Hyperboreans*, which became, with the addition of foreign antiquarians, the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*.
- 231** Gerhard 1843–67.
- 232** Brunn and Körte 1870–96.
- 233** Beazley 1947, to be completed by the *CVA*.
- 234** Raoul-Rochette 1834.
- 235** Steingraber 1984. See also a digital catalogue on the web: *ICAR, une base de données des scènes figurées de l'Italie pré-romaine*: <http://icar.huma-num.fr/>, directed by N. Lubtchansky.
- 236** Kestner 1829.
- 237** Raoul-Rochette 1828.
- 238** See also Arias 1989.
- 239** Martha 1889.
- 240** Weege 1921.
- 241** Poulsen 1922; Van Essen 1927.
- 242** Beazley 1947.
- 243** Messerschmidt 1926; Ducati 1937; Bianchi Bandinelli 1939; Pallottino 1952; Banti 1955–56 and Camporeale 1968.

244 Paribeni 1938; Paribeni 1939; supplemented by Jannot 1984.

245 Ducati 1911. For studies of the iconography, see the review of the literature by Sassatelli and Govi 2007.

246 Ducati 1932; supplemented by Hannestad 1974. On black-figure workshops, see also Gaultier 1995 and Spivey 1987.

247 Pallottino 1952.

248 Beazley 1947, 8.

249 Hampe and Simon 1964. For reaction to this thesis, see Camporeale 1969. See also Simon 1973 for wall-paintings.

250 For the Etruscans, Cristofani 1976. For a more methodological approach, Rouveret and Gruzinski 1976.

- 251** Cristofani 1978.
- 252** The studies date from 1980s. They are reprinted in d'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999.
- 253** See d'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999, 13–30.
- 254** Lubtchansky 2005. For the same analysis of the iconography of women: Lubtchansky 2006.
- 255** See d'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999, 32 (but corrigendum, xxiii). But Cerchiai, who is close to d'Agostino in this social reading of the images, also studies some scenes that already in the Archaic period depict the underworld: Cerchiai 2008.
- 256** For a methodological example of this line of study: Bérard 1983. This approach has been first used by Angela Pontrandolfo and Agnès Rouveret for Paestan paintings: Greco Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1982.
- 257** Cerchiai applies the same view to Felsinian stela. See the discussion in Cerchiai 2012 and Sassatelli and Govi 2007. For Caeretan *hydriai*, see Bonaudo 1999.
- 258** See d'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999, 13–30.
- 259** On the interpretation of doors: Naso 1996, 420.
- 260** See d'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999, XIX.
- 261** Cerchiai and d'Agostino 2004.
- 262** Among more recent publications: for urns, van der Meer 2004 de Angelis 2015; for mirrors, deAngelis 2002; for engraved scarabs, Krauskopf 1999.
- 263** Maggiani 1985, 208–12. This iconographic trend is to be connected to a major expansion of genealogical legends that developed in various Etruscan sites of the Classical and Hellenistic periods concerning the offspring of various Greek heroes in Italy. See Briquel 1984.
- 264** Martelli (ed.) 1987, 327.
- 265** ICAR: <http://icar.huma-num.fr/icar/support.php?idsupport=TARQ17>.
- 266** Roncalli 1997. See also Rouveret 2000–2001.
- 267** Cristofani 1989.
- 268** See Rouveret 2000–2001 and Lubtchansky 2014.
- 269** Arnobius and Servius are both of the fourth century CE. See Roncalli 1990, and most recently Camporeale 2009; Warden 2009.
- 270** For instance, Rendeli 1996, Bonamici 2005, Sassatelli and Govi 2007.
- 271** See Cèbeillac-Gervasoni 1989, for the differences of opinion between N. Spivey and J. Heurgon, and more recently Sassatelli and Govi 2007, Cerchiai 2012, for the opposition between L. Cerchiai and G. Sassatelli. See also Serra Ridgway 2006.
- 272** In general, see Bonamici 2005. For Dionysus, see Massa-Pairault 1998, Krauskopf 2005 and Cerchiai 2008; for the Dioscuri, Roncalli 1990, Colonna 1996; for Turms, Bonamici 2005; for Orpheus, Ambrosini 1998.
- 273** Rouveret 1988.
- 274** Torelli 1997, 122–51.
- 275** See also Lubtchansky 2014.
- 276** Gilotta 1996.
- 277** Lambrechts 1963.
- 278** About the story of the more or less fantastic “decipherments” of Etruscan alphabets until Lanzi see Buonamici 1932, 17–45.
- 279** Müller 1828.
- 280** See Corssen 1874.
- 281** See Deecke 1875.
- 282** Wikander and Wikander 2003, 22; 16–27 for the history of the main stages of the *CIE*, only briefly summarized here. This work is useful, although sometimes disturbingly acrimonious, for the authors seem to suggest something like a “plot” (by whom, is not clear) against recognizing Danielsson’s role.
- 283** See Lattes 1904.
- 284** About the *liber linteus Zagrabienensis* see now Belfiore 2010 (15–25, the story of its

discovery).

285 The new plan of the work is to be found on the inside front cover of fascicle II.1.1 (1907).

286 Buonamici called his monumental handbook *Epigrafia etrusca* (Buonamici 1932), avoiding any reference to language in the title. In fact he stated: “L’epigrafia può fare a meno dell’ermeneutica, ma, per l’Etrusco, l’ermeneutica non può fare a meno dell’epigrafia... La ricerca epigrafica... è il primo gradino, l’ABC di ogni tentativo ermeneutico che *seriamente* si voglia intraprendere intorno all’Etrusco” (Buonamici 1932, 427). This is undeniably true, but several decades needed to pass before it reached widespread acceptance.

287 See Rosenberg 1913; Cortsen 1925.

288 This phase of the research, as the immediately preceding one, is summarized especially by Pallottino 1984, 412 ff., and Rix 1963b.

289 See Rix 1963a.

290 Rix 1963b.

291 Wikander and Wikander 2003.

292 Reports are published in *Studi Etruschi* 14, 1940, 451–53; 15, 1941, 401; 17, 1943, 556–57.

293 See Cristofani 1965.

294 Developments of this period are especially summarized in Olzscha 1969; 1970; Pallottino 1969.

295 Literature about this period is not quoted here, because it largely coincides with what is referred to in [chapter 17](#).

296 An online update of the *ET* has been attempted (the *Etruscan Texts Project*), but the website was shut down after some years. The second edition has been published in 2014 (*ET*²).

297 See de Simone 2010.

298 Rix 1983.

299 Agostiniani 2003. In *ET*² Meiser has abandoned Rix’s reconstruction and has converted to Agostiniani’s one; he has also introduced a new system of interpretive transcription, which does not solve the ground issues raised by Rix’s one.

300 See [chapter 2](#) Ulf.

- 301** MacIntosh Turfa 2006; Perkins 2009; Kron 2013.
- 302** Richards, Macaulay, Bandelt, et al. 1998; Jones 2001; 2006; Richards and Macaulay 2001; Hummel 2003; Jobling, Hurles, and Tyler-Smith 2004; Barbujani 2007; Graham 2007. For a general introduction to the science see Jobling, Hurles, and Tyler-Smith 2004 and for more detail Crawford 2007.
- 303** E.g. Belle, Landry, and Barbujani 2006; Rosser, Zerjai, Hurles, et al. 2000; Simoni, Calafell, Pettener, et al. 2000.
- 304** Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 1984.
- 305** Francalacci, Bertranpetit, Calafell, et al. 1996; Francalacci 1997.
- 306** Guimaraes et al. 2009 have found relationships between medieval and modern Tuscan DNA, but not Etruscan and modern. Ghirotto et al. 2013 have suggested continuity between ancient Etruscan DNA and modern Tuscan DNA from Volterra and the Casentino, but not with DNA from Murlo.
- 307** Piazza, Cappello, Olivetti, et al. 1988; Barbujani and Sokal 1991; Novembre et al. 2008.
- 308** Barbujani and Bertorrelle 2001; Excoffier 2004; Jobling, Hurles, and Tyler-Smith 2004; Bandelt 2005; Thomas, Gilbert, Bandelt, et al. 2005; Richards and Macaulay 2001.
- 309** Vernesi, Caramelli, Dupanloup, et al. 2004.
- 310** Vernesi, Caramelli, Dupanloup, et al. 2004, 695.
- 311** Torelli 1985; Colonna 2000; Perkins 2005, 110.
- 312** Vernesi, Caramelli, Dupanloup, et al. 2004, 701.
- 313** Cappellini, Biella, Chiarelli, et al. 2004; Cappellini, Chiarelli, Sineo, et al. 2004.
- 314** Vernesi, Caramelli, Dupanloup, et al. 2004, 699.
- 315** Dupanloup and Bertorelle 2001.
- 316** Bandelt 2004; Malyarchuk and Rogozin 2004; Bandelt 2005; Thomas, Gilbert, Bandelt, et al. 2005.
- 317** Barbujani, Vernesi, Caramelli, et al. 2004
- 318** Belle, Ramakrishnan, Mountain, et al. 2006.
- 319** Belle, Ramakrishnan, Mountain, et al. 2006.
- 320** Pallottino 1984, 35–75; Malone 2003.
- 321** Achilli, Olivetti, Pala, et al. 2007, 762, fig. 1.3.
- 322** Achilli, Olivetti, Pala, et al. 2007, 766–67, fig. 5.
- 323** Cf. n. 22. Brisighelli, Capelli, Álvarez-Iglesias, et al. 2009.
- 324** Ghirotto et al. 2013; Tassi 2013.
- 325** Brisighelli, Capelli, Álvarez-Iglesias, et al. 2009.
- 326** Pardo-Seco, Gómez-Carballa, Amigo, et al. 2014.
- 327** Pellecchia, Negrini, Colli, et al. 2007.
- 328** Cymbron, Freeman, Malheiro, et al. 2005.
- 329** Beja-Pereira, Caramelli, Laluzza-Fox, et al. 2006. **114** Philip Perkins
- 330** Li, Absher, Tang, et al. 2008, fig 2a.
- 331** Camporeale 1997, 48–49; Bartoloni 1988, 48–49.
- 332** Cristofani 1996; Giangiulio 1996, 518–25.
- 333** Magness 2001; Novembre et al. 2008.
- 334** Pallottino 1971, 83–84; Ampolo 1976–77; Ridgway 1992; Colonna 1989, 21; Cristofani 1996; Winter 2009.
- 335** Novembre et al. 2008.
- 336** Badro et al. et al. 2013; Haber et al. 2013; Pardo-Seco et al. 2014.
- 337** These difficulties are reflected on the lexical level, by the variety of terms used to refer to the monumental building phase of the seventh century: “sacred area,” “monumental complex,” “complex,” “sacred-institutional complex”: Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1997, 218; Bonghi Jovino 2001, 21–29. See Rathje 2006, esp. 104.
- 338** On the Etruscan city and its comparison to the Greek and Roman city see d’Agostino 1998; Piel 2002; Aigner Foresti, Siewert 2006.
- 339** See [chapter 33](#) Pacciarelli.

- 340** See, e.g., Guidi 1998; Sestieri 2010, 224.
- 341** See [chapter 19](#) Naso. See Colonna 2000a: Menichetti 2000; Naso 2000; Sassatelli 2000; Colonna 2001.
- 342** Livy 4.17–20; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 12.5.1 ff., etc.
- 343** Livy 4.17.1, 3; 4.19.2, 5; 4.20.2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 12.5.1; cf. Dio. Cass. 44.4.3; 51.24.4.
- 344** *TLE*² 36, 38; Briquel 1991.
- 345** Naso 2006a, 337–340; 2006b, 362–363.
- 346** Colonna 1993, 53.
- 347** Naso 2006a, 335–336; 2006b, 362–363, with bibliographic references.
- 348** Naso 2006a, 339–340; 2006b, 375–376.
- 349** See Maggiani 1986, with references to the literary sources.
- 350** Pasquali 1936.

- 351** Serv. *ad Aen.* 2. 278: *duodecim enim lucumones, qui reges sunt lingua Tuscorum, habebant* (scil. *populi Tusciae*); cf. 8.65; 8.475; 10.202.
- 352** Livy 1.34.1 ff.; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46.5; Strabo 5.2.2; *De vir. ill.* 6.1; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.6.8; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 5.7.7.
- 353** Livy 1.34.11; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.48.2; Strabo 5.2.2.
- 354** Cic., *rep.*, 2.8.14; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.37.2, 2.37.5, 2.42.2, 2.43.2 (*Lucumo*); Prop. 4.1.29 (*Lycmon*).
- 355** Livy 5.33.1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.10.1; Plut., *Cam.* 15.3.
- 356** Giannecchini, Reali 2001, 454–458.
- 357** E.g., de Simone 1988, 35–36; Cristofani 1991; Agostiniani 2003.
- 358** According to the definition given by Heurgon 1969, 113, followed by Martin 1985 and Briquel 1998. Cf. Meulder 2005; Santini 2005. See also Small 2003.
- 359** Varro, in Plin. *HN* 8.74.194; cf. Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 85.
- 360** E.g., Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.649.
- 361** *Sat.* 3.7.2; cf. Serv. *ad Ecl.* 4, 43.
- 362** E.g., Torelli 1992; Menichetti 1994; Delpino, Bartoloni 2000, 223–225; Menichetti 2000; Torelli 2000; Tassi Scandone 2001; Guittard 2002–2003; Piel 2005, 423–430; Torelli 2006, 407–430; Fortunelli 2008, 186–187. See these studies for complete references to the ancient sources.
- 363** See footnote 1 above.
- 364** Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61.1. Contrary to Virgil's opinion (*Aen.* 8.505–506), according to Servius (*ad Aen.* 8.505) the crown was not retained as a symbol of power and of monarchy among the Etruscans.
- 365** Strabo 5.2.2; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.505.
- 366** Livy 1.8.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61.3.
- 367** Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61.1; Strabo 5.2.2.
- 368** Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.62.2.
- 369** Varro, in Plin. *HN* 35.45.157; cf. August., *De civ. D.* 4.31.
- 370** G. Bartoloni, in Delpino and Bartoloni 2000, 227; cf. Poccetti 1997 for the inscription.
- 371** Pagnini 2000; Tassi Scandone 2001.
- 372** Alföldi 1959; cf. Scarano Ussani 1996.
- 373** Aureli 2000.
- 374** See chapters 19 Naso, 45 Menichetti, 46 Micozzi, 47 Naso.
- 375** Amann 2004, 2008; cf. de Simone 1992, 10–15.
- 376** Maggiani 2000, 229.
- 377** E.g., Camporeale 2000, 62, 152.
- 378** Morandi 1995; Colonna 2007a; Aigner Foresti 2009, 11.
- 379** See, e.g., Cristofani 1978, 74–88; Torelli 1984, 175–181, 201–203; Briquel 1987, 144, 147–148; Maggiani 2000, 227–228; Adam 2001; Cristofani 2001, 131, etc.
- 380** E.g., Maggiani 2000, 228.
- 381** *FrGrHist* 6 F 6; cf. Philochorus of Athens *FrGrHist* 328 F 100.
- 382** Hdt. 1.167.2. On this episode see Di Fazio 2001, esp. 439–445. On the figure and the name of Mezentius see also de Simone 1991; Briquel 1989; Gaultier and Briquel 1989. On the naval battle of Alalia see Bernardini, Spanu and Zucca 2000; Bernardini 2001.
- 383** *Aen.* 7.647 ff.; 8.481 ff.; cf. Liv. 1.2.3 (who refers to Mezentius as *rex*); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.64.4, 2.5.5 (*basileus*).
- 384** *CIE* 6314–6316. On the figure of Thefarie Velianas see Briquel 1989; Colonna 2007b.
- 385** According to the opinion expressed by the emperor Claudius in his famous speech of 48 CE (cf. *CIL* 13.1668). On this topic see Laurendi 2010 and Maras 2010 (with bibliographic references).
- 386** On these paintings and their interpretation see Musti 2005.
- 387** Colonna 2000b; 2001. Cf. Jannot 1988; Di Fazio 2000; Migliorati 2003; Piel 2003; Martínez-Pinna 2011.

388 E.g., Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.3.2.

389 *TLE* 2 829.

390 Lambrechts 1970; Rix 1984; Colonna 1988; Agostiniani 1997; Cristofani 1997; Cerchiai 2000; deSimone 2004.

391 Liv. 5.1.3 refers to *annuae ambitionis*.

392 E.g., in the case of Tarquinii: Dion. Hal. 5.3.2; Arretium: Livy 27.24.2 ff.

393 Verg. *Aen* 10. 202; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.475; 10.202; 11.9 With reference to the Etruscan town of Mantua, Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.202 makes mention of three tribes, each subdivided into four *curiae*.

394 E.g., see Briquel 1987, 144; Maggiani 1996 and 2000; Fromentin 2003. Cf. Mazzarino 1945.

395 Torelli 1975, 39ff.

396 E.g., Maggiani 2000, 228.

397 Torelli 1984, 184–185.

398 Maggiani 1996, 123; 2000, 233, 235.

399 Maggiani 1996, 101–102; 2000, 234–235; Wylin 2002.

400 For this and the other magistratures see Maggiani 1996; 2000; 2001; 2005 (on whom this discussion is largely based); cf. Adiego 2007. For other aspects relating to the Etruscan magisterial system see Pallottino 1955–1956; Lambrechts 1959; Martínez-Pinna 1999; Berrendonner 2003; Aigner Foresti 2004; Martínez-Pinna 2006.

- 401** Cf. de Simone 2002; 2006.
- 402** On the Etruscan term *etera* see the considerations of Benelli 2003; cf. Facchetti 2002.
- 403** For an iconographical analysis of the *cippus* see Colonna 1976.
- 404** On the magisterial procession in Etruscan art see Maggiani 1996, 95–99, 127–132; Jannot 1998; Maggiani 2000, 239; Menzel and Naso 2007, 23 ff.
- 405** Menzel and Naso 2007, 40.
- 406** On this topic see the contributions in Volsinii 1985 and Lega 2001.
- 407** As it may be deduced from Livy 4.23.5; 4.25.7; 4.61.2; 5.17.6; 6.2.2; cf. 5.1.3; 9.41.6.
- 408** The most recent archaeological research seems to identify the sanctuary with the site of Campo della Fiera, near Orvieto: Stopponi 2012.
- 409** 4.23.5, 4.25.7, 4.61.2; 5.17.6; 6.2.2; 7.21.9.
- 410** E.g., Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.51.4, 3.57.1, 3.59.2–4, 4.27.2–4.
- 411** E.g., Livy 9.41.6 (308 BCE); 10.16.3 (296); cf. Flor. 1.12.17.1, who makes mention of the *duodecim populi Etruscorum* in ca. 310.
- 412** E.g., Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.57.1, 3.59.4, 4.27.4.
- 413** Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.57.1; cf. 9.18.2.
- 414** Referring to this figure, the ancient authors make use of the terms *rex*, *lucumo*, *basileus*, *hegemon*, and *strategos hegoumenos*: Diod. Sic. 5.40.1; Livy 1.8.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61.2; etc. cf. Strabo 5.2.2 and. Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.278, 8.475, 10.202, 11.9.
- 415** Maggiani 1996, 95–100.
- 416** For example, by Camporeale 2001.
- 417** On this aspect see Aigner Foresti 1994, 327–350; Briquel 1994; Aigner Foresti 2001; Briquel 2001; 2003.
- 418** Liou 1969; Mansuelli 1988, 105–132; Aigner Foresti 2008; cf. footnote 70 and **chapter 38** Torelli.
- 419** Exceptions are: Colonna 1976; Cristofani 1983; 1986; Torelli 1986; 1997.
- 420** Strabo 5.29; Dion Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.18.
- 421** Ath. 12. 517 d, 518 a-b, drawing on Timaeus of Tauromenion and Theopompus of Chios.
- 422** On Etruscan piracy: Cristofani 1983, 57–8.
- 423** Johnston 2000, 48–51.
- 424** Cristofani 1995, 133; Colonna 2006a, 668; Ampolo 2009.
- 425** See summary in Torelli 2000.
- 426** Bartoloni 2002, 97–114.
- 427** Bonghi Jovino 2006, 684–87.
- 428** See Rendeli 2007.
- 429** Naso 2006b.
- 430** See Shefton 1995, for an inventory of Etruscan bronzes and pottery north of the Alps, with list and map of finds, and **chapter 83** Baitinger.
- 431** Botto and Vives-Ferràndiz 2006.
- 432** Torelli 2000, 196.
- 433** Bartoloni 2002, 162–65.
- 434** Torelli 2000, 197, 200 (on *bellum servile* at Arretium during fourth century).
- 435** See model put forward by Carancini and Peroni 1999.
- 436** Zifferero 1991, 228–29.
- 437** Bentini 2005.
- 438** Boitani 2001.
- 439** Torelli 1997, 58; Bartoloni 2002, 184; Rendeli 2007, 236.
- 440** While still rare in the first half of the seventh century, gentilicians became increasingly common in the second half, as in the onomastic corpus of Caere: Torelli 1997, 74.
- 441** Enei 2001, 49. A preliminary calculation suggests a figure in excess of 1,200 inhabitants distributed over circa 85 km² of cultivable land, on the territory lying between Alsium and Caere.
- 442** Enei 2001, 52–3.

443 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3. 46; Strabo 5.2.2; 8.6.20; Val. Max. 3.4.2.

444 An interesting overview in Weber 2000, 86–88.

445 In the standard classification of economic relations by Karl Polanyi (1977, 38–43): a) reciprocity (exchange between equals); b) redistribution (exchange managed by a centralized structure, whether state or sovereign); c) market exchange (prices fixed autonomously).

446 Mele 1979; Ampolo 1984, 473–74 on the circulation of goods within an aristocratic society possessing essentially agrarian resources.

447 Cristofani 1984.

448 *TLE* 155.

449 Following Torelli 1997, 132.

450 For the reconstruction of the cargo and the route of the Giglio wreck: Cristofani 1995 and Colonna 2006a; on the possibility that Ionian bowls had been taken aboard at Pithecusa: Gras 2000, 146.

- 451 Gran-Aymerich 1993, 20–23.
- 452 Colonna 1976, Torelli 1997.
- 453 Giolj Guidi and Trojsi 2001.
- 454 Martelli 1981.
- 455 Excellent reconstruction in Lombardo 1997.
- 456 See Cristofani 1983, 118–122 (Pyrgi); Torelli 1997, 148–153 (Gravisca).
- 457 Johnston 2000, 15–6.
- 458 Johnston 2000, 50.
- 459 Torelli 1997, 147; Colonna 2010, 282–86.
- 460 D’Ercole 2002, 240–60 and **chapter 80** Tagliamonte.
- 461 Botto and Vives-Ferrandiz 2006, 146.
- 462 Sourisseau 2003, 65, 70.
- 463 Landes 2003, 129–30.
- 464 Naso 2006a, 187–90 and **chapter 88** Naso.
- 465 Cristofani 1983, 66, fig. 40; Naso 2006a, 190; Maggiani 2006.
- 466 Colonna 2006b, 10, note 6; *StEtr* 69, 2003, 370 (= *REE* 76).
- 467 Naso 2000, 176.
- 468 Naso and Trojsi 2009 and **chapter 87** Naso.
- 469 Hemelrijk 2009, with previous bibliography.
- 470 Colonna 1976, 9; followed by Bellelli 2008, 233, 235, note 61. For the oil production in Etruria: Barbieri, Ciacci, and Zifferero 2010.
- 471 Torelli 1997, 213.
- 472 Enei 2001, 58–59. For *ager cosanus*, Perkins 2002, 79–82.
- 473 Sassatelli 2005, 238–43.
- 474 Macellari 2005, 295–96.
- 475 Govi 2005, 311.
- 476 See **chapter 84** Jehasse.
- 477 Sassatelli 2005, 238–45.
- 478 Cristofani 1983, 67.
- 479 Strabo 5.1.7; 9.3.8; Plin. *HN* 3, 120; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.18. See **chapter 87** Naso.
- 480 Sassatelli 2005, 241; 252.
- 481 Panvini Rosati 1976, 31, 37; Cristofani 1986, 144. See **chapter 27** Catalli.
- 482 D’Ercole 2002, 240–60.
- 483 Bronze graters probably used in banquet rituals: Naso 2000, 181. See **chapter 13** Kistler.
- 484 Garcia 1995, 160.
- 485 Negrioli 1924, 300.
- 486 Dedet and Py 2006, 139.
- 487 Naso and Trojsi 2009, 137–39.
- 488 Gras 1984.
- 489 As has been pointed out by Naso 2006a, 191–92; Naso 2006b, 367–70.
- 490 See overview given by Nash Briggs 2003.
- 491 Bellelli 2008, 228–28.
- 492 For a summary of this question: Bellelli 2008, 232–33.
- 493 Camporeale 2006, 15.
- 494 Gleba 2008, 195.
- 495 Landes 2003, 136–37.
- 496 Naso 2000.
- 497 Botto and Vives-Ferrandiz 2006 emphasizes the growing Etruscan involvement in the western sector from the beginning of the sixth century, following the decline of the Phoenician navy towards the end of the previous century.
- 498 Pomey 2006, 427–30.
- 499 Colonna 2006a.
- 500 For a very balanced appraisal see Morel 2006, 32–34.

- 501** Aprosio 1987.
- 502** Morel 2006, 42, note 6.
- 503** Cristofani 1983, 87.
- 504** Bentini 2005, 199.
- 505** Cristofani 1986, 140–41, pl. XX; Pellegrini and Macellari 2002.
- 506** Gras 1984, 329.
- 507** Sacchetti 2009, 58–59 (Marzabotto); 60–62 (Chios).
- 508** Panvini Rosati 1976, 31.
- 509** Pl. *Leg.* 742 a.
- 510** Xen. *Lac.* 7, 4–6.
- 511** Pellegrini and Macellari 2002, 164–68. A whole specimen (ca. 2900 gr.) was found in the settlement at Marzabotto, in a structure probably used as a workshop (Pellegrini and Macellari 2002, 266).
- 512** Morel 2006, 44.
- 513** Colonna 1991; Borgna 1993; De Santis 2011 (Santa Palomba and Lavinium). See **chapter 79** Naso.
- 514** von Hase 1988; Raddatz 1996.
- 515** See the list in Strøm 1971, 141–71.
- 516** See Camporeale 1969.
- 517** Bianco Peroni 1970, 82–96.
- 518** Bianco Peroni 1970, 113–16.
- 519** Müller-Karpe 1974.
- 520** von Merhart 1940; Hencken 1971; von Hase 1988; Iaia 2005.
- 521** Geiger 1994, 29ff.
- 522** Geiger 1994, 13ff.
- 523** Colonna 1991.
- 524** Stary 1981a; Eichberg 1987.
- 525** Nachbaur 2011.
- 526** Kilian 1977; Naso 2006.
- 527** Geiger 1994, 83–108.
- 528** Proietti 1986, 122–23.
- 529** Poccetti 1997; Bol 1989.
- 530** See Hanson 1991.
- 531** D’Acunto 2013.
- 532** Sannibale 2008, 228ff.
- 533** von Eles 2002, 167, pls. 75–76; Gentili 2003, 305 pls. 151–52. See **chapter 76** von Eles.
- 534** Egg 1986, 6–19.
- 535** Esposito 1999, 52.
- 536** Esposito 1999, 52–53.
- 537** Benelli and Naso 2003, 187–94.
- 538** Esposito 1999, 53–54.
- 539** *Schätze der Etrusker* 1986, 194 figs. p. 49.
- 540** Woytowitsch 1978, 25ff.; Emiliozzi 1997. See **chapter 24** Emiliozzi.
- 541** Woytowitsch 1978, 80ff.
- 542** Stary 1981b, 123.
- 543** Curti and Frapiccini 2003, 252 (Vulci); Baglione 1976, 143–44, no. 32; Buranelli and Sannibale 1998, 192–99, nos. 25–28 (Bomarzo).
- 544** Szabó 1995.
- 545** Sannibale 2008, 228–31.
- 546** Jarva 1995, 33–47.
- 547** Steingraber 1984, 334–36, pl. 129.
- 548** Zevi 1991.
- 549** Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, 55 pl. 148, 1815; Tomedi 2000, 49 pl. 54.

- 551** Egg 1986, 41–62; 1988, 244–54.
- 552** Pernier 1919, 13–16; Egg 1986, 207; Nedoma 1996.
- 553** Egg 1986, 198; Naso 2000, 202; Frielinghaus 2011:70.
- 554** Pflug 1988a, 149–50.
- 555** Adam 1984, 108–9.
- 556** Bergamini Simoni 2001, 219–20.
- 557** Stary 1981b, 84–85.
- 558** Adembri 1982, 77–78.
- 559** Bergamini Simoni 2001, 79ff.
- 560** Pflug 1988b.
- 561** Schaaß 1981; Mazzoli 2010.
- 562** Schönfelder 2010, 1.
- 563** Romualdi 2009.
- 564** Milani 1901; von Vacano 1988, 46–55, fig. 5, pl. 1.
- 565** Steingraber 1984, 268–70 pls. 1–2; Proietti 1986, 236–65 cat. no. 107.
- 566** Steingraber 1984, 314–15 pls. 79–83.
- 567** On its existence see Harris 1971, 4–31; Sordi 1989. Unfortunately the twenty books of the emperor Claudius's *Tyrrhenica* (Suet. *Claud.* 42.2) have not survived.
- 568** The *Editio minor* Rix 1991 has been updated by Meiser 2014 (= *ET*²).
- 569** For the New Archaeology and the critical discussion surrounding it see inter alia Binford 1971; O'Shea 1984. For Italy: d'Agostino 1985; most recently Izzet 2007.
- 570** Recent research has attempted to fill these gaps. See most recently Bentz and Reusser 2010a and on Marzabotto in particular, Sassatelli and Govi 2010.
- 571** Bachofen 1870. See Amann 2000, 13–19 (with older literature).
- 572** Most recently Aigner-Foresti 2005 (with older literature).
- 573** di Gennaro and Guidi 2000, 114; Sestieri 2010, 236–39.
- 574** Negroni Catacchio 1995; Sestieri 2010, 234.
- 575** Bartoloni 2002, 127–29.
- 576** So Colonna 1986, 390.
- 577** On the manufacture of pottery, see Boitani, Neri and Biagi 2007–8.
- 578** For Tarquinia see Iaia 1995, 250–51. The use of hut-urns is not uniform in Etruria, but in any case it emphasizes the high social status of the one buried in it: Bartoloni *et alii* 1987, 223–24.
- 579** Cf. e.g. Torelli and Cristofani 1995, 108–9; Iaia 1999, esp. 122.
- 580** Pacciarelli 2001, 247 (Tarquinia, Le Rose), 256.
- 581** Damgaard Andersen 1993. See also Babbi 2008.
- 582** Various proposals have been made concerning the origin and period of appearance of the *nomen gentile*. See Rix 1972; Colonna 1977. Overview in Marchesini 1997, 154–62.
- 583** There are also *gentilicia* based on ethnic and individual names. See Rix 1977, 66–67. On the group of the supposed “Vornamengentilizia” see Benelli 2002; 2011.
- 584** Amann 2006, 9; Franciosi 1988.
- 585** The large number of *gentilicia* in early times speaks against an original limitation to the upper class, as seen already by Pallottino (1988, 287–88).
- 586** Ricci 1955, 233ff.; Gran Aymerich 1979, esp. 601–36.
- 587** E.g. Tarquinia: Mercareccia Tomb; Cerveteri: Tomb of the Reliefs; Vulci: François Tomb; Perugia: Tomb of the Cai Cutu; Volterra: Inghirami Tomb; rock facade tombs in Norchia and Castel D'Asso.
- 588** *ET*² Pe 8.4, A 2 f.; Pe 5.2 (San Manno); Ta 5.6 (Tomb of the Typhon). This word probably comes from the Indo-European root **h¹leud^h*. Most recently Rix 1994, 111–12. Perhaps it especially emphasizes one's freeborn status.
- 589** *ET*² AT 1.30; 1.138, 140, 141, 148 (cf. for Sovana AV 1.13).
- 590** On house and family see in general Camporeale 1986.
- 591** In this sense Rix 1972; *contra* Colonna 1977, 181. The problem has not yet received a

widely accepted solution.

592 A few examples of individual *cognomina* come from the Archaic period (probably not inherited): Rix 1963, 380.

593 On the few Etruscan civil law texts, see Facchetti 2000 (including some highly hypothetical suggestions). On the Tabula Cortonensis, see Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000.

594 The terms for “uncle” and “aunt” would be interesting, for example.

595 Amann 2006. On kinship terminology in the Indo-European languages, see the still fundamental work of Benveniste 1969.

596 On the female spheres of life in general see Rallo 1989; Amann 2000 (with older literature). For an overview and for the much-discussed passage by Theopompus (apud Ath. 12.517d–518b) cf. chapters 53 Amann and 59 Amann.

597 Guidi 1993; Pacciarelli 2001, 261–76. In general: Bartoloni 2003.

598 On the throne of Verucchio, whose incised decoration depicts several stages of wool production, see von Eles 2002.

599 See inter alia most recently Principi 2000; Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010.

600 On this development see d’Agostino 1990.

- 601** On urbanization, see most recently Izzet 2007, 165–207; Bruni 2010; especially Riva 2010.
- 602** On agriculture, handicrafts, and commerce, see in general Cristofani 1986.
- 603** Colonna 1986. On the necropolis of Orvieto, see most recently Feruglio 2003, esp. 280–305.
- 604** On the various forms of integration of foreigners, see chapters 53 Amann and 59 Amann.
- 605** The Latin word *satelles* “companion, retinue, satellite” is usually considered to be of Etruscan origin (*satlaθ*) (cf. *sodalis*): Breyer 1993, 299–300. On military service by the lower classes cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.5.4 and Livy 9.36.
- 606** Bentz and Reusser 2008, 84–87; Bentz and Reusser 2010b, 110; Prayon 2010, 21–23. On the Casa dell’Impluvium in Roselle, see [chapter 53](#) Amann.
- 607** See Torelli 1990.
- 608** Illustrative in this regard is the tomb epigram of Larthi Cilnei from Tarquinia, for which see [chapter 59](#) Amann.
- 609** Diod. Sic. 5.40. Cf. also Catull. 39.40 (*obesus Etruscus*); Verg. *G.* 2.193 (*pinguis Tyrrhenus*).
- 610** The approximately equally large *insulae* contained houses of different dimensions, those of the upper class (e.g. *insula* IV 1) and those of the broader middle class: Bentz and Reusser 2008, 87–88; Bentz and Reusser 2010b, 110. On House IV 2, 1, see Sassatelli and Govi 2010.
- 611** The few indications of the existence of a sort of “senate” (e.g. in Arezzo for 208 BCE) reveal a few *principes senatus* alongside a larger number of senators (Livy 27.24.4).
- 612** *ET*² Cr 4.4 and 4.5; Pallottino 1988, 177; Torelli 1981, 200–203; Colonna 2007 (dealing with the interesting Tomba delle Iscrizioni Graffite).
- 613** See Colonna 1990, 15–16.
- 614** The meaning of the word “*penestai*,” used only once by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.5.4, was greatly exaggerated in the older literature (e.g. Heurgon 1957; 1970; Mazzarino 1957). See the criticism by Benelli 1996 and [chapter 59](#) Amann.
- 615** In this context, the Tabula Cortonensis is relevant. See [chapter 59](#) Amann.
- 616** Torelli 1981, 218.
- 617** With a revolt of the *plebs* we deal in the case of Arezzo in 302 BCE (Livy 10.5.13). For discussion, see Harris 1971, 114–24; Torelli 1987, 87–95; Benelli 1996; Massa-Pairault 2000; and chapters 59 Amann and 65 Marcone.
- 618** On the interesting Late Archaic inscription of the *lauteniθa* Kanuta from the Campo della Fiera sanctuary near Orvieto, see Stopponi 2009, 441–49. The Etruscan word for “slave” is not known; on slavery, see chapters 53 Amann and 59 Amann.
- 619** *Gromatici veteres*, pp. 348–50 Lachmann. Harris 1971, 31–40; Valvo 1988 (with older literature).
- 620** This is rightly suggested by Nielsen 1989, 85 for northern Etruria.
- 621** On this important recent discovery from the late third – early second century BCE, see Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000; Pandolfini and Maggiani 2002.
- 622** On the *lautni* inscriptions see Rix 1963, 356–72; cfr. also Rix 1994. On votive gifts by freedmen see Maras 2009, 210–11. The Etruscan *lautni* was free as to his person, but full citizenship was achieved only by his children, see chapters 59 Amann and 65 Marcone.
- 623** Rix 1977; important critique by Benelli 2002; 2011. For discussion of the phenomenon see [chapter 59](#) Amann.
- 624** Dietler 1995; 2001.
- 625** Rathje 2010, 25.
- 626** Iaia 2010; De Santis 2005; Marzoli 1989.
- 627** Amann 2010, 31; Riva 2006, 120–125; see also [chapter 42](#) Trocchi.
- 628** Damgaard Andersen 1998, 16–20; see also [chapter 39](#) Karlsson.
- 629** Kistler 2011.
- 630** Riva 2006, 120–125; Iaia 1999, 96–114.
- 631** Foxhall 2005, 225–6, 234, 244–6.

- 632** Sciacca 2006.
- 633** McGovern 2007, 117.
- 634** Nijboer 2010, 12–18; Foxhall 2005, 235.
- 635** Rathje 2010.
- 636** Malkin 2002.
- 637** Naso 1991, 101–109.
- 638** Johnston 2003, 264.
- 639** Bonfante and Bonfante 1983, 75; see also **chapter 17** Benelli.
- 640** Ridgway 1997, 333 no. 9.
- 641** Ridgway 1997.
- 642** Canciani and von Hase 1979, 42.
- 643** Canciani and von Hase 1979, 37–38 no. 18.
- 644** Kistler 2010, 745–746.
- 645** Botto 2000, 84, 86.
- 646** See also **chapter 14** Colivicchi, with bibliography.
- 647** Prayon 1975, 152–3.
- 648** Dunbabin 2004, 14–5.
- 649** Kistler 2001.
- 650** See also **chapter 71** Nielsen and Warden.

- 651** Carroll, Rodriguez and Tuck 2009 (with plan and reconstruction of hut CC7); Nielsen and Tuck 2001.
- 652** Berkin 2003, 20–26, 119–127.
- 653** Kistler 2010, 747–8; Foxhall 2005, 243–4; Dietler 1995, 114–5.
- 654** Berkin 2003, 121.
- 655** Wallace 2008; Maggiani 2006.
- 656** Nielsen 1998.
- 657** Amann 2010, 39 with bibliography; Kistler 2001, 231–2.
- 658** Cypro-phoenician Silver-bowl from Cyprus. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 74.51.4557, the Cesnola Collection of Art, purchased by subscription, 1874–76, Matthäus 1999–2000, 49 with bibliography; see also the two superposed figured frieze on the so-called *Plikašna* situla from Chiusi (Haynes 2000, 108–109 with fig. 90).
- 659** Prayon 2010, 12; Angiulli 2010; Damgaard Andersen 1998, 139–40; Heldring 1998, 13–18 especially fig. 14 with the terracotta model of a small temple; for Caere see Izzet 2001.
- 660** Blake 2005, 121–2.
- 661** Nielsen and Tuck 2001.
- 662** Steingraber 2001, 18; Damgaard-Andersen 1998, 195; Heldring 1998, 18–25.
- 663** Jolivet 2010; Izzet 2007, 128–130; Heldring 1998, 25–29.
- 664** Becker 2009, 95–6.
- 665** Ricci hydria (circa 520), found at Cerveteri and attributed to the Ribbon Painter. Rome, Villa Giulia Museum; see Warden 2008, 125–7.
- 666** Rathje 2007, 177–8; see also **chapter 14** Colivicchi.
- 667** Izzet 2007, 211–223; see also **chapter 14** Colivicchi.
- 668** Dietler 2001, 85–88, particularly 86.
- 669** Izzet 2007, 165–207.
- 670** Bertani 1995.
- 671** Rathje 1990; Tuck 1994; Donati 2005.
- 672** Tuck 1994; Bertani 1995; Esposito 1999, 55–56; von Eles 2005.
- 673** Bertani 1995, 55.
- 674** Tuck 1994, with bibliography.
- 675** Torelli 1989.
- 676** See, e.g. Delpino 2000; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003.
- 677** Rathje 1994; Menichetti 2002.
- 678** Botto 2000.
- 679** Delpino 1997, with bibliography.
- 680** Colonna 1980; Cristofani 1987, 124; Colonna 1989; Cristofani 1991, 70.
- 681** Ridgway 2009.
- 682** Dentzer 1982.
- 683** Tuck 1994.
- 684** Cerchiai and d’Agostino 2004, 263 no. 2.
- 685** Valenza Mele 1982; Torelli 1989.
- 686** Delpino 1997.
- 687** See e.g. Torelli 1989; Coarelli 1995, 207–8; Kohler 2000.
- 688** Torelli 2000a; Agostiniani 2000.
- 689** Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003, with bibliography.
- 690** Small 1994; Coarelli 1995.
- 691** Terrenato 2004.
- 692** Menichetti 2002, with bibliography.
- 693** Colonna 1980; Cristofani 1987, 25–26; Cristofani 1991, 70–71.
- 694** On Etruscan banquet scenes, see Cerchiai and d’Agostino 2004, with bibliography and catalogue. On terracotta friezes see esp. Winter 2009.
- 695** Colonna 1980; Cristofani 1991, 71.
- 696** Bonfante 1981; Small 1994; Rathje 1990.

697 For instance Lokroi in southern Italy (Diod. Sic. 12.21.1)

698 Cristofani 1991, 72; Torelli 1997, 130.

699 For general overview see e.g. Giulierini 2005.

700 See e.g. Bonghi Jovino and Chiesa 2005; Donati and Rafanelli 2004.

- 701** Colonna 1989.
- 702** For a general discussion see de Grossi Mazzorin, Cianferoni and Bartoloni 1997, with bibliography.
- 703** On fishing in Etruria see Giulierini 2007. On fish in Etruscan religion see Donati and Rafanelli 2004, 154. On fish in tombs and sites of the Po Valley see Bertani 1995, 52–53.
- 704** Bertani 1995 (Po Plain); Bonghi Jovino and Chiesa 2005, *passim*, with bibliography.
- 705** Bertani 1995, 45–47; Esposito 1999, 55–56, 70, 87–90; von Eles 2005.
- 706** Esposito 1999, 55–56.
- 707** According to Fenestella (fr. 7 Peter, *HRRel.*) olive trees were first cultivated in Italy under Tarquinius Priscus, but his testimony is not reliable.
- 708** Fornaciari 1989.
- 709** Bartoli, Mallegni, and Vitiello 1989–90.
- 710** Corridi 1994.
- 711** Posidonius in Diod. Sic. 5.40.4; Catull. 39.11; Verg. *G.* 2.193.
- 712** Heurgon 1964, 193.
- 713** Rizzo 2001, 170–71.
- 714** Jolivet 1993.
- 715** Sassatelli 1993.
- 716** Liébert 2006.
- 717** Heurgon 1964, 193–94.
- 718** Translated by Purvis apud Strassler 2007, 92; emphasis added.
- 719** Thuillier 1985, 57–65.
- 720** Martelli 1987, 260.
- 721** Rizzo 2001, 170–71.
- 722** Bruni 2000, 556.
- 723** Root 1973; Thuillier 1985, 70–87.
- 724** Pallottino 1984, 405.
- 725** Morandi 1997.
- 726** Thuillier 2009.
- 727** Colonna 1976; Thuillier 1997, 247–51.
- 728** Steingraber 1985.
- 729** Sassatelli 1993; Beazley 1947, 2.
- 730** Thuillier 1985, 231–54; Thuillier 2014.
- 731** Jannot 1984, 329–30; 1985.
- 732** Thuillier 1997.
- 733** Cherici 2003.15 Sports **227**
- 734** Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992.
- 735** Thuillier 1988, pl. 1–4.
- 736** Thuillier 1985, 369–404.
- 737** Bronson 1965.
- 738** Thuillier 1999.
- 739** Jannot 1984, 350–55.
- 740** Coarelli 1977.
- 741** Thuillier 1989.
- 742** Jannot 1998, 66.
- 743** d’Agostino 1989.
- 744** Jannot 1998, 67.
- 745** Colonna 1993.
- 746** Thuillier 1985, 622–35; Massa-Pairault 1996, 131.
- 747** Caracciolo 1581, 35–36.
- 748** Du Cange 1710, s.v. “Pelota”; Cherici 2010, 224, fig. 8.
- 749** 2 Sam. 6.
- 750** Florence, Arch. Mus., inv. no. 21081.

- 751** Rome, Villa Giulia, inv. no. 57066.
- 752** Hom. *Il.* 7.241, translated by Ian Johnston: http://records.viu.ca/~johnstoi/homer/iliad_title.htm.
- 753** Rome, Villa Giulia, inv. no. 57022/2.
- 754** Florence, Arch. Mus., inv. no. 85629.
- 755** London, BM, inv. no. 1849, 0518.18 H242.
- 756** Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, inv. no. ZA66.
- 757** For the *pyrrica* as danced in Etruria, see Camporeale 1987.
- 758** Florence, Arch. Mus., inv. no. 2594.
- 759** Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 358.
- 760** Cherici 2010, 223–26, figs. 6–8.
- 761** Calame 2001, 56.
- 762** Chiarini 2002.
- 763** Scalia 1968, motifs 30–31, 36–37; Camporeale 1972, pls. 26–27.
- 764** Palermo 8450; Jannot 1984, fig. 62
- 765** Scalia 1968, motifs 16, 32, 38.
- 766** Scalia 1968, motif 37a.
- 767** Reliefs: Palermo 8385 and Paris MA 3633; Jannot 1984, figs. 171, 174.
- 768** Cippi: Berlin 1222; British Museum D 17; Palermo 8396; Jannot 1984, figs. 492–95, 497–500, 284–287.
- 769** Cippus Florence without inv. no.; Jannot 1984, figs. 311–12.
- 770** Hom. *Il.* 18.596, translated by Ian Johnston; http://records.viu.ca/~johnstoi/homer/iliad_title.htm.
- 771** Bresciani 1850, 2: 113–4.
- 772** Cherici 1995.
- 773** Winter 2009, III, Roofs 4–6.
- 774** Oinochoe from Città della Pieve; Florence, inv. no. 79734; Stopponi 1985, no. 2.8.
- 775** Relief Palermo 8373; Jannot 1984, figs. 550–553.
- 776** Ath. 4.153c.
- 777** Especially delicate fabrics are attested archaeologically in Etruria: Stage 1991; Good 1995. See **chapter 29** Gleba. Silk seems to have been found in the tumulus of Hochdorf (Banck-Burgess 1985) and Aristotle cites the production of wild silk at Cos (*Hist. an.* 5.19.6 551b13; Day 1956).
- 778** Tarquinia, Tombs 3713, 5513.
- 779** Tarquinia, Tomb of the Lioness, dancing girl on the left of the far wall.
- 780** Thymiaterion British Museum, inv. no. Br. 598.
- 781** Gerhard 1843, pl. CDXIV.
- 782** Bronze *lebes* from Santa Maria Capua Vetere; British Museum, inv. no. Br. 560 (Brendel 1978, Fig. 156).
- 783** Colonna 2005.
- 784** In the Euboean sphere (including its colonies), at least two alternative series are known with respect to the bound couple *gamma/pi*: the preferred alternative is the hooked *gamma* and the three-stroke *pi* (Jeffery 1990, 79–89, 235–48; Bartoněk and Buchner 1995), but there were also a lunate *gamma* with two-stroke *pi* (which then became the form that passed into the Etruscan alphabet, as is now documented by an abecetary with a *samekh*-shaped *xi*, as opposed to the usual cruciform *xi*: Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat and Verdan 2006, 60 n. 3). In the Attic sphere there were at least three different series: alongside the dominant one and the already-known script of the “Dipylon oinochoe” (Jeffery 1990, 66–78) we now have a third alphabetic series that differs yet again (Langdon 2005).
- 785** Especially to be included here are the *sigla* (and perhaps brief inscriptions) on bronze objects from the San Francesco hoard in Bologna, some of which may date as early as the close of the eighth century (Sassatelli 1981–82).
- 786** Benelli 2013.

787 See chapters 45–50.

788 Panciera 1998, 314.

789 The history of the Etruscan abecedaries and the periodization of their development are fully discussed in Pandolfini and Prosdocimi 1990. An update on the known abecedaries may be found in the list in *ThLE* I2; see also *REE* 73: 7, 70, 118; *REE* 74: 9.

790 Cf. n. 2 above.

791 The history of the sibilant letters at Caere is summarized in de Simone 1994. See now Benelli 2016.

792 See chapter 7 Benelli at nos. 26–27.

793 On the use of syllabic punctuation Rix 1968 is still valid.

794 The best overall treatment of the Etruscan language is Rix 2004, which is followed here to a great extent. Also useful is Wallace 2008. For specific bibliography refer to these works, indicating at this point only the principal contributions on which our present knowledge of the language has been constructed: de Simone 1970, 1990, 1996; Rix 1981, 1983, 1984, 1997; Agostiniani 1984, 1985, 1992, 1997a, 1997b; Adiego 2006, 2009; van Heems 2009a. See also the critical editions of the principal long texts: Cristofani 1995; Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000; Rix 2000; Maggiani 2001a; de Simone 2001–2, 2002, 2003; Roma 2002; Belfiore 2010.

795 When the Etruscan language is discussed in a general sense, the convention is that forms are always cited using southern Etruscan orthography; the reason lies in the uncertainty of the reading of the letter ⟨s⟩ in the northern area, as described above. Using southern orthography, ⟨s⟩ always denotes /s/ and ⟨ś⟩ always denotes /σ/, with no possibility of confusion.

796 The best explanation of the appearance of this i- is now found in Adiego 2011; notwithstanding the indisputable overall value of this work, the lack of acknowledgment of the feminine genitives in *eal* and the probably erroneous segmentation of *CIE* 10001 (= *ET* Ta 2.5) must be noted.

797 To avoid misunderstanding it is appropriate to note that the zero-case plural form *-śva cited in some manuals is not securely documented; the three examples usually cited can all be analyzed, with great probability if not absolute certainty, as inanimate plurals in -va of stems in -ś.

798 On Etruscan onomastics in general see Rix 1963, 1972, 1994; Colonna 1977; Benelli 2002, 2011.

799 In Etruscan epigraphy, a *filiation* is the father's name in the genitive, while a *patronymic* is an adjectival form of the father's name.

800 Most recently van Heems 2008, with previous literature.

- 801** An attempt to map the phenomenon is found in Maggiani 2007b.
- 802** Most recently Govi 2006 (to be used with caution), with previous literature.
- 803** Morandi Tarabella 2004, 179–96.
- 804** On this phenomenon Maggiani 2000.
- 805** Rix 1998. See now Marchesini 2015.
- 806** On Lemnian most recently de Simone 2009. On the inscriptions from Samothrace Brixhe 2006.
- 807** Benelli 2005.
- 808** Maras and Sciacca 2011.
- 809** History of writing in the Archaic period (as a whole, from the seventh century to the fifth): see especially Cristofani 1972, 1978 (general articles); Colonna 1970 (Caere); Colonna and Gambari 1986 (Tiber and northern areas); Gervasini and Maggiani 1996 (northern area); Benelli 2000 (Chiusi); Maggiani 2003 (Orvieto); Harari 2008 (Adria); Pellegrino 2008 (Salerno area). Also useful are the script charts in Bagnasco Gianni 1996.
- 810** In general on Veian writing see Maras 2009b.
- 811** The only group that exhibits a degree of regularity is the northern Etruscan stelae, on which see Ciacci 2004 and Maggiani 2007a.
- 812** Van Heems 2009b; the archaeological data on the necropolises are completed at least with Forte 1988–89 and Feruglio 2003.
- 813** On funerary epigraphy see the systematic treatment in Benelli 2007, 40–176. Epigraphy of the Recent period and society: after the pioneering work of Cristofani 1969–70 (Tarquinia), see, among the more recent, Maggiani 2009, Benelli 2009a, 2009b, all concentrated on northern Etruscan documentation.
- 814** On sacred inscriptions most recently Maras 2009a, keeping in mind that the completeness and reliability of epigraphic indexing are very uneven, varying between excellent and shoddy.
- 815** History of Recent period Etruscan writing: fundamental is the formulation of the problem in Maggiani 1990, with previous literature; in general: Benelli 2012. On <ê>: Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000, 47–52; see also Eichner 2006 for a list of attestations (to which should be added *CIE* 2009).
- 816** There is no complete study of Etruscan public inscriptions; on institutional vocabulary see especially Colonna 1988 and Maggiani 2001b.
- 817** In the four years following the writing of this chapter the overall knowledge about Etruscan language and epigraphy has changed in some aspects. For an overview on recent literature see Benelli 2015, v–ix.17
- I would like to express my thanks to Michael H. Crawford and Giovanni Colonna for their comments on and invaluable help with this chapter. Of course, only the author can be held responsible for the views expressed as well as for any remaining errors.
- 818** See e.g. Pfiffig 1975, 7; Torelli 1986, 159; Pallottino 1984, 324; Jannot 2000, 81; Torelli 2000, 273; Jeffrey Tatum 2006, xi; van der Meer 2011, 4; Maggiani 2012, 395; Rafanelli 2013, 581.
- 819** Rasmussen 2011, 710; Briquel 2012, 53.
- 820** See also van der Meer 2011, 4.
- 821** Bonfante 2011, 13–6, 244–5.
- 822** Verhoeven 2011, 124–6.
- 823** van de Meer 2011, spec. 1–5; Verhoeven 2011, 118–21; see also Scheid 2005, 275–84.
- 824** Becker and Gleba 2009, 2–10; on theoretical issues in the study of ritual, see van der Meer 2011, 9–13; Verhoeven 2011, 115–32.
- 825** de Grummond 2006b, 27–31; Rasmussen 2011, 711; Maggiani 2012, 407–8.
- 826** Pallottino 1984, 349; van der Meer 2011, 80–1; Maras 2013, 483.
- 827** Pallottino 1984, 349; Torelli 1986, 163; de Grummond 2006b, 27; MacIntosh Turfa 2012, 20.
- 828** Torelli 1986, 163.
- 829** Torelli 1986, 162–3.

- 830** de Grummond 2006a, 23–27.
- 831** de Grummond 2006b, 27 (s. also de Grummond, Simon 2006, 1); van der Meer 2011, 80–104, 116; Maggiani 2012, 407–11.
- 832** Bonghi Jovino 2009b; van der Meer 2011, 39.
- 833** van der Meer 2011, 95–6; de Grummond 2013, 543.
- 834** Maggiani 1982, 73–4; van der Meer 1987, 153–4; de Grummond 2013, 547–48.
- 835** de Grummond 2006b, 27; van der Meer 2011, 4–5, 39; Maggiani 2012, 407; MacIntosh Turfa 2012, 241–77 and 304–13.
- 836** de Grummond 2005, 304–15; 2006b, 41–2.
- 837** Torelli 1986, 171–89; de Grummond 2006a, 12–15.
- 838** Maggiani 1997, 431–4, 439–42; Maggiani 2012, 399–403.
- 839** Torelli 1986, 164.
- 840** Maggiani 2012, 400; Edlund Berry 2013, 560.
- 841** Bartoloni 1989, 32–3.
- 842** Lo Schiavo and Milletti 2011 (with further bibliography).
- 843** Bonghi Jovino 1986, 102–5; de Grummond 2006b, 28–9; Becker and Gleba 2009, 1.
- 844** Torelli 1986, 165.
- 845** van der Meer 2011, 83–4.
- 846** Torelli 1997, 36–7; van der Meer 2011, 68–9; see also Krauskopf 2013, 524–26.
- 847** Torelli 1986, 165; and 1997, 38–46.
- 848** Maggiani 2012, 400–1.
- 849** Maggiani 2012, 401–2.
- 850** Torelli 1986, 167–8; Bartoloni 2003, 70–2.

- 851** Colonna 2005a, 919–25. The concept is not far from that of the *imagines maiorum* recorded by Polybius (6.53) and by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.9) in the context of Roman funerary rituals.
- 852** Bartoloni 2003, 71.
- 853** Edlund Berry 1992; and 2006, 126.
- 854** Bartoloni 2011, 8–10.
- 855** Bartoloni 2011, 3.
- 856** Colonna, von Hase 1984, 40; Steingraber 2013, 665–66.
- 857** See for instance Steingraber 1997, 97–116; and 2009.
- 858** Jannot 2000, 86–7; de Grummond 2006a, 209; van der Meer 2011, 62–3; Maras 2016b, 89–90.
- 859** Colonna 2005a, 1750, note.
- 860** *ThesCRA* 2, 129–43, 188–94.
- 861** Colonna 2009.
- 862** Colonna 2009, 62 and 66–7; Simon 2013, 504.
- 863** Torelli 2011, 173.
- 864** Colonna 2005a, 555; Torelli and Moretti Sgubini 2008, 175–6.
- 865** Colonna 2005a, 193–4; Torelli 1986, 172.
- 866** Colonna 2005a, 194, note 36.
- 867** Maras 2002.
- 868** Colonna 2005a, 287–91.
- 869** de Grummond 2006a, 203–4.
- 870** Bonghi Jovino 2009a, 21–2.
- 871** van der Meer 2011, 39–40.
- 872** van der Meer 2011, 84.
- 873** Maras 2009, 389–90.
- 874** Maras 2009, 390; van der Meer 2011, 42–4.
- 875** de Grummond 2006a, 133; Simon 2006, 59.
- 876** Roncalli 2009.
- 877** Harari 2009, with further bibliography and a different interpretation; de Grummond 2013, 540.
- 878** Stopponi 2013; see also Briquel 2012, 56, with a different opinion.
- 879** de Grummond 2006b, 28; Bonghi Jovino 2009b; Rasmussen 2011, 711; Bagnasco Gianni 2013, 595.
- 880** Bonfante 2006; Simon 2006, 45–57; Rasmussen 2011, 713–5; see also de Grummond 2006a, 53–70 and 234–8 (with a survey of the literature on the subject); Krauskopf 2013.
- 881** Maras 2009, 101–36.
- 882** Maras 2009, 104–5.
- 883** de Grummond 2006a, 220–5; Simon 2006, 61.
- 884** Maras 2009, 443–4.
- 885** Maras 2009, 289–92.
- 886** Maras 2002, 242 note (with further bibliography).
- 887** de Grummond 2006a, 144–5.
- 888** de Grummond 2006a, 53–70; Maggiani 2012, 405.
- 889** Torelli 1986, 184.
- 890** Maggiani 2012, 403.
- 891** Colonna 2006, 146.
- 892** Colonna 2001, 37–9.
- 893** Maras 2009, 57–8.
- 894** Maras 2009, 47–50.
- 895** Colonna 2005a, 1989–2014; Briquel 2009.
- 896** de Grummond 2006a, 85–96.
- 897** de Grummond 2006a, 99–103.

898 de Grummond 2006a, 71–8.

899 Maras 2009, 105–11.

900 de Grummond 2006a, 106–11; Simon 2006, 60.

- 901** Simon 2006, 48.
- 902** Colonna 2005b, 7–8; de Grummond 2006a, 112; Simon 2006, 47–8.
- 903** Stopponi 2011, 37–42.
- 904** de Grummond 2006a, 213–20; Simon 2006, 57–8.
- 905** de Grummond 2006a, 189–93; Simon 2006, 54.
- 906** de Grummond 2006a, 78–84; Simon 2006, 61; Maggiani 2012, 405.
- 907** Torelli and Moretti Sgubini 2008, 171–2; Maggiani 2012, 402.
- 908** Pallottino 1984, 329–30; Torelli 1986, 165–7, 174–85; Cristofani 1993; Maggiani 2012, 403.
- 909** Colonna 2006, 146.
- 910** Maggiani 2012, 403.
- 911** Bonfante and Swaddling 2006; Simon 2006; 2013.
- 912** Maras 2009, 138–9; Maggiani 2012, 402.
- 913** de Grummond 2006a, 180–8; Simon 2006, 51.
- 914** Torelli 1997, 104–10.
- 915** Torelli 1986, 174; Maras 2016b.
- 916** Colonna 2000, 295–8.
- 917** Colonna 2000, 290–4; Maras 2016b, 78–86.
- 918** Colonna 2005a, 1954–60; see also de Grummond, Edlund Berry 2011, 8–13.
- 919** Maras 2009, 29–30, 53–4.
- 920** Riva and Stoddart 1996; Maras 2009, 50–1.
- 921** Maras 2009, 468–9.
- 922** Colonna 2005a, 2015–31; de Grummond 2006a, 113–22; Simon 2006, 49.
- 923** Colonna 2005a, 2122, 2324.
- 924** Maras 2009, 35–6 (with further bibliography).
- 925** Colonna 2004, 70–3.
- 926** Maras 2009, 111–8.
- 927** Maggiani 2011.
- 928** de Grummond 2011, 75–7; van der Meer 2009, 217–28.
- 929** de Grummond 2006a, 138–40; Simon 2006, 55.
- 930** Simon 2006, 51, 57.
- 931** Maras 1998; de Grummond 2006a, 154–5.
- 932** de Grummond 2006a, 149.
- 933** Edlund Berry 2006, 116–31.
- 934** Bonfante 2006, 11; van der Meer 2011, 78 (with further bibliography).
- 935** Bonfante 2006, 11–2; van der Meer 2011, 64–8; Massarelli 2014, 19–113.
- 936** Maras 2009, 102.
- 937** Maras 2009, 93–9.
- 938** Maras 2009, 192.
- 939** Maras 2009, 37–40.
- 940** Maras 2009, 118–26.
- 941** de Grummond 2006a, 111–2; Simon 2006, 47.
- 942** Maras 2009, 217.
- 943** Maras 2009, 230–2.
- 944** Colonna 2005a, 1929–34; de Grummond 2006a, 105–6.
- 945** Colonna 2005a, 2057–61.
- 946** de Grummond 2006a, 140–4; Simon 2006, 58.
- 947** de Grummond 2006a, 103–5; Maras 2007, 102–10.
- 948** Simon 2006.
- 949** de Grummond 2006a, 132–8.
- 950** de Grummond 2006a, 229.

- 951** Maras 2007, 108–10.
952 de Grummond 2005, 302–15; and 2006a, 151.
953 Maras 2016a.
954 Maras 1998, 194–5.
955 Maras 2009, 126–34.
956 de Grummond 2006a, 147–8; Simon 2006, 56.
957 de Grummond 2006a, 122–8; Simon 2006, 51.
958 de Grummond 2006a, 133; Maras 2007, 110–11.
959 Colonna 1998, 419.
960 Maras 2009, 69–74, 80–92.
961 Maras 1998; Krauskopf 2013, 520–21.
962 de Grummond 2006a, 213–25; Krauskopf 2006, 76–8.
963 Jannot 2000, 86–7 and 90–5.
964 Colonna 2005a, 2020–1; Maras 2009, 217–8.
965 Maras 2009, 134–6.
966 Colonna 2005a, 1935–8.
967 Maras 2009, 218–9.
968 Maras 2009, 367–8.
969 Bonfante 2006, 10; van der Meer 2007; 2011, 79–80; Belfiore 2010.
970 Benelli 1998, 223–4.
971 van der Meer 1987; Colonna 2005a, 2071–84; Bonfante 2006, 10–1; Stevens 2009; Krauskopf 2013, 515; Maras 2013, 484–85;
972 Colonna 2005a, 2074.
973 Maras 2009, 136.
974 Insoll 2011a, 2–3; see also van der Meer 2010; Edlund Berry 2013.
975 Grottanelli 1989–1990, 45–54; MacIntosh Turfa 2006a; Insoll 2011b, 151–65; Rafanelli 2013, 571–76; see also Scheid 2005, 15–20.
976 Colonna 2006, 132; Prayon 2012.
977 Colonna 2006, 132–43.
978 Colonna 2006, 133.
979 *ThesCRA* 5, 149–417, spec. 155–6, 295–8, 313–6.
980 Morel 1992, 229–32; MacIntosh Turfa 2006a; Becker and Gleba 2009, 4–6.
981 Colonna 2005a, 1946; MacIntosh Turfa 2006a, 95–106.
982 MacIntosh Turfa 2006a, 102–3.
983 Maggiani 1999, 187–94.
984 Edlund Berry 2006, 116–9; Maras 2013, 480–86.
985 Colonna 2006, 143–6.
986 Maras 2009, 36–7.
987 Colonna 2006, 143; see also Rafanelli 2013, 566–70.
988 Colonna 2006, 138; Prayon 2012, 202.
989 Colonna 2007, 9–10.
990 Colonna 2000, 279–82; 2005, 2358–9.
991 Colonna 2005a, 1040–7, 1949–54; Rasmussen 2011, 715; Edlund Berry 2013, 561–63.
992 Colonna 2005a, 1950–4.
993 Colonna 2006, 154.
994 Colonna 2006, 154–5.
995 Colonna 2006, 146–52.
996 Torelli and Moretti Sgubini 2008, 155–61 (L. Fiorini); Bagnasco Gianni 2013, 608.
997 van der Meer 2011, 82–5; Maras 2016b, 101–5.
998 Colonna 2005a, 891–4.
999 *ThesCRA* 4, 330; Colonna 205, 891; 2006, 146, 154.
1000 de Grummond 2013, 542–46.

- 1001** MacIntosh Turfa 2012, 4–11 and 19–36; Maggiani 2012, 409.
- 1002** MacIntosh Turfa 2006b, 174; Siewert 2012.
- 1003** Torelli 1986, 161; Maggiani 2012, 416.
- 1004** Briquel 2004–2007.
- 1005** Krauskopf 2006 and Prayon 2006 are the most recent general introductions to the subject. For recent reviews of individual cases see von Eles 2006 (Verucchio and Tarquinia) and Bonaudo, Cerchiai, and Pellegrino, eds. 2009 (several sites in Emilia-Romagna and Campania).
- 1006** Batino 1998 and Bonaudo, Cerchiai, and Pellegrino, eds. 2009.
- 1007** Roncalli 1997, 40–43.
- 1008** For the development of funerary ideology in ancient societies see d’Agostino 2011a.
- 1009** See now Scarrone 2011.
- 1010** The Italian phrase *Bronzo finale* would be translated “Final Bronze Age,” to avoid the expression “Late Bronze Age.”
- 1011** Delpino 2008.
- 1012** Trucco 2006, 96–97.
- 1013** Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2004. Nizzo 2010 for further comparisons between Etruscan and Latian burials.
- 1014** Bartoloni 1998, with previous bibliography. See von Eles 2006, too.
- 1015** Babbì and Peltz 2013 for the Warrior Grave in Tarquinia; d’Agostino 2011b for Grave 722 in Capua.
- 1016** For Etruria see Zifferero 2011; knowledge of tumuli in the eastern Mediterranean have been enlarged by the proceedings of the Istanbul conference (Henry and Kelp 2016).
- 1017** Prayon 1975, 85–90, pl. 82. A new reconstruction of the Etruscan heaven has been recently suggested (Stevens 2009).
- 1018** Cristofani 1985, 288–89, nos. 107–9.
- 1019** Paolucci 2010; 2015.
- 1020** Prayon 2006, 57–60.
- 1021** Prayon 1975 for Caere and Bonaudo et al. 2009, 170–75, for Pontecagnano.
- 1022** Canciani and von Hase 1981, 36–37, no. 16.
- 1023** D’Agostino 1977, 54–61.
- 1024** List of examples in Palmieri 2004, 21–22.
- 1025** Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 154–72. Further evidence in Buranelli and Sannibale 2005.
- 1026** Batino 1998, 23–24.
- 1027** On Greek trade amphorae see Naso 2005, with previous literature; on Greek imported amphorae in Etruria see Rizzo 2007, 43–47, nos. 74–76. Modern analyses of the contents of trade amphorae, such as has been done on samples from Sardinia (Botto, Bordignon, and Positano 2005), are still lacking for Etruria.
- 1028** Bertani 1995 for Bologna and its surroundings, with literature.
- 1029** Bartoloni, Nizzo, and Taloni 2009, 65–66, with references.
- 1030** See for instance the cemeteries of Chiusi and its countryside (Paolucci and Rastrelli 1999, 96–97).
- 1031** For southern Etruria, Palmieri 2011; for Tarquinia, Palmieri 2005; for a case at Caere, Michetti 2004.
- 1032** Cerchiai 1999 reviews the interments in Capua; Bellelli 2006 published the Quattordici Ponti Tomb. Benassai 1995 and Cammarota 2011 on Capuan bronze urns (Gk. *dinòi*), which have also been found in northern Campania at Suessula, Oplontis, Cumae, and Calatia (Laforgia 2009, 109–11, fig. 11), and in Etruria at Perugia (Benassai 2002). An isolated statuette belonging to a Capuan *dinos* reached modern-day Ehingen in southern Germany (Guggisberg 2005).
- 1033** Rendeli 1993.
- 1034** Torelli 1997, 122–48.
- 1035** Roncalli 2003.

- 1036** Colonna and von Hase 1984, 24 n. 15.
- 1037** Batino 1998.
- 1038** Reusser 2002.
- 1039** Bentz and Reusser 2004; Spivey 2006.
- 1040** Fortunelli and Masseria 2009.
- 1041** For Capua: Williams 1992. I cannot accept the final conclusion of this brilliant study that identifies the Capuan deceased person as Greek, which was inspired by criteria that are widely followed in Classical archaeology (Izzet 2007). For Spina: Isler-Kerényi 2003.
- 1042** Govi 2009, 34–35 for Bologna and Pizzirani 2009 for Spina, both with literature.
- 1043** The funeral stela from Bologna reproducing demons of Greek origin, studied by Cerchiai 1995, may be a direct consequence of this relationship.
- 1044** Colonna 2003.
- 1045** Roncalli 1997.
- 1046** An overview has been offered by Adinolfi, Carmagnola, and Cataldi 2005.
- 1047** Bottini 1992, 16, for Etruscan tomb paintings related to Orphic doctrine.
- 1048** Etruscan stone sarcophagi are collected by Herbig 1952, supplemented by the critical observations of G. Colonna (1993). In southern Etruria clay sarcophagi were popular (Gentili 1994).
- 1049** Boosen 1986.
- 1050** Pianu 1985, 326–37, revised by Ambrosini 2011.

- 1051** Cantilena 1995a, 1995b.
- 1052** Steuernagel 1998 examines the friezes including altars, de Angelis 2015 the urns from Chiusi.
- 1053** Paris, Louvre inv. no. G 197, recently published by Denoyelle 1994, 120–21; Torelli 1987, 399 stresses its probable use as a funerary urn.
- 1054** Krauskopf 1987, 11–18, 72–94 and now Klinger 2013, with further literature.
- 1055** Overview of such cults in Colonna 1985, 116–26. On the finds of Tumulo II del Sodo of Cortona see Zifferero 2011, 81–82, with literature.
- 1056** Colonna and von Hase 1984, 81–82; Prayon 2006, 45–56.
- 1057** First notices in Camilli 2005, 248; Camilli 2016, 104–105.
- 1058** See van Kampen 2009.
- 1059** Spivey 1988, 15–16.
- 1060** Bruni 1988 (stone pillars); Martelli 2001, 2004, 2005 (statues).
- 1061** Approximately 40 are known: Marchesi 2011.
- 1062** Approximately 200 horseshoe stelae (*stele a ferro di cavallo*): Sassatelli and Govi 2007, 2010.
- 1063** The well-known stela with the Etruscan inscription of Avle Feluske: Maggiani 2007, with previous literature.
- 1064** Magi 1964; Maggiani 2007, 70.
- 1065** Maggiani 2007, 70.
- 1066** Magi 1932.
- 1067** Minto 1937; Maggiani 2007, 70.
- 1068** Martelli 1979.
- 1069** Maggiani 2007, 70–71, with literature.
- 1070** Scala 2003.
- 1071** Maggiani 2005. On later *cippi* in Orvieto and its countryside: Tamburini 1987.
- 1072** Bonamici 2007, with literature; overview of marble *cippi* in northern Etruria: Bonamici 1991.
- 1073** Blumhofer 1993 on the *cippi* from Caere; Naso 1993 adds some exemplars from Carthage and Aleria.
- 1074** In the following I use haruspicy and extispicy as synonymous terms.
- 1075** Nougayrol 1955; Furlani 1957.
- 1076** Meyer 1985.
- 1077** Cf. Rasmussen 2003, 135–39.
- 1078** Cf. the contributions in Rollinger and Schnegg 2014.
- 1079** Rollinger 2015.
- 1080** Cf. Van den Hout 2003–05.
- 1081** Colonna 2000; Malkin 2011; Kistler 2014.
- 1082** Cf. Krauskopf 1997.
- 1083** Fronzaroli 1971. The short inscription names a certain Nabû-iddina who bears the professional title of a *qēpu*. These *qēpū* were Assyrian officials installed in Levantine harbour cities to supervise trade and taxes with the west: Bagg 2011, 175–79, 189; Rollinger 2011, 269–273.
- 1084** For a survey on Etruscan divination see [chapter 21](#) Haack.
- 1085** In the following I use diviner and haruspex as synonymous terms.
- 1086** Meyer 1980–83.
- 1087** Meyer 1980–83, 527a.
- 1088** Nissinen 2010.
- 1089** Rochberg 2011.
- 1090** Durand 1997. Maul 2002–05, 85–6.
- 1091** Winitzer 2011.
- 1092** OECT 6 pl. 30 quoted according to Rochberg 2004, 2 no. 6.
- 1093** Maul 1994.

1094 Lenzi 2008.

1095 Rochberg 2010.

1096 Goldstein 2010.

1097 Rochberg 2004.

1098 Heeßel 2000.

1099 Böck 2000.

1100 Zgoll 2006.

- 1101** Freedman 1998; Freedman 2006.
- 1102** Leichty 1970.
- 1103** Koch-Westenholz 2000.
- 1104** Frahm 2010.
- 1105** Koch-Westenholz 2005.
- 1106** Maul 2003–2005, 57–8.
- 1107** Koch-Westenholz 2002; Richardson 2002.
- 1108** Starr 1983.
- 1109** Starr 1990.
- 1110** Parpola 1993.
- 1111** Jeyes 1989.
- 1112** Richardson 2002, 234.
- 1113** Richardson 2002, 239–40.
- 1114** Glassner 2005.
- 1115** Lambert 2007, 10.
- 1116** Heeßel 2010.
- 1117** Royal Name.
- 1118** Starr 1990, xix.
- 1119** Starr 1990, xx.
- 1120** Leiderer 1990.
- 1121** Starr 1990, xxxix
- 1122** So Starr 1990, xxvi Fig. 3.
- 1123** Maul 2003–2005, 71b.
- 1124** Jeyes 1989; Maul 2003–05, 76–81.
- 1125** Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 8–201.
- 1126** Parpola 1993, No. 7.
- 1127** Lambert 1998.
- 1128** Lambert 1998, 143.
- 1129** Reiner 1960.
- 1130** Rollinger 1996, 202–10.
- 1131** Rollinger 2008; 2013.
- 1132** Hunger 1909; Leichty 1970, 14–6; Böck 2000, 61–9; Maul 2002–05, 56a, 61–3, 67–8, 81; Annus 2010.
- 1133** Jacobs 2010.
- 1134** Van der Meer 1997.
- 1135** Weinstock 1950.
- 1136** Wood 1980.
- 1137** Heurgon 1957.
- 1138** Transl. Clinton Walker Keyes; Loeb ed., 1988.
- 1139** Mac Bain 1982.
- 1140** Andreae 2004.
- 1141** Coarelli 1983.
- 1142** Bagnasco Gianni 2001, 204, fig. 6
- 1143** De Grummond 2006b, 27–33.
- 1144** De Grummond 2006a, 27–29, 174–175.
- 1145** De Grummond 2006a, 32–33.
- 1146** Transl. Th. H. Corcoran, Loeb ed., 1971.
- 1147** Nielsen 1990.
- 1148** De Grummond 2006a, 29–30, 41–42.
- 1149** Maggiani 1989; Roncalli 2010.
- 1150** Haack 2003; 2006.

1151 Montero Herrero 1991; Briquel 1997.

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to Colin Clement for his work in translating this article.

1152 Cristofani 1983; 1984; Gras 1985; Braudel 1998, 230–43; Briquel 1999, 83–104

1153 On piracy: Gras 1976; 1977; Giuffrida Ientile 1983; on inventions: Rebuffat 1977.

1154 On wrecks: Höckmann 2001, 293–295; Long et al. 2002; on trade and distribution of goods: Morel 1981; *Commercio etrusco arcaico* 1985; Gras 1985; 2000a; *Etruschi da Genova ad Ampurias* 2006.

1155 Among the relatively abundant bibliography on Etruscan shipping, see essentially: Basch 1987, 398–410; Bonino 1989; 1995; De Vries 1972; Hagy 1986, 221–250; Höckmann 2000; 2001; Jannot 1995; Paglieri 1960; Pomey 2002a; 2006.

1156 For example, we know nothing about the ships used during the battles of Alalia (Hdt. 1.166–167) or Cumes (Diod. Sic. 11.51). For an analysis of all these texts, cf. Jannot 1995; see also Gras 2000b.

1157 The references cited above in note 4 are essentially based upon iconography. We shall not consider the well-known pyxide of Caere in the Louvre (D 150), representing a naval combat between a duck-shaped ship and a fish-shaped ship, which has clearly been repainted, cf. Geppert and Gaultier 2000a, 2000b.

1158 Hagy 1986; Basch 1987, 401–404; Höckmann 2001.

1159 One can see on the small craft of the Tomba della Caccia e Pesca at Tarquinia (end of 6th century BCE) an inverted stempost with protruding keel and cutwater that are of the same tradition. (Colour plates 22–23).

1160 Hagy 1986; Basch 1987, 401–404; Jannot 1995.

1161 Hagy 1986, Fig. 13; Basch 1987, Fig. 866.

1162 L. Basch (1987, 407) remarks quite rightly that, according to Caesar (*B. Afr.* 44.3), during the Alexandrian wars, the Romans equipped *actuariæ*, that is merchant ships of mixed propulsion, with rams to make up for the lack of warships.

1163 One is on the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri and the other on the National Maritime Museum of Haifa. Cf. Biers and Humphreys 1977.

1164 Certain ships seem to have a rudder both fore and aft, while on others there is no mast although the sails are spread.

1165 This mast has no sail. It is possible that it was removed for combat. It is also possible that the artist did not paint the sail so that the combatants could be more easily seen

1166 Examples of such stemposts are plentiful, cf. p. ex. Basch 1987, figs. 296, 483 and 536.

1167 For example, on a *bucchero* ship from Artimino (seventh century) and a plate from Tarquinia (c.580–560) (Höckmann 2001, figs. 7 and 14). One can compare this stempost with that of the terracotta model from Amathus in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Basch 1987, Fig. 536; Pomey 1997, 77).

1168 Paglieri considers the mixed ship as being the characteristic of the Etrusco-Italic ship (Paglieri 1960).

1169 It is possible to juxtapose this ship with those depicted on an amphora from Caere (Höckmann 2001, pl. 15, figs. 3 and 4).

1170 The double lines featured on the hulls depicted on the vase from Caere are more likely to be the

1171 Höckmann 2001, figs. 30–58 and pl. 16–20.

1172 Morrison and Williams 1968, 112 and pl. 22b; Basch 1987, Fig. 879; Höckmann 2001, Fig. 21.

1173 Morrison and Williams 1968; Casson 1971, 43–76; Basch 1987, 202–247.

1174 Moretti 1961; Casson 1971, Fig. 97; Bonghi Jovino 1986, 267–269, Fig. 257; Basch 1987, Fig. 880; Höckmann, 2001, Fig. 22.

1175 Morrison and Williams 1968, 109 and pl. 19; Casson 1971, Fig. 81–82; Basch 1987, Fig. 461–464; Pomey 1997a, 79; Höckmann, 2001, Fig. 22a.

1176 A war galley, represented on a fragment of a Corinthian krater from around 560 BCE,

shows for the first time a second mast set to the front of the vessel (Casson 1980). The ship of the Tomba della Nave (Tomb of the Ship) at Tarquinia is, however, the first known merchant ship rigged with two masts.

1177 Paglieri (1960, 231) considers the Tomba della Nave ship as a foreign vessel come from afar.

1178 Cf. *supra* note 3.

1179 Pomey 2002a; 2006.

1180 Cibecchini 2006, 535–536. The deep-lying wreck has only been the object of limited lifting of elements but the samples gathered clearly correspond to a homogenous load of Etruscan origin. On the other hand, we shall not consider the presumed wrecks of *Cala Galbugina* of Isola del Giglio, *Isola dello Sparviero* and of *Secche della Meloria*, all from end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BCE, since the sampling has not been sufficient to judge the homogeneity and importance (Cibecchini 2006, 536–537).

1181 Long and Sourisseau 2002, 25–31. Long et al. 2002 contains an updated bibliography of the wrecks along the French coast of southern Gaul, which have been reconsidered.

1182 Hesnard 2002, 25–31. The wreck has unfortunately been plundered and its true size is unknown. Its cargo most probably exceeded 100 amphorae.

1183 Long et al. 2006.

1184 The small lead anchor stock found on the site probably does not belong to the wreck (Gianfrotta and Pomey 1981, 305). The dimensions of the ship correspond with those of the Greek ship *Jules-Verne 7* (end of the sixth century BCE) (Pomey 2003) and with *Pointe Lequin 1A* (Long and Sourisseau 2002b).

1185 Long et al. 2006; Pomey 2006, 433.

1186 Cristofani 1996. According to G. Colonna (2006, 658–662) the ship would be quite Etruscan and not Greek.

1187 The length of the ship can be estimated at around twenty-five meters from the sampling of hull fragments that were recovered (Pomey 2008, 61).

1188 Pomey 2002b.

1189 Long and Sourisseau 2002c, d.

1190 Bound 1985; 1991.

1191 Pomey 1981.

1192 Pomey 1999; 2001a; 2002c.

1193 Pomey 2000; 2003.

1194 The discovery of the Archaic Greek wreck of Pabuç Burnu, near Halicarnassus, has confirmed this hypothesis (Polzer 2010).

1195 On this naval construction tradition and its evolution, cf. Pomey 1997b; 2010; Kahanov and Pomey 2004. We shall not follow MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2001 who, disregarding the Greek wrecks of Place Jules-Verne in Marseilles, consider the Giglio and Bon Porté 1 as Etruscan boats and that the Greeks never knew the sewn assembly technique.

1196 Morel 2006, 33.

1197 Pomey 2006, 427–433.

1198 Long et alii 2006, 470–482.

1199 Pomey 1999; 2001a; 2002b, c.

1200 Pomey 1997b; 2010; Kahanov and Pomey 2004.

- 1201** Morel 2006, 33.
- 1202** Morel 2006, 33 and 41–2 with references to the study of the Pech Maho lead.
- 1203** For the consequences of this evolution, see Pomey 2011.
- 1204** Morel 2006, 33; Long et al. 2006, 486.
- 1205** Pomey 1997, 2010; Kahanov and Pomey 2004.
- 1206** Bonino 1985, 1995; Basch 1981; Morel 2006, 33; Long et al. 2006, 486.
- 1207** See e.g. McGrail and Kentley 1985.
- 1208** Basch 1981. One should note that the hypothesis that the introduction of the tenon and mortise assembly technique into Greek naval construction was under Phoenician or Punic influence appears to be the most likely (Pomey 1997, 2010; Kahanov and Pomey 2004).
- 1209** On these questions cf. Basch 1987, 32–35; Pomey 2001, 616–618.
- 1210** Gras 1997.
- 1211** Uggeri 1998.
- 1212** Cristofani 1983, 33–35.
- 1213** Gianfrotta 1988.
- 1214** Camporeale 1997.
- 1215** Gianfrotta 1988; Frau 1990; Colonna 2000, 255–58; Belelli Marchesini 2001; Enei 2008; Colonna 2010; Enei 2013, 314–322; Colonna 2010–13; Enei 2014a and 2014b.
- 1216** Enei 2008; Enei 2013, 326–330; Colonna 2010–13, 81–86; Enei 2014a and 2014b.
- 1217** Colonna 2000.
- 1218** Torelli 2006.
- 1219** Belelli Marchesini 2001.
- 1220** Baglione et al. 2010; Baglione and Belelli Marchesini 2015; Baglione and Michetti forthcoming.
- 1221** Enei 2001, 52–53.
- 1222** Briquel 1984, 317–18.
- 1223** Enei 2001.
- 1224** Frau 1990.
- 1225** Cataldi Dini 2010, 179.
- 1226** Gras 1997, 161–63.
- 1227** Sugbini Moretti 1993, 116–19; 2010, 163–64.
- 1228** Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2012.
- 1229** Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2004.
- 1230** Paribeni 1993; Cappuccini 2010, 96.
- 1231** Pasquinucci 2004.
- 1232** Cygielman et al. 2010.
- 1233** Romualdi 2010.
- 1234** Bruni 2006; 2010c; 2013, 761–762.
- 1235** Bruni 2003–6; 2010a, 52–53.
- 1236** Bruni 2003–6, vol. 1; contra Camilli 2004.
- 1237** Bonamici 2010, 67.
- 1238** Maggiani 2006.
- 1239** Bonamici 1995, 2006.
- 1240** Melli 2006.
- 1241** Bruni 2010b, 55–56.
- 1242** Malnati 2006.
- 1243** Harari 2002; Colonna 2003; Sassatelli 2008.
- 1244** Berti and Guzzo 1993; Harari 2002.
- 1245** Briquel 1984.
- 1246** de Marinis and Rapi 2007.
- 1247** Emiliozzi 1991, 1992, 1996 a, 1996b. Finds of Etruscan and Italic vehicles were listed previously by Nachod 1909, 43–71; Woytowitsch 1978; Stary 1980. Discussions appeared in Stary 1981; Höckmann 1982; Bartoloni and Grottanelli 1984; Galeotti 1986–88.

1248 Emiliozzi 1997, which includes an updated list of vehicles from the Italian Peninsula (Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997).

1249 They come from Pontecagnano, Veii, Caere, Tarquinii, Vulci, Rusellae, Vetulonia, Casale Marittimo, Castellina in Chianti, and Verucchio.

1250 Previously, the remains of four wheels in a tomb had led some authors to record the presence of a four-wheeled vehicle or two chariots.

1251 Among the Etruscan occurrences may be mentioned Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997, nos. 132–133 (Tarquinii), 116–17 (Marsiliana d'Albegna), 173–74 (Vetulonia), 94 (Casale Marittimo, see also Emiliozzi 2001), 98 (Castellina in Chianti, see also Emiliozzi 1999), 227–228 (Verucchio).

1252 Emiliozzi 1997, 163–168, figs. 4–5, pl. VI (Populonia); 2011, figs. II.1, II.10 (Castro); Emiliozzi 1997, 210–13, figs. 1, 5 (Castel San Mariano). The earliest example that has been graphically reconstructed comes from Latium vetus, Tomb 15 of Castel di Decima, dating 720–710 (Emiliozzi 1997, 96, Figure 1; Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997, no. 19). It is noteworthy that thus far nine “Version A” chariots have been reconstructed, either physically or in images (see Emiliozzi 2011, n. II.15).

1253 Emiliozzi 1992, 102, fig 21; 1997, 97, Figure 2; Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997, no. 25 (with bibliography).

1254 Emiliozzi 1997, 201–202, fig. 197. There is also the contemporaneous depiction on the left side panel of the chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto, probably made in southern Etruria (Emiliozzi 2011, Figure I.25).

1255 Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997, no. 103, with bibliography. In 2013 this chariot has been reconstructed both in image and physically: Emiliozzi and Sannibale 2013, 38.

1256 One more example of version A come from Capua (Emiliozzi 2006), while the war chariot from the Barberini Tomb at Praeneste represents version B (see bibliography in footnote 7 above).

1257 Examples are Winter 2009, nos. 5.D.2.a,c, 5.D.3.a,c, and figure II.16.

1258 See Emiliozzi 2006.

1259 Emiliozzi 1997, 145–151, and pl. V.1. The principle is the same in Egyptian chariots; see Littauer and Crouwel 1985, especially 67, no. 3, pl. LXIX bottom (chariot from the Tomb of Yuia and Tuiuu).

1260 Depictions occur on Etruscan-Italic terra cotta plaques that represent vehicles taking part in a procession (see s.g. Crouwel 2010, figs. a–d), and on the bronze sheet covering chariot II from Castel San Mariano (Höckmann 1982, pl. 30, left), and on the left panel of the Monteleone chariot (Emiliozzi 2011, Figure I.25).

1261 An actual Greek-type chariot is the *biga* from the Regolini-Galassi tomb of Caere mentioned in footnote 9 above.

1262 Galeotti 1986–88.

1263 Emiliozzi 1992, no. 36; Landolfi, De Palma, Usai, Emiliozzi, and Wilkens 1997, figs. 19, 21–23, pls. XXV–XXVIII.

1264 Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997, nos. 23, 29, 57, 59, 60, 73, 75, 113, 116, 121, 131, 142, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 164, 165, 187, 205, 210, 225, 228, 230. Further discoveries have occurred since 1997.

1265 Colonna 1997, 21.

1266 Camerin and Emiliozzi 1997, nos. 29, 57, 94, 102, 144, 164, 165, 187, 210, and 230.

1267 La tomba del principe 2006; Emiliozzi, Moscati and Santoro 2007.

1268 Emiliozzi 1997, pl. X.

1269 Reconstructions as a four-wheeled vehicle are unacceptable (Höckmann 1982, 27, fig. 12; Danesi and Manconi 2009). The correct reconstruction as a two-wheeled cart is provided by Emiliozzi 2013, 62–75 (very different from Bruni 2002, figs. 8, 12).

1270 The carts provided with a front seat carried two people sitting side by side (see Fig. 24.7), while those with a center seat (see footnote 21 for the cart from Eretum) could carry four sitting back to the back, as seen in contemporaneous Greek depictions (Emiliozzi 1997, pl. XXIV).

1271 See Stopponi 2002a, 234–235, road links between Perugia and Volsinii/Orvieto; Bruschetti 2002, 71, roads from Perugia to Lake Trasimeno, to Valdichiana and to the Clusium area; suggestions about the roads radiating from Fiesole, Arezzo and Cortona are provided by Giulierini 2011.

1272 This is the case of the road system that linked traffic between the Tyrrhenian and

Adriatic Seas (from Pisa to Spina by way of Marzabotto and Bologna), following the fourth-century geographer Pseudo-Skylax (*Peripl*, 17).

1273 Quilici 1997, 78–79.

1274 Stopponi 2002b, 111, 114–15; 2009; Cruciani 2012.

1275 Quilici 1997, 80–81. 24

1276 Quilici 1997, 92.

1277 Colonna 1968; Quilici 1989, 460–61; Nardi 1988, esp. 16.

1278 Nardi 1985; 1988; 1989.

1279 Quilici 1989; 1990; Feo 2007.

1280 Examples of these different sizes are provided by Quilici 1997.

1281 Quilici 1989, 484 (1.10 m); 1997, 76 (1.20, 1.30 m).

1282 Forsberg 1984.

1283 Quilici Gigli 1996, 7–17.

1284 For the consistency and distribution of ore in Etruria, see Mascaro et al. 1991; Mascaro and Cuteri 1995; Giardino 1995. On the iron ore on the island of Elba see **chapter 26** Corretti.

1285 *Atti Populonia* 1981; Zanini 1997; Cambi, Cavari, and Mascione 2009; Preite 2009.

1286 On the Monti di Campiglia ore and mining activity, see Tanelli 1993a, 1993b; Cascone 1993; Casini 1993; Francovich 1994. For a detailed overview of Tuscan deposits see Mascaro, Guideri, and Benvenuti 1991.

1287 Dessau et al. 1972 investigates the sulfide bodies in the Fiora River Valley. On ornaments in antimonite, see Petitti and Rossi 2008, with references. For a review of the evidence for Prehistoric mining of the cinnabar deposits in southern Tuscany, see Giardino and Steiniger 2011, with references and now Volante 2014, with references.

1288 Fazzini et al. 1972; Camponeschi and Nolasco 1978; Zifferero 1991; Giardino 1995, 109–16; 2008; Giardino and Steiniger 2011. For a technical and historical overview of the alunite mining see Delumeau 1962; Di Carlo et al. 1984; Zifferero 1996a, 1996b; Fedeli Bernardini 2000; Picon 2005.

1289 For a historical overview of mining in Tuscany and Latium, see Tognarini 1984; Francovich and Farinelli 1994; Piola Caselli and Piana Agostinetti 1996; Fedeli Bernardini 2000; Preite 2009.

1290 Tanelli 1993b; Casini 1993; Morelli 1996; Zifferero 1996b; Preite 2009.

1291 Francovich 1994.

1292 See D'Achiardi et al. 1937 and Minto 1943, on these multidisciplinary approaches; on the activity of the *Istituto di Studi Etruschi* in the field of natural sciences, see Tarantini 2002, with references.

1293 Francovich and Parenti 1987; Casini and Francovich 1993; Casini 1993.

1294 Francovich 1994; Bianchi et al. 1997; Casini 2001; Preite 2009; Dallai 2011.

1295 Casini 1993; Cascone 1993; Fedeli 1995; Cascone and Casini 1997; Casini 2001; Casini and Cascone 2002; Zifferero 2002; Fedeli and Galiberti 2016.

1296 Casini 1993; Cascone and Casini 1997; Zifferero 2002.

1297 Casini and Cascone 2002.

1298 Fedeli 2001; on the local fortified hilltops settlement system, see Casini 1993 and Zifferero 2002.

1299 Benvenuti et al. 2000; Chiarantini et al. 2009; Chiarantini and Benvenuti 2009, with references; on contacts between Populonia and the Nuragic culture in the Iron Age, see Lo Schiavo, Falchi, and Milletti 2008; Zifferero 2009; Milletti 2012; Lo Schiavo and Milletti 2013.

1300 For guidelines on iron metallurgy in Italy see Pleiner 2000, 28–30. Evidence from Populonia is highlighted in Benvenuti et al. 2000; Chiarantini and Benvenuti 2009, with references; Acconcia and Milletti 2009.

- 1301** Chiarantini et al. 2004–5; Chiarantini and Benvenuti 2009, with references.
- 1302** Aranguren et al. 2004; Aranguren, Giachi, and Pallecchi 2009.
- 1303** Mascaro and Cuteri 1995; Costantini et al. 2002.
- 1304** Preite 2009.
- 1305** Badii 1931; Aranguren et al. 2006, 2007; Dallai et al. 2009; Farinelli and Santinucci 2014.
- 1306** Aranguren et al. 2006, 2007.
- 1307** Aranguren et al. 2006, 2007.
- 1308** Camporeale, Giuntoli, and Patrini 1996; Camporeale 1997; 2005.
- 1309** Dallai 2009b.
- 1310** Brunori 1984; Zifferero 1996a. On the extraction, production, and trade of alum in antiquity, see Borgard, Brun, and Picon 2005.
- 1311** On the settlement system during the Recent Bronze Age and Final Bronze Age in the Monti della Tolfa area, see di Gennaro 1988; Pacciarelli 2001, 71–114; Belardelli et al. 2007, 50–9. On the stone hammers from Poggio Malinverno see Giardino and Steiniger 2011; Giardino et al. 2014. Contacts between this mining district and Sardinia in the Bronze Age are highlighted by Lo Schiavo 2005b.
- 1312** On the Etruscan settlement system between Monti della Tolfa and Valle del Mignone see Zifferero 2000; for a critical assessment of the La Castellina del Marangone evidence, see Zifferero 2008, with references; von Hase 2011.
- 1313** Cucini Tizzoni and Tizzoni 1992; Casini 1993; Cambi, Cavari, and Mascione 2009, 221–30; Dallai 2009a, with references; Corretti and Firmati 2011, with references.
- 1314** Dallai 2009a, with references; Dallai and Ponta 2009.
- 1315** A summary in Tanelli et al. 2001, 239–41.
- 1316** For an insignificant amount of tin near San Piero in Campo, Tanelli 1989, 1414; on lead ores observed near Rio Marina see Giardino 1995, 119.
- 1317** Benvenuti, Guideri, and Mascaro 1991, 122–64.
- 1318** Update in Tanelli et al. 2001.
- 1319** Simonin 1858, 567; Jervis 1862, 60–61.
- 1320** Benvenuti, Guideri, and Mascaro 1991.
- 1321** Though Zecchini 2001, 193 reports iron concretions in and around the cave.
- 1322** Pini 1777, 44.
- 1323** The “*Acqua Marziale di Rio*”: Buzzegoli 1762; Pini 1777, 44–48; Jervis 1862, 45.
- 1324** Fabri 1887, 11–12; see also Benvenuti, Guideri, and Mascaro 1991.
- 1325** Fabri 1887, 11–12; Tanelli et al. 2001, 243.
- 1326** Mainly Pini 1777; see n. 17 below.
- 1327** Vitali 1992; Francovich 1994.
- 1328** Haupt 1847, 187–88.
- 1329** E.g. Haupt 1847, 188–89; Simonin 1858, 561–62; a summary in Francovich 1994; Zifferero 2002.
- 1330** Pini 1777, 51–52.
- 1331** Scanty information occurs in Buzzegoli 1762, 17–18; Pini 1777, 59; Colt Hoare 1819, 18 (summary in Vanagolli 1998, 48 n. 15; Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 128–29).
- 1332** Colt Hoare 1819, 18.
- 1333** Recorded e.g. by Pini 1777, 34, 60, and sketched in his plan of the mine.
- 1334** Cocchi 1865, 9; Mellini 1879.
- 1335** Jervis 1862, 39–40; Mellini 1879; Fedeli 1983, 177–78.
- 1336** On the mining industry in nineteenth and early twentieth century Italy see Pistolesi 2011.
- 1337** *Miniere e ferro* 1938.
- 1338** D’Achiardi 1927; Minto 1943; Pistolesi 2006.
- 1339** Benvenuti, Guideri, and Mascaro 1991, 10 n. 4; Giardino 1995, 131 n. 49; Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 128 n. 2.

- 1340** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 134 n. 37, with previous literature.
- 1341** Main literature in Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 134–35; for Ischia Nijboer 1998, 165–66.
- 1342** E.g. Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici 1981; First Iron 1988.
- 1343** Albore Livadie 1985; Pancrazzi 1985.
- 1344** Fedeli 1983, 177–78; update in Fedeli 1993; Romualdi 1993.
- 1345** Martelli 1981; Nijboer 1998, 190–91; Bonamici 2007.
- 1346** Relevant for the present issue are two Classical and Late Etruscan hill forts at Monte Castello and Castiglione di San Martino (Maggiani 1981; 2008; Pancrazzi 1985).
- 1347** Corretti 1997; Cambi 2004.
- 1348** Excavation of an iron workshop at Monte Serra (Rio nell’Elba): Martin 1994.
- 1349** Zecchini 1978, 2001.
- 1350** See the series *Materiali per Populonia*; an update on ancient quarries and mines around Populonia and on Elba in Cambi, Cavari, and Mascione 2009.

- 1351** Chiarantini et al. 2009; Chiarantini and Benvenuti 2009.
- 1352** Firmati, Arrighi, and Principe 2006; Corretti and Firmati 2011; Maggiani 2015, 365.
- 1353** See Alderighi et al. 2012; Cambi, Corretti, and Pagliantini 2015.
- 1354** Cremonesi 2001; Ducci 2001, 2007.
- 1355** Delpino 1981; Fedeli 1983, 179–80; Camporeale 1985, 46–47; Giardino 1995, 119–22; Ducci 2001, 221–22; Cygielman et al. 2015, 281 n. 61.
- 1356** Delpino 1981, 270–76; Corretti and Pancrazzi 2001, 270–76.
- 1357** Evidence in Delpino 1981, 272; Giardino 1995, 122; Zifferero 2002; Milletti 2012; Cygielman et al. 2015.
- 1358** Milletti 2012, 210–11; 245–46; on the analyses on bronze objects from Cima del Monte Alderighi et al. 2013, 80–81.
- 1359** A pattern well described in Nijboer 1998, 136, 189.
- 1360** Corretti 2004, 272–73.
- 1361** Colonna 1981.
- 1362** Benvenuti et al. 2013.
- 1363** Sammartino 2009, 49 fig. 5; Aranguren et al. in press.
- 1364** Bonamici 2007; Bonamici 2015, 411.
- 1365** Bonamici 1989; Bonamici 2015, 411, 414–15 for further references.
- 1366** Bruni 2001.
- 1367** Aranguren et al. 2004.
- 1368** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 134–35, 142–43.
- 1369** Fedeli 1983, 178; Nijboer 1998, 190–91.
- 1370** Acconcia and Milletti 2009, 144.
- 1371** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 134 n. 4.
- 1372** Nijboer 1998, 160–61; Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 130.
- 1373** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 132; Acconcia and Milletti 2009, 143.
- 1374** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 139–40; Zifferero 2002, 2009; Acconcia and Milletti 2009, 143; Milletti 2012, 237 ff.; Cygielman et al. 2015, 289–90.
- 1375** Acconcia and Cambi 2009; Chiarantini et al. 2009.
- 1376** Chiarantini et al. 2009, 1632.
- 1377** Chiarantini et al. 2009, 1633.
- 1378** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 135, n. 42.
- 1379** Not before the late seventh or sixth century: Nijboer 1998, 165; Acconcia and Cambi 2009, 171; Cambi 2009, 224; Chiarantini and Benvenuti 2009, 208.
- 1380** Corretti 2004.
- 1381** Maggiani 2006, 440–43.
- 1382** But see Acconcia and Milletti 2009, 144.
- 1383** Bonamici 2015, 415–6.
- 1384** Nijboer 1998, 165.
- 1385** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 141 nos. 83, 84; Maras 2015.
- 1386** For a calculation of ore excavated before the nineteenth century see Fabri 1887, 1–2; Cipriani and Tanelli 1983, 254.
- 1387** Zifferero 2002; Ponta 2006, 285–86.
- 1388** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 142. Estimates of the amount of iron slag at Populonia vary dramatically: for a concise discussion see Nijboer 1998, 191 n. 305; Pistolesi 2006.
- 1389** Aranguren et al. 2004; according to Nijboer 1998, 162–65, local bog iron ore was treated at Satricum.
- 1390** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001, 142–43.
- 1391** Albore Livadie 1985.
- 1392** Maggiani 1981; Corretti and Pancrazzi 2001; Maggiani 2006; Rafanelli 2007, 69–70.
- 1393** Cambi 2004; Maggiani 2008; Corretti 2011; Cambi, Di Paola, and Pagliantini 2013; Maggiani 2015.
- 1394** Bonamici 2007; 2015.

1395 Cambi 2009, 173.

1396 Colonna 1981.

1397 Pais 1893, 347–48 n. 3; Corretti 2004, 274–75.

1398 Corretti 2009, with previous literature.

1399 Most recently Corretti 2005, with previous literature.

1400 Colonna 1981; Corretti, Cambi, and Pagliantini 2015.

- 1401** Acconcia and Cambi 2009, 172–73.
- 1402** Ponta 2006, 286–87.
- 1403** Corretti 1997; Baiocco et al. 1990; Pistolesi 2006; Pistolesi 2013.
- 1404** Follonica: Baiocco et al. 1990; territory of Populonia: Cambi 2009, 227; Elba: Maggiani 1981; Corretti 1997; Zecchini 2001, 127–38; Corretti and Firmati 2011; Alderighi et al. 2012.
- 1405** Corretti 1997; Zecchini 2001, 127–38; Pistolesi 2013. Estimates are based on records collected in person in the late 1950s by the Swedish researcher John Nihlen, who interviewed workers involved in slag retrieval operations.
- 1406** Pistolesi 2006, 22–23.
- 1407** Corretti 2004, 284.
- 1408** Maggiani 2015, 362–3.
- 1409** Rafanelli 2007; Firmati 2009.
- 1410** And/or older ones were enlarged (archaeomagnetism suggests a date of between 550 and 350 BCE for the early furnace at Cavo: Firmati, Arrighi, and Principe 2006).
- 1411** Pomonte and Patresi: Corretti 1997.
- 1412** Firmati, Arrighi, and Principe 2006; Corretti and Firmati 2011; Alderighi et al. 2012.
- 1413** Williams 2009.
- 1414** Most recently Corretti 2009; Maggiani 2015.
- 1415** Alderighi et al. 2012.
- 1416** Cambi 2009, 224.
- 1417** Corretti 2004; Cambi 2009, 226–27; Camporeale 2013.
- 1418** Camporeale 1985, 34; Corretti 2004, 282–84; Cambi 2009, 228–29.
- 1419** Acconcia and Cambi 2009.
- 1420** Cambi 2009, 228–29.
- 1421** Domergue et al. 2003.
- 1422** Egger 1961, 27.
- 1423** Cristofani Martelli 1976.
- 1424** Stazio 1978; 1985.
- 1425** de Marinis 1987.
- 1426** See chapters 25 Zifferero and 26 Corretti.
- 1427** Hackens 1976.
- 1428** Hackens 1976.
- 1429** Catalli 2004.
- 1430** Catalli 1976.
- 1431** Thurlow and Vecchi 1979.
- 1432** Camilli 1976.
- 1433** Rutter 2001.
- 1434** Cristofani 1989.
- 1435** Hackens 1976.
- 1436** Baglione 1976.
- 1437** Neppi Modona 1925, 143–45. See also *CIE* 437; *TLE* 640.
- 1438** Camilli 1976.
- 1439** Baglione 1976.
- 1440** Rutter 2001, 28–29.
- 1441** Ducati 1911, 442, 631ff., no. 169A, pl. V; Sassatelli 1993, 64, fig. 8.
- 1442** Blázquez 1960, 154–56; fig. 4, no. VII; Cristofani 1996, 52, no. 29.
- 1443** Bonfante 1993, pls. XLVI–XLVIII; Cristofani 1993.
- 1444** Beazley 1947, 127; Greifenhagen 1978, 72ff., figs. 44–49; Massa Pairault 1980, 89ff., fig. 20; Spannagel 1981, 191ff.; Cristofani 1996, 39 ff., fig. 21.
- 1445** The lever scales from Arezzo, which Gianfrancesco Gamurrini thought were Etruscan, are actually from the Byzantine period: see Cristofani 1996, 41, no. 7.
- 1446** Rastrelli 1993, 474, pl. XXI; 1997, 77, fig. 64; Cristofani 1996, 41, no. 6.
- 1447** Rastrelli 1993, 474, pl. XX; 1997, 78, figs. 65–66; Cristofani 1996, 41, no. 6.

1448 Cristofani 1996, 39 ff.

1449 The chronology of this type of balance has often been anchored to the discussion in Vitr. 10, i.e. the late first century CE: cf. Cristofani 1996, 40.

1450 Cristofani 1996, 39.

- 1451** See Daremberg and Saglio 1877–1919, 1226 s.v. *Libra*, fig. 1472.
- 1452** This is the opinion expressed in Daremberg and Saglio 1877–1919, 1226 s.v. *Libra*.
- 1453** Further weights have been collected in Maggiani 2002, 2007.
- 1454** Woodford and Krauskopf 1994.
- 1455** As such, as inventor of writing, he was able to give written form to oracular prophecy; see Woodford and Krauskopf 1994, 149.
- 1456** Spannagel 1981, 196; Cristofani 1996, 52.
- 1457** Heurgon 1986, 290ff.
- 1458** On all this see Spannagel 1981, 198.
- 1459** As Spannagel 1981, 199, thinks.
- 1460** Cristofani 1985, 4ff., figs. 1–12.
- 1461** Settis 1975, 13.
- 1462** Simon 1992, 519–20, no. 239.
- 1463** Fundamental is the edition by Cristofani 1996, on which this note in large part depends.
- 1464** Rastrelli 1993, 474, recalling for comparison the head-*kantharoi* of the Clusium Group.
- 1465** Rastrelli 1993, pl. V.
- 1466** On the entire question, see the effective synthesis of Bertinetti 1985.
- 1467** Barber 1991.
- 1468** Moser et al. 2003.
- 1469** Bazzanella et al. 2005.
- 1470** Médard et al. 2011.
- 1471** Gleba 2008, 45–57.
- 1472** Masurel 1982; Mamez, Masurel 1992.
- 1473** Esposito 1999.
- 1474** Ræder Knudsen 2012; Stauffer 2002; 2012.
- 1475** Bonfante 2003.
- 1476** Bonfante 2003, 168.
- 1477** Bonfante 2000.
- 1478** Bonfante 2003, 179.
- 1479** Verri et al. 2014.
- 1480** Lesky 1998.
- 1481** Granger-Taylor 1982.
- 1482** von Eles 2002.
- 1483** Stauffer 2002; 2012.
- 1484** Granger-Taylor 1982.
- 1485** Bonfante 2003, 31, 102.
- 1486** Stauffer 2012, 249–50.
- 1487** Ræder Knudsen 2012.
- 1488** Masurel 1982.
- 1489** Stauffer 2012, 251.
- 1490** Stauffer 2012.
- 1491** Bentini, Boiardi 2007, 128.
- 1492** Bonfante 2003, 12–14.
- 1493** Buranelli 1983, 129.
- 1494** Bentini, Boiardi 2007, 135 figs. 13–14.
- 1495** Grömer 2012.
- 1496** Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012.
- 1497** Stauffer 2013.
- 1498** Gleba 2011.
- 1499** Bentini, Boiardi 2007, 128.
- 1500** Stauffer 2002, 210.

- 1501** Bérard 1970, 28; d’Agostino 1977, 59–60.
- 1502** Esposito 1999, 42.
- 1503** Torelli 2000, 582 no. 130.
- 1504** Cenciarioli 2004, 8; Gleba and Vanden Berghe 2014.
- 1505** Gleba 2014.
- 1506** Bentini, Boiardi 2007, 127; see **chapter 42** Trocchi.
- 1507** Bonfante 2003, 106 note 3.
- 1508** Iaia 1999, 29, 114.
- 1509** Trucco 2006, 98–99.
- 1510** Paolucci, Rastrelli 2006, 14, 17, 20.
- 1511** Gleba 2014.
- 1512** Steingraber 1986; 2006.
- 1513** Gleba 2008, 25–27.
- 1514** van der Meer 2007.
- 1515** Macintosh Turfa, Steinmayer 1999.
- 1516** Torelli 1997, 68–69; von Eles 2002.
- 1517** Morigi Govi 1971.
- 1518** Lipkin 2012; Meyers 2013.
- 1519** Gleba 2008; Lipkin 2012.
- 1520** Tamburini 1995, 169 no. 2081, Fig. 51.
- 1521** Forte, von Eles 1994, 55 no. 32.
- 1522** Whitehead 1996, 114, Figs. 6 and 8.
- 1523** Gleba 2008, 125–7.
- 1524** Östenberg 1975, 11–12.
- 1525** Gleba 2008, 139–53.
- 1526** Raeder Knudsen 2012.
- 1527** Gleba 2008, 195.
- 1528** Bonfante 2003, 4–5, 132.

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- 1529** von Hornbostel and Sachs 1914.
- 1530** Summaries of the evidence for musical instruments in Etruria in Fleischhauer 1964, 1995, 2001; Jannot 1988; 1990; Heurgon 1992, 267–78; Lawergren 2007; Martinelli 2007, 21–52; Carrese, Li Castro, and Martinelli 2010; Paolucci and Sarti 2012; Maggiani 2013.
- 1531** On Etruscan double-tube reed aerophones see Jannot 1974; 2001; Martinelli and Melini 2010; Sutkowska 2010.
- 1532** Confirmed by Plutarch (*Mor.* 456b).
- 1533** The simplified term “double pipe” has been widely adopted in this chapter, though according to Sutkowska 2010, 79, the technical term should be “double-tube reed aerophone.”
- 1534** See Grandolini 2010 for a summary of ancient sources on Etruscan musical instruments, including the double pipe.
- 1535** Sarti 2012a, figs. 10.1–11.
- 1536** Martinelli and Melini 2010, 96–97, 102–3, figs. 1–2, 12–13; Martinelli 2012.
- 1537** For example, a joint (probably made of bone) in the Museo Nazionale of Tarquinia, without inv. no.; see Colivicchi 2007, 202–3, fig. 49, no. 497; Majneri and Stanco 2010, 122, fig. 6.

1538 Steingräber 1984; 2006; Li Castro 2010, fig. 1a.

1539 Jannot 1984, 426; Li Castro 2010, fig. 1b.

1540 According to Olsen 1990, 185, this feature should be indicative of “a resistance typical for playing reed instruments.”

1541 Unfortunately, few of the metal wind instruments from Etruria have yet been analyzed to determine their specific composition or the percentage of tin in the copper alloy, except for one fragment at Karlsruhe that is identified as tin bronze (see footnote 33 below), and some instruments recently analyzed by the “Michele Cordaro” laboratory of the Università della Tuscia (DISBEC) as a partner of the European Music Archaeology Project (EMAP): one *lituus* from Tarquinia (see footnote 30 below), another *lituus* from Cortona (see footnote 32 below) and one *cornu* from Populonia (see footnote 35 below), which have shown different percentages of tin in the alloy, with a range from two to six percent. The author wishes to thank the EMAP team of the DISBEC for this preliminary information.

1542 On Etruscan trumpets see Jurgeit 2005; Holmes 2008, 2010.

1543 For a comprehensive collection of ancient sources on Etruscan trumpets see Berlinzani 2007; see also Meucci 1987; 1989; 1991.

1544 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 83379/c, from Poggio dell’Impiccato, Tomb 1, first half of the eighth century; see Delpino 2005, 346, 348, 350, pl. II; Li Castro 2012.

1545 Aristonicus *Schol.* 2.18, 219b1, IV.474–475 Erbse; Eust. *Il.* 18.219.1139.54.IV.165 van der Valk; Sch. Soph. *Aj.* 17 = *Suda* s.v. *kōdōn*.

1546 See footnote 10 above.

1547 In Golini Tomb II and the Tomb of the Hescana; see Steingräber 1984, no. 34, 285; no. 69, 314; Martinelli 2007, 47–48, n. 47.

1548 In the Tomba della Scimmia (Tomb of the Monkey) and the Tomba di Poggio Renzo; see Steingräber 1984, nos. 32–33, 284–85; Blanck and Proietti 1986, 24 nn. 95–96.

1549 Blanck and Proietti 1986, 24–27, 42, fig. 6, 13, pls. XVIb, XXII.

1550 See footnote 11 above.

- 1551** Castaldo 2010, 49–50, figs. 5–6.
- 1552** For example, see Fleischhauer 1964, 42–43, figs. 16–17; Martinelli 2007, 48.
- 1553** For example, an Etruscan black-figure amphora from Vulci (end of the sixth century) in the British Museum (inv. no. B 64).
- 1554** Cassola Guida 1997; Principi 2000, 373–74.
- 1555** Macellari 2002, 200–202.
- 1556** For example, a sarcophagus decorated with painted reliefs from Caere (fifth century) in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. no. 59; see Fleischhauer 1964, 40, fig. 15.
- 1557** Briquel 1987; 2000, 41; Carandini 1997, 58–71, 211–15, 306–11, 559–63; Bonghi Jovino 2007, 6–9.
- 1558** Bonghi Jovino 2007.
- 1559** Helbig 1963–72, 1:515–16, no. 682. The provenance of this find is alternatively assigned to Cerveteri, for example by Behn 1912, fig. 7; Albini 1937; and Fleischhauer 1964, 44, fig. 19; on this question see also Bonghi Jovino 1987, 72 n. 55.
- 1560** Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona, without inv. no., around 600 BCE; see Giulierini 2012; Bruschetti et al. 2012, 166, no. 39. The author wishes to thank Paolo Giulierini, former director of the local museum, for allowing scholars to study this interesting specimen, which was found bent in the same way as the *lituus* from Tarquinia.
- 1561** Jurgeit 1999, 227–28, no. 367, pl. 111 (inv. F 298, provenance: Etruria; Riederer 1999, 315–16, no. 367).
- 1562** The “Berlin *lituus*” is in the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; the author wishes to thank Peter Holmes for this information. The current whereabouts of the “London *lituus*” (Sotheby’s 1982, no. 244; 1983, no. 549) are not known.
- 1563** Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 152342, from the Tumulo dei Carri, necropolis of San Cerbone; see Sarti 2012b, figs. 16a–c.
- 1564** Holmes 2010.
- 1565** Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. no. 51216, fourth century BCE; see Jurgeit 2000.
- 1566** See footnote 13 above.
- 1567** Jurgeit 2005.
- 1568** The “London *lituus*” appears to be the only one that has survived with its mouthpiece, but it is difficult to take this evidence into account on the basis of nothing but the one available photo and without any further detail. On the other hand, the “Cortona *lituus*” appears to have been provided with a wooden mouthpiece, remnants of which are still inside the instrument’s receiver, but further investigation is needed; see Holmes 2010, figs. 51–52.
- 1569** Poll. 4.85–86: “The tube yard is made of bronze or iron, the mouthpiece is made of bone.”
- 1570** Lat. *bucina* rather than *cornu* is more likely the proper term for these horns of horn or ivory, and also for those in clay, as well as the conch trumpets; see Meucci 1983, 1989; Berlinzani 2007, 15, n. 8.
- 1571** Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. 13229 (ivory, amber, and gold), from the Tomba Barberini, first half of the seventh century; see Proietti 1980, 284, no. 396.
- 1572** It has also been interpreted as a drinking horn; see Romualdi 1997. Unfortunately, a related fragment that according to Minto 1943, 119, was a possible mouthpiece, “almond-shaped, with an elliptical hole,” is currently lost.
- 1573** The Tumulo dei Carri, in the Necropoli di San Cerbone. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 222027 (ivory, silver, and gold); see Romualdi 1997; Martinelli 2007, 46–47.
- 1574** Rome, Museo degli Strumenti Musicali, sixth century; see Cervelli 1994, 51.
- 1575** Montelupo Fiorentino, Museo Archeologico, inv. 114918, end of fifth – fourth century; see Alderighi 2012.
- 1576** For a discussion of all these items, see Jannot 2010.
- 1577** Jannot 2010, 178 n. 13.
- 1578** Fleischhauer 1964, 44, fig. 20; Fleischhauer 1995, 192–93, fig. 6.

1579 Rizzo 1989, 154, pl. Ib.

1580 Cataldi 1993, 119–20.

1581 Rizzo 1990, 126, fig. 257.

1582 Additional plectra of Etruscan origin, stored in various museums, have been recorded but remain unpublished.

1583 Possibly made from a turtle shell or a gourd, or of wood.

1584 Further discussion of Etruscan string instruments in Jannot 1979; Lawergren 1984; 1993; 2007; Sarti 1993; 2010.

1585 The *phorminx* is possibly a similar type of string instrument, with a rounded crescent-shaped soundbox and often with elaborate arms, represented in iconographical sources dating back to the Aegean Bronze Age; on the *phorminx* see Younger 1998, 18–27.

1586 Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum, inv. no. ZA 66 (Martelli 1987, 18, 92, 262–63, no. 38; 1988; 2001, 2–7; for further discussion of this amphora see also Pairault-Massa 1992, 16–18, figs. 1–2; Menichetti 1994, 48–49, fig. 30; Simon 1995a; 1995b. In the extensive literature on the meaning of the scene on the amphora, very few lines have been dedicated to the unusual shape of the arms of the musical instrument. They have a winding shape with two joined S-curves, like the outline of an inverted guitar; see Li Castro and Scardina 2011.

1587 Lawergren (1993, 75; 2007, 137) compares this example with an instrument represented on a Minoan seal; the comparison, though questionable, is rather fitting from an organological point of view.

1588 In Tarquinia there are at least thirty-four depictions of these instruments; see n. 10 above.

1589 For example, these instruments are represented at least fourteen times on the urns from Chiusi; see footnote 11 above.

1590 The classic Greek kithara is seldom represented in Etruscan context, and the few examples likely indicate poor knowledge of this complex string instrument, as in the Tomba della Pulcella (Tomb of the Maiden) in Tarquinia (Steingraber 2006, 158); on this aspect, see Lawergren 2007, 127–28, fig. 5; Sarti 2010, 187–88.

1591 Including bells, cymbals, rattles, scrapers, jaw harps, singing bowls, and many other objects that can be simply identified as sound tools, or sometime considered only as symbols of prestige, ornaments, or toys, such as sticks with suspended elements, bracelets, anklets, jingles, etc.; on these categories of musical objects in Etruscan context, see Carrese 2010; Maggiani 2013.

1592 Li Castro 2008.

1593 Brocato and Zhara Buda 1996.

1594 Cavallotti Batchvarova 1967, 244–50 (tomb GG 6–7), fig. 98, no. 8.

1595 Maggiani 2013.

1596 Jurgeit 1999, 228–31, pl. 112; Riederer 1999, 315–16, nos. 368, 379.

1597 Morigi Govi 1971.

1598 For example, a hollow *armilla* with tinkling particles of bronze inside, in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Chiusi, inv. no. 62782 (P. 785a), Collection Paolozzi, without provenance; see Iozzo 2009; Berutti 2012.

1599 In Tarquinia there are at least nine depictions of *crotala*; see footnote 10 above.

1600 In this repertoire the *crotala* are represented at least three times; see footnote 11 above.

- 1601** Castaldo 2010, 50, figs. 7, 9.
- 1602** For instance: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. no. 918, calyx-krater by the *Alcsti* Painter, from Vulci, around 330 BCE; see Cristofani 1987, 222, fig. 170, 324–25.
- 1603** Pianu 1980, 26–29, 31–32, 72–73, 79–80, 82–83, pls. XV 16a–c, XVIII 19a–d, XLV 46a–c, XLVIII 49a–c, LII 53a–c.
- 1604** Sgubini Moretti 1985, 323, fig. 13.2 3 B3.
- 1605** Cappelletti 1992, 157–59.
- 1606** Ambrosini 2004.
- 1607** On this specific aspect, see Li Castro 2010.
- 1608** Böttiger 1797.
- 1609** E.g. De Puma 1987.
- 1610** Becker and MacIntosh Turfa 2017.
- 1611** Becker 2003.
- 1612** Deneffe 1899; Sudhoff 1926; Casotti 1947; Tabanelli 1963.
- 1613** Bliquez 1996.
- 1614** See also Emptoz 1987.
- 1615** See Cozza and Pasqui 1981; Waarsenburg 1995.
- 1616** Clawson 1934.
- 1617** Becker 2005.
- 1618** Becker and MacIntosh Turfa 2017.
- 1619** Becker 2014.
- 1620** Becker 1990.
- 1621** Badre 1986.
- 1622** See also Bliquez 1996: 2659, n. 18, citing Hoffmann-Axthelm 1985, 28–31, 38–39.
- 1623** Becker 1997, amending Masali and Peluso 1985; Corruccini and Pacciani 1989, 61.
- 1624** Guerini 1909, 28.
- 1625** See Becker 1997.
- 1626** Lufkin 1948; Woodforde 1967.
- 1627** Emptoz 1987, 546; Clawson 1934, 23–24.
- 1628** Waarsenburg 1995:366; Becker and MacIntosh Turfa 2017, no. 18.
- 1629** Cf. Becker 1999b.
- 1630** Guerini 1909, 100. See Bliquez 1996: 2661.
- 1631** See Becker 1999b.
- 1632** Becker and MacIntosh Turfa 2017.
- 1633** Becker 1992b.
- 1634** Becker 2002.
- 1635** See Robb 1997a, 1997b.
- 1636** Becker 1995b; see also Guerini 1909, 71–73, 79; Deneffe 1899, 78; Casotti 1947, 669.
- 1637** Bliquez 1996: 2662; Guerini 1909, 102; Hoffmann-Axthelm 1985, 30 n.
- 1638** Riis 1941, 161; Poulsen 1927, 47.
- 1639** Johnstone 1932a, 132 n., pl. 94.17–18 (cf. Johnstone 1932b); Marvitz 1982, 49; Pot 1985, 38–39; Bliquez 1996: 2656–57.
- 1640** Becker 1992b, 1994a, 1995a.
- 1641** E.g. Becker 1994b, 1996.
- 1642** Becker 1994a.
- 1643** Johnstone 1932a, 1932b; Becker and MacIntosh Turfa 2017.
- 1644** Becker 2005.
- 1645** See Marvitz 1982, 49.
- 1646** Becker 1994b.
- 1647** E.g. Becker and Salvadei 1992.
- 1648** Becker 1990, 1993, 2000.
- 1649** Becker 2000.

- 1651** Cf. Robb 1997a, 1997b.
- 1652** Lanciani 1892, 353.
- 1653** Lanciani 1892; Jackson 1988, 119.
- 1654** Bliquez 1996: 2662; Becker 1998.
- 1655** Becker 1999a, also 1994c.
- 1656** Becker 2002
- 1657** Cf. Becker 1992a.
- 1658** Waarsenburg 1990; Becker 1999c.
- 1659** Johnstone 1932b, 448.
- 1660** Censorinus, *DN* 17.6.
- 1661** *Suda* 4 p. 609 Adler.
- 1662** On the tradition of the Etruscan *saecula*, fundamental is Thulin 1905–1909, vol. 3: Die ritual Bücher und zur Geschichte und Organisation der Haruspices, 63–75. Also Harris 1971, 12–13, 35–36.
- 1663** Peroni 1989, 555 (translation mine).
- 1664** Peroni 1989; 2001.
- 1665** Verrius Flaccus, *res Etr.*, Fr.1 P.
- 1666** Ephorus, in Strabo 6.2.2.
- 1667** On Crostolletto di Lamone: Rittatore Vonwiller 1972. On the facies Cetona-Chiusi: Zanini 1994. On the transition from Bronze to Iron: Negroni Catacchio 1997; Harari and Pearce 2000. On the formation of the Etruscan pantheon: Maggiani 1997. On the Pelasgians: Briquel 1984. On the Tyrrhenians on Lemnos: de Simone 1996. On the Rhetics as Etruscan: Rix 1998. On the Etruscans in the Po Plain: Sassatelli 1994. On Campanian Etruria: d'Agostino 2001; Cerchiai 2010. On the first contacts with the Greeks: Cristofani 1983; Gras 1985.
- 1668** On the nature of the Orientalizing period see Principi 2000. On trade: Camporeale 1969.
- 1669** On the wine trade in France Py 1985 remains fundamental. In general on the commercial routes in the northern Tyrrhenian Sea and the western Mediterranean: Atti Marseille 2006. On the historiographic, epigraphic and figural tradition concerning the Vipinas brothers: Buranelli 1987. On the Etruscan-Punic-Phocaeen conflict: Bernardini, Spanu and Zucca 2000. On Thefarie Velianas: Colonna 2007. On Gravisca: Torelli 1977. On Porsenna, most recently: Colonna 2000. On Syracuse and the Etruscans: Colonna 1981; 1989.
- 1670** On the Etruscans alongside Athens against Syracuse: Torelli 1975. On the Po Plain Etruria and Spina: Sassatelli 1990; Rebecchi 1998. On the fourth century problems between Etruria and Rome still important are: Sordi 1960; Harris 1971.
- 1671** On Etruria in the Hellenistic age: Torelli 1989; see [chapter 36](#) Haumesser. On northern inner Etruria: Cristofani 1997; 1985. On the opening of the family hypogaeum at the end of the fourth century: Maggiani 2002. On the Cilnii of Arretium: Maggiani 1988. On the final phase: Manuselli 1988; see chapters 37 Marcone and 38 Torelli.
- 1672** Whittle 1996; Pessina and Tinè 2008.
- 1673** Sahlins 1963; Niola 1981.
- 1674** Fried 1975.
- 1675** See Caes. *BGall.* especially books 4 and 6; Tac. *Germ.*
- 1676** Pacciarelli 2009.
- 1677** Liverani 2002.
- 1678** di Gennaro 1986; Pacciarelli 2001, 2009. For an application of the rank-size rule see Guidi 1985.
- 1679** Childe 1936, 1950.
- 1680** Bianchin Citton, Gambacurta, and Ruta Serafini 1998; De Min et al. 2005; Guidi and Salzani 2008; Malnati and Gamba 2003; Salzani and Consonni 2005.
- 1681** Pallottino 1939, 55 (translation mine).
- 1682** Peroni and di Gennaro 1986.
- 1683** Bernabò Brea, Cremaschi, and Cardarelli 1997.

- 1684** Balista 1997.
1685 Peroni 1994.
1686 Scarano 2012, with bibliography.
1687 Balista et al. 2008.
1688 Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980, with bibliography.
1689 In Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980.
1690 See for example Marzatico 1997.
1691 For a synthesis see Bietti Sestieri 1997; De Santis 2006.
1692 di Gennaro 1986; Schiappelli 2008; Barbaro 2010.
1693 di Gennaro 1982.
1694 di Gennaro and Guidi 2009; Pacciarelli 2009.
1695 Cardarelli 2009.
1696 Peroni 1969, 158 (translation mine).
1697 Hencken 1968, figs. 169c-d and 335; Iaia 1999.
1698 Trucco 2006.
1699 Pacciarelli 2001; 2006; 2009.
1700 Iaia 2005.

- 1701** Renfrew 1975.
- 1702** Bartoloni 1989.
- 1703** Bettelli and Di Pillo 2000; De Angelis 2001.
- 1704** Iaia and Pacciarelli 2012.
- 1705** Delpino 1977.
- 1706** Iaia 1999; Iaia and Pacciarelli 2012.
- 1707** Pacciarelli 2001, 170–76, with bibliography. See also Pacciarelli 2009, footnote 34.
- 1708** Bartoloni 2003.
- 1709** Åström 1998; Sherratt 1998; Vagnetti 2000, 75–89; South 2002, 67–8.
- 1710** Artzy 1998; Bauer 1998; Sherratt 1998; Gómez Toscano 2009, 52–4; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2009, 109.
- 1711** Besides the abovementioned studies cf.: Bernardini 2006; 2008; Mederos Martín 2006; Botto 2008, 124–27; López Castro 2008, 280–88.
- 1712** For the presence of Cypriot metallurgy at Caldare and Thapsos cf. respectively La Rosa 2000, 133–36 and Militello 2004, 312–13. See also Albanese Procelli 2008, 404, 412–13.
- 1713** Lo Schiavo, Macnamara, and Vagnetti 1985; Ferrarese Ceruti, Vagnetti, and Lo Schiavo 1987; Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989; Lo Schiavo 1995; 2001; 2008.
- 1714** Cf. with different interpretive nuances Strøm 1991; Botto 1995; 2004–2005; 2007; Matthäus 2000; 2001.
- 1715** The terms of the comparison are taken from Karageorghis 2001, 3.
- 1716** Besides the studies cited *supra* at footnote 5, cf. Macnamara 2001, 292; 2002, 151, 165, who speaks of a period of “tenuous contact” to bring back to around between 1000 and 850.
- 1717** Strøm 1991; Bernardini 1991; Matthäus 1998; 2000; 2001; Mederos Martín 2006; Botto 2011a.
- 1718** Cf. the many contributions in Karageorghis 1994.
- 1719** Sherratt 1994; Kassianidou 2001, 100, 109.
- 1720** Bernardini 2000, 32–33.
- 1721** Liverani 1991; Botto 2005a, 79–81; Aubet 2009, 118–121, 143–8; Bondi 2009.
- 1722** Popham 1994; Coldstream 1998a; 2000; 2008; d’Agostino 2000.
- 1723** Coldstream 2000; Lemos 2001; Kourou 2005, 498–500.
- 1724** Coldstream and Bikai 1988, 43; Coldstream 1989, 91–2.
- 1725** Mazzoni 2001, 299–304.
- 1726** Coldstream 2000, 32; Luke 2003.
- 1727** The question has recently been taken up by Carafa 2011.
- 1728** Botto 2011c, 168–69.
- 1729** Boardman 1994; Peserico 1996; Coldstream 1998b.
- 1730** Cf. e.g. d’Agostino 2009, 172, 185–87.
- 1731** Cf. d’Agostino 2009, 185.
- 1732** Cf. d’Agostino 2010.
- 1733** Shaw 1989; 2000. See also Bikai 2000 for the Phoenician pottery found in the center.
- 1734** Pacciarelli 1999, 59; 2001, 218–36. For southern Italy, the traditional chronological dating based on the chronology of imported Greek pottery and on the timing with the colonial foundations (Cumae and Syracuse in particular) is reaffirmed by d’Agostino 2005. For the correlations between the chronological series of Pontecagnano and Torre Galli cf. d’Agostino and Gastaldi 1988, 110–15.
- 1735** Hölbl 1979, II, 254–55; 2006, 32–4. See also De Salvia 1999, 213–14; 2006a, 14–16.
- 1736** Pacciarelli 1999, tombs 41, 92, 117, 150, 161, 202, 269; Sciacca 2010; Botto 2010, 60–5; 2011c, 157–62. See also Mercuri 2004, 146–67 for the role of the Euboean component.
- 1737** Pacciarelli 2007, 119–20, 122–23.
- 1738** Cf. d’Agostino 2010.
- 1739** De Salvia 2006b. See also Melandri 2010; Botto 2011c, 165–69.
- 1740** Kourou 2005.
- 1741** Gastaldi 1994; 2006; 2007.

1742 Cf. d'Agostino 2010.

1743 Cerchiai and Nava 2008–2009; Gobbi 2011; Iannelli 20011.

1744 Cf. d'Agostino 2009.

1745 Cf. *supra* footnote 26.

1746 González de Canales Cerisola, Serrano Pichardo and Llompart Gómez 2004; 2008. For the possibility of placing the material from the deposit in a shorter chronological period from that proposed in previous studies (900–770 BCE): cf. Botto 2004–2005, 21–34; d'Agostino 2009, 177–82, figs. 10–11 (second half of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century).

1747 Gómez Toscano 2009.

1748 Botto 2004–2005; 2007, 81–7; 2011a, 33–7. See also Zucca 2005; Delgado Hervás 2008, 365–69; Ruiz- Gálvez Priego 2009, 109, footnote 33; Milletti 2011.

1749 Botto 2007, 109–15; 2008, 130–31. See also Bartoloni 2008; Bernardini 2008, 173–74, 179–80. For the discovery of Mycenaean material from the Nora promontory, cf. most recently Cucuzza 2009.

1750 The two routes, identified by careful scrutiny on the basis of the spread of the archaeological material in the historical phases are discussed in Botto 2011a.

- 1751** Oggiano 2000; Bernardini 2008, 161–69.
- 1752** Bartoloni 2002, 251–52.
- 1753** Maggiani 1973; Markoe 1985, 154–56.
- 1754** Besides the studies cited in footnotes 5 and 8, cf. the latest Papasavvas 2004.
- 1755** Bernardini 1991, 22–4; 2008, 174; Papasavvas 2004, 48. See also Mastino, Spanu, and Zucca 2005, 81–2, footnotes 429–30, fig. 1.7, 2–3, with details of two new tripods from a private collection found in the Nuragic settlement of Solarussa, in the lower Tirso valley. For these materials, however, it is preferable to suspend any form of judgement until their exact provenance is ascertained.
- 1756** Minarini 2000.
- 1757** Ponzi Bonomi 1970. See also Lo Schiavo, Macnamara, and Vagnetti 1985; Matthäus 2001, 174–45.
- 1758** The attribution is by Vagnetti 1974; 1996, 170.
- 1759** Matthäus 1985, 333–34. On the cult-wagons from the Italian peninsula cf. Naso 2002.
- 1760** Botto 2010, 71–3; 2011c, 162–64. See also Pace 2011, 86–9.
- 1761** Bedini and Cordano 1977, 275–81. See also Botto 1995; 2008, 138–41.
- 1762** Tomb 759 from the San Vitale necropolis, dated to the beginning of the ninth century: Pincelli and Morigi Govi 1975, 454–55, fig. 68. 8, plate. 305.
- 1763** Tomb 10 from the Poggio delle Granate necropolis, dated to the end of the ninth century: Bartoloni 1987, 38–41, figs. 8–11.
- 1764** Tomb 1032 from the Casale del Fosso necropolis dated to the local IIB phase, i.e. around the mid eighth century: latest Drago Troccoli 2009, 347–50, with previous bibliography.
- 1765** Maggiani 2002, 411–13.
- 1766** Cf. *supra* footnote 55.
- 1767** Botto 1995; 2008, 138–41; Maggiani 2002; Nijboer 2006.
- 1768** Botto 2010, 73–4.
- 1769** Drago Troccoli 2009, 350; Botto 2010, 74.
- 1770** Cf. about this Botto 2008, 139–40.
- 1771** Botto 2010, 84–5.
- 1772** Artzy 2006, 31, 57 (inv. J-48), fig. 2.3.1. The hoard was created between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the tenth centuries, based on the study of the pottery, the many bronzes found date to the twelfth and eleventh centuries.
- 1773** Lo Schiavo, Macnamara and Vagnetti 1985, 33, figs. 13, 8.
- 1774** Lo Schiavo 1990, 258, fig. 31.
- 1775** Matthäus 2001, 154–65; Botto 2010, 75–83.
- 1776** Artzy 2006, 29, 56 (inv. J-46), fig. 2.2, 3. For the dating of the bronzes from the hoard cf. *supra*, footnote 64.
- 1777** Ugas and Usai 1987, 192.
- 1778** Cf. Martelli 1991, 1058–59, fig. 5 c.; Botto 2010, 69–71, footnote 140.
- 1779** Botto 1993a, 16–20.
- 1780** Waarsenburg 1995, 196–205.
- 1781** Of the same idea is Waarsenburg 1995, 213–14; also Matthäus 2001, 164 seems to endorse this hypothesis.
- 1782** Camporeale 1969, 49; Strøm 1971, 129; Matthäus 2001, 164–65, 185–86.
- 1783** Botto 2008, 141–43.
- 1784** Delpino 1997, 186–90. See also Bartoloni 2007, 148–49.
- 1785** Delpino 2007, 138.
- 1786** Bartoloni 1991, 37, 43–4.
- 1787** De Santis 1997, 101–18; Zevi 1997, 179, 183; Botto 2011b.
- 1788** Hölbl 1979, I, 12–14, nn. 34, 36, 38; Nijboer 2005, 544.
- 1789** Cf. e.g. Camporeale 2007, 45–7; Botto 2008, 143.
- 1790** Drago Troccoli 2009, 350.

1791 Botto 2007, 81–7; 2008, 135–36; 2011b. See also d’Agostino 2006, 202; Gastaldi 2006, 117.

1792 On the relationship between Vetulonia and the Nuragic world cf. the latest by Camporeale 2007, 34–42.

1793 Cf. *supra* footnote 56.

1794 For the Greek component cf. d’Agostino 2006, 215–16; 2011, 35–6. For the Levantine one cf. Botto 2000; 2004–2005.

1795 For the role of Phoenician colonies in Sardinia cf. Botto 2007, 87–90; 2011b.

1796 Botto 1993b.

1797 Cf. d’Agostino 1999; Botto 2004b.

1798 Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 26–39; Sciacca 2005, 392–93, footnote 765, with previous bibliography.

1799 For the greater arts cf. **chapter 45** Menichetti, to which can be added van Kampen 2010. For the minor arts cf. **chapter 46** Micozzi.

1800 Botto 1990, 21–62.

- 1801** Cf. Colonna and von Hase 1984.
1802 van Kampen 2010, 31–2.
1803 Colonna 2000, 57; Maggiani 2008.
1804 Colonna 2000, 57–8.
1805 Naso 2016.
1806 Torelli 2000.
1807 Martelli 1995, 15, footnote 29.
1808 For the list of finds cf. Martelli 1995, 15, footnote 29; Botto 2005b, 58–9.
1809 Botto 2005b, 61–3.
1810 Gubel 1987, 231–38, type VII-a “Footstools with Voluted Supports.”
1811 Mazzoni 2002, 353.
1812 van Kampen 2010, 30.
1813 Karageorghis 2000.
1814 Strøm 2001; Botto 2004a, 178–85.
1815 Martelli 1996; Botto 2010, 92–100.
1816 Mandolesi and De Angelis 2011.
1817 Rizzo 1991, 1169–81.
1818 Martelli 1994.
1819 Botto 1993a; 2004b, 33–4.
1820 Aubet 1971, 196; Martelli 1991, 1064.
1821 Martelli 1991, 1069.
1822 Sciacca 2005, 407–22.
1823 Cf. *supra* footnote 114.
1824 Botto 2000; 2004–2005.
1825 Botto 2004a, 176, fig. 7; Sciacca 2005, 407, fig. 349.
1826 Sciacca 2005, 427; 2006–2007, 282–83.
1827 Botto 2004a, 177. See also Bartoloni 2007, 151–53, with previous bibliography.
1828 Botto 2000, 67–8.
1829 Botto 2011b.
1830 Riva and Vella 2006; d’Agostino 2010.
1831 Smith 2006; d’Agostino 2005.
1832 Stibbe 1980.
1833 Colonna 2006; 2007.
1834 Maras 2009.
1835 On the Federal League of the *duodecim populi*: Chiusi 2001.
1836 Smith 2006, 34.
1837 Menichetti 1994; d’Agostino and Cerchiai 1999.
1838 Malkin 2004, 215–29; Debiasi 2008, 39–62; Bonaudo 2008–9.
1839 Fibula from Castelluccio di Pienza: Benelli 2007, 188–90, no. 76.
1840 Cuozzo 2003.
1841 Torelli 1984.
1842 Cristofani 1995.
1843 Rendeli 1993; Bologna 1988; Manganelli and Pacchiani 2002; *Atti Etruria Meridionale* 2005; *Atti Chianciano* 2008.
1844 Pellegrino 1999; Rossi, 2004–5.
1845 Linington, Delpino and Pallottino 1978.
1846 Bonghi Jovino et al. 2001, 29–35; Chiaramonte Trerè 2008.
1847 Bartoloni and Bocci Pacini 2002.
1848 Maras 2009, 368–69.
1849 Volterra: Bonamici 2003, 36–43, 521–22; Capua: Minoja 2006.
1850 Bailo Modesti, Battista, Cerchiai and Mancusi 2005, 576.

- 1851** Zamarchi Grassi, 1992; 2006.
- 1852** Naso 1996, 118–28 (Tomba Cima), 154–64 (Tumulus of Grotta Porcina).
- 1853** Castellina sul Marangone: Prayon 2008; Gran Aymerich 2008; Acquarossa: Wikander and Roos, 1986; Poggio Buco: Bartoloni 1992; 2009.
- 1854** Paolucci 2000; Paolucci and Maggiani 2009.
- 1855** Casale Marittimo and Val di Cecina: Esposito 2007, Burchianti and Esposito 2009; Castelnuovo Berardenga and Valle dell’Ombrone: Mangani 1990; Murlo: Nielsen 2006.
- 1856** Maggiani 2006.
- 1857** Bartoloni 2002–03; 2009, 17–62.
- 1858** Cristofani 2003; Colonna 2004.
- 1859** Rix 1984.
- 1860** Pellegrino and Colonna 2002; de Simone 2004.
- 1861** Belfiore 2010.
- 1862** On the Etruscan institutional lexicon: Colonna 2005, 1871–90; Cristofani 1997.
- 1863** Maggiani 2005.
- 1864** Amann 2008.
- 1865** Colonna 2000.
- 1866** d’Agostino 1998
- 1867** Capua: Sampaolo 2008; Pompeii: Coarelli and Pesando 2011; Pesando 2010.
- 1868** Po Valley Etruria: Malnati and Sassatelli 2008, Sassatelli 2010; Prato-Gonfienti: Poggesi, Donati, Bocci, Millemaci, Pagnini and Pallecchi 2005; Doganella: Rendini 2010; Fratte: Pontrandolfo 2009; Pontrandolfo and Santoriello 2011; Pontecagnano: Cerchiai 2008.
- 1869** Govi and Sassatelli 2010.
- 1870** Cristofani 2003; Tuscanic temple: Guarino 2010.
- 1871** Maggiani 2000.
- 1872** Colonna 2005, 91–106; Della Fina 2008.
- 1873** Colonna 2003.
- 1874** Pontine plain: Coarelli 1990; Veii: Kahane, Threipland and Ward-Perkins 1968; Kahane 1977; Potter 1979; Caere: Enei 2001; Zifferero 2005; Adria: Sassatelli 2008; Harari 2008.
- 1875** Pontecagnano: Santoriello and Rossi 2004–05.
- 1876** Rome 1985; Della Fina 2006; Botto 2007.
- 1877** Ampolo 1987.
- 1878** Colonna 2005, 1745–1752; Cristofani 1993.
- 1879** Fiorini and Torelli 2010.
- 1880** Torelli 1990b, 183–214; Rome 1990.
- 1881** The bibliography on the theme of Hellenistic culture in Italy is immense. We will list a few recent titles, which should be consulted for earlier bibliography. See chapters 57 Gilotta and 63 Gilotta for the specific studies concerning the Etruscan monuments that are mentioned.
- 1882** On the background of Rome and central Italy during this period: Roma 1973; Cornell 1995, 369–98; Coarelli 1996, 2011.
- 1883** For recent overviews, see Herakles 2011; Lane Fox 2011; Descamps-Lequime 2011.
- 1884** Andronicos 1984; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004.
- 1885** Pollitt 1974.
- 1886** Steingraber 2000.
- 1887** For the importance of the links between Apulia and Etruria, see Fischer-Hansen 1993.
- 1888** Baldassarre 1998.
- 1889** Carter 1975; Lippolis 2006.
- 1890** Comella 1994.
- 1891** Jolivet 1995.
- 1892** Menichetti 1995. For Etruria (tomb of the Curunas of Tuscania): Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983, 42–49. For Picenum: Naso 2000, 267–68. On the spread of the bronzes, especially on the travel of bronze workers from Latium to Etruria, beginning in the fourth

century, see Bonamici 1995.

1893 On Hellenistic painting in Greece, Magna Graecia, and the rest of Italy, see especially École 1998; Descamps-Lequime 2007; La Torre and Torelli 2011; Pollitt 2015.

1894 For a panorama of painted tombs of Macedonia and the variety of techniques employed, see Brecolaki 2006.

1895 Lydakis 2004.

1896 *CIL* I.651 = *ILLRP* 1197.

1897 Rouveret 1994. For the corpus of Praenestine *cistae*, see Bordenache Battaglia and Emiliozzi 1979, 1990; Jurgit 1986; Coppola 2000.

1898 Zevi 2000; Moreno 2001.

1899 Bottini and Setari 2007.

1900 Bottini and Setari 2009.

- 1901** Cifarelli, Ambrosini and Nonnis 2002–3; Ambrosini 2012–2013.
- 1902** For the comparison with the tomb of the Festons: Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 1973, 289. On the decoration of the tomb and its Hellenistic parallels, see Steingraber 1988; Harari 2010. For very similar decoration of a tomb in Alexandria, see Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2002.
- 1903** Ambrosini 2005, 176.
- 1904** Brecoulaki 2006, 206–8.
- 1905** Guimier-Sorbets 2007.
- 1906** Moreno 2001, 112–13.
- 1907** Maggiani 1995, 208–12.
- 1908** Rouveret 2002; Gilotta 2002.
- 1909** Plin. *HN* 7.125; for the texts and documents relating to these artists and to the portraits of Alexander, see Pollitt 1990 and Moreno 1995.
- 1910** Papini 2004, 2011; La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2011.
- 1911** Papini 2004, 111–19; Gaultier 2011.
- 1912** Strazzulla 1997; Papini 2004, 99–111; Avagliano 2011.
- 1913** For the depictions from Capua: Benassai 2001, 24–29, 210–15. For the tombs of Paestum (tomb of the Magistrate of Spinazzo): Pontrandolfo 1998.
- 1914** Lippolis 2006.
- 1915** Zevi 1970; see also Pesando 1990.
- 1916** Menichetti 1995; Gilotta 2002.
- 1917** Humm 2005.
- 1918** Plin. *HN* 34.26; cf. Humm 2005, 541–64.
- 1919** Heraclid. *Pont. fr.* 102 W = *FGrH* 840 F 23. On this notice and the view of Rome in the Greek sources, see Vanotti 1999.
- 1920** Zevi 2004.
- 1921** See [chapter 37](#) Marcone.
- I am very grateful to Enrico Benelli, Peter Garnsey and Alessandro Naso for their help and advice while writing this article.
- 1922** Torelli 1999.
- 1923** Gabba 1988.
- 1924** Ampolo 2009.
- 1925** Di Giuseppe 2008.
- 1926** Harris 1971.
- 1927** Musti 2005.
- 1928** Pallottino 1987.
- 1929** Sordi 1960.
- 1930** Celuzza 2002.
- 1931** Fentress 2003; 2004.
- 1932** Bandelli 2003.
- 1933** Harris 1971.
- 1934** Laffi 2001.
- 1935** Carandini 1985.
- 1936** Harris 1971, 167.
- 1937** Camporeale 2009.
- 1938** Festus, p. 262 Lindsay s.v. *praefecturae*; Carandini and Cambi 2002.
- 1939** Stanco 1994.
- 1940** Porena 2010.
- 1941** Bradley 2000.
- 1942** Harris 1971.
- 1943** Sisani 2009.
- 1944** Camin and McCall 2002.
- 1945** Terrenato 1998.

1946 Valvo 1994.

1947 Colonna 1983; see **chapter 88** Naso.

1948 As proven by an inscription, *AE* 1994, 612: Munzi 1994.

1949 Firpo 2009.

1950 Terrenato 1998.

- 1951** Witcher 2006.
- 1952** See, for example, the critical stand of Sisani 2002 with respect to Bradley 2000.
- 1953** Keay and Terrenato 2001.
- 1954** Roth 2007; cf. also the editorial in the inaugural number of the journal *Facta* in 2007.
- 1955** Alföldy 2005.
- 1956** Jehne 2006.
- 1957** On the period in general Torelli 1981b, 251–78; for an overview of the period of the Roman conquest, Harris 1971 is essential.
- 1958** Torelli 1985, 45–48.
- 1959** The mechanics of the allocations to the rural tribes are described in the classic work of Ross Taylor 1960.
- 1960** Torelli 1981b, 71–83; more recently, Torelli 2015, using epigraphic and archaeological evidence from the sanctuary of Gravisca, has reconstructed the end of the *servitus* at Tarquinia in the late 5th century BCE. An articulated picture of Clusium society during the era of Romanization has been drawn by Benelli 2009.
- 1961** According to Rix 1963, at Chiusi the ex-servi did not possess the *conubium*, which conversely was granted to their equivalents at Perusia (and Cortona, as we can now say in view of the *Tabula Cortonensis*: Scarano Ussani and Torelli 2002); as for the grant to ex-servi of the *ius honorum*, we cannot affirm or deny that this took place, keeping in mind that it is quite likely that the right was presumably granted to them in different ways and times.
- 1962** Rix 1963.
- 1963** Feruglio 2002.
- 1964** Scarano Ussani and Torelli 2002.
- 1965** *ET Co 1.5* = *TLE 634*.
- 1966** Torelli 2004–5.
- 1967** Torelli 1981b; more generally for the slave economy of Rome in Italy in the second-first centuries BCE, see Schiavone and Giardina 1981.
- 1968** Torelli 1970–71; Solin 1982; Zaleskij 1982 with prior bibliography.
- 1969** (Partial) list of Etruscans who received citizenship before the Social War in Harris 1971, 319–28.
- 1970** Reconstruction of the Perusian branch of the family tree in Colonna 2011.
- 1971** *CIE 5167* = *TLE*² 204 = *ETVs* 0.23.
- 1972** Morandi Tarabella 2004, 132–35.
- 1973** *CIL I(2)* 3903 *d*.
- 1974** Torelli 2012.
- 1975** Hopkins 1983.
- 1976** Torelli 1983; Torelli 2011a.
- 1977** Harris 1971, 148–52.
- 1978** Harris 1971, 202–5; Torelli 1981a.
- 1979** Torelli 2012.
- 1980** Torelli 1999b.
- 1981** See most recently the essays in Aigner Foresti 1998.
- 1982** The literature on the topic is endless (bibliography in Valvo 1988; but see also Harris 1971, 31–40): the problem of the dating of the fragment (which we believe belongs to the *Corpus* of Gromatici), which speaks of the completion of the last *saeculum* which the Etruscans assigned to the life of their own people, becomes further complicated by the uncertainties around the calculation of the length of the Etruscan *saecula*.
- 1983** Harris 1971, 271–98.
- 1984** This is the climate of the countryside of Tarquinia described by Cicero in the speech *Pro Caecina* (Frier 1983).
- 1985** See most recently Belfiore 2010.
- 1986** For Heurgon 1969b, relying on App. *B Civ.* 92.426, he was a follower of the Marian consul Cn. Papirius Carbo in Africa in 82, while for Sordi 1991 it is a matter of agrarian

allocations among veterans by Marius, whose activities in Africa not only included the foundation of colonies labeled *Marianae*, such as Uchi Maius (*ILS* 1334) and Thibaris (*ILS* 6790), but also the distribution of lands to his own veterans ([Aur.Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 73): Sordi's thesis seems more plausible than that of the French scholar.

1987 Sordi 1972; 1985.

1988 Harris 1971, 251–71.

1989 Munzi and Terrenato 1994.

1990 Cato fr. 62 P; cf. Livy 1.2, 5.33.

1991 The resistance was stronger in the northern cities, judging by the inscriptions; in general, on the problem of the survival of the Etruscan language once again Harris 1971, 169–87 remains valid, to which should be added Hadas-Lebel 1998.

1992 Mazzarino 1957; the general matter of the Romanization of Etruria is discussed by Mansuelli 1988.

1993 And perhaps not only in that sphere, if e.g. the popular hypothesis is true that the Italian word *matton* “brick,” of unknown etymology, is an Etruscan relic: Bolelli 1989, s.v. *Mattone*.

1994 The data are set forth in Torelli 1969 and 1982.

1995 Keppie 1983; 1984.

1996 Pliny's famous phrase (*HN* 3.70) describing the fate of the Campanian city of Stabia.

1997 Ward Perkins 1961, 57–75; Liverani 1987.

1998 Tarquinia: Bonghi Jovino 2009, with previous literature; Vulci: Sgubini Moretti 2011, 164, with previous literature; Rusellae: P. B(occi) P(acini), in Nicosia and Poggesi 1998, 92–94.

1999 Populonia: Gualandi and Mascione 2004; Perugia: Torelli 2011c, 86; Volaterrae: Bonamici 2011, with previous literature.

2000 Leo 1913, 291–94.

2001 See the collection of fragments by Santini 1995.

2002 Cited both by Servius (*Aen.* 10.200; *Serv. Dan.* 10.198) and by Verrius Flaccus, who was in turn author of *res Etruscae*: Torelli 1975, 146 n. 1.

2003 Musti 1970; 1981.

2004 Sordi 1960; 1989a.

2005 Also recorded in the *Liber Coloniarum* (215.3 L).

2006 Bocci Pacini and Nocentini Sbolci 1983, 31–33 n. 42.

2007 II13.2, 78–84; these are, as is well known, not exact copies.

2008 Heurgon 1969a; Torelli 1975, 142–46; Colonna 1987.

2009 Fuchs 1989.

2010 Torelli 1985, 39–48; Fuchs 1989, 53–54 n. 1.

2011 Liverani 1989, proposed substantially a reconstruction along the lines traced by Bormann 1887, 104–7, 124–26. Although ultimately he does not clarify in depth the function of the monument, perhaps a statue base rather than a throne or seat, his is currently preferable to my suggestion Torelli 1985, which sees the sequence as an itinerary.

2012 On this subject, besides Torelli 1985, see *La lega etrusca* 2001 and refer to these for the relevant bibliography.

2013 Recent discussion in Maggiani 2001.

2014 Liou 1969; Torelli 1971; Liverani 1989.

2015 Discussion in Torelli 1971.

2016 From the reign of Augustus is the Cortonan [C. ?] Metellius C. f. Stell. of *CILXI* 1905, which is difficult to read [*aed.*] *Etruriae* as suggested by Liou 1969, 68–70, but is rather [*pr(aetor)*] *Etruriae*, as already suggested by Bormann in *CIL ad loc.*, who also speaks very clearly in favor of the “high” chronology of the inscription on the basis of paleography. The inscription *CIL* XI7979, which mentions the *praetura Etruriae* of Sex. Valerius Sex. f. Clu. Proculus, comes from within a known Hellenistic hypogeum of the Perusine type of Vettona (Cultrera 1916; Scarpignato 1991). It was used from the second century BCE until the reign of Tiberius. Opposite has come to light a copy of the same text (Bonamente 1996), perhaps assignable to a reuse (for reasons of prestige) of a sepulcher of the late first or the second century, the period of the paleography of both inscriptions. It should not be considered, as I thought at one time (Torelli 1971, 493–94), a proof of the existence of the office in the Augustan-Tiberian period.

2017 Preliminary report in Stopponi 2009, with previous literature.

2018 Stopponi 2007, 501, figs. 40–42.

2019 “Bathing that dissolves fatigues” is the characterization of bathing found in the monumental Greek inscription of the Baths of the Forum of Ostia (Lazzarini 1983).

2020 Plin. *HN* 34.34; cf. Colonna 1998.

2021 Torelli 1968.

2022 Stopponi 2006.

2023 Scheid 1990, 677–94.

2024 Lists in Liou 1969 and Torelli 1971, to which add the Volsinian *praetor Etruriae* [-Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arrunt[ius Cate]llius Celer *cos. suff. c. a* 140, made known by Gros 1980 (= *AE* 1980, 426). For the importance and prestige of the *praetura Etruriae*, we may note that in this person’s *cursus* the mention of the *praetura Etruriae* occurs between the consulate and proconsulate of Africa, the highest positions he could hold.

2025 SHA *Hadr.* 19.1. Of the 13 known *praetores Etruriae*, 6 are senators, 3 *equites*, and 4 municipal magistrates (probably all *equites*); the 4 known *aediles Etruriae* are all municipal magistrates of unknown affiliation to the official orders of senators and knights.

2026 See most recently Amann 2002.

2027 Liou 1969, 88 n. 2. The title *iuratus ad sacra Etruriae* in *CIL* XI1848 = *ILS* 5019 must refer to the position of town delegate who contributed with the representatives of the other cities to the election of the *praetor* and the *aedilis Etruriae*.

2028 For these problems fundamental is Smith 2006, with extended discussion of the ancient

sources.

2029 For all the literature ancient and modern relating to the exhibition of lineages in patrician houses, see Flower 1996.

2030 Sordi 1989b; see also Ramelli 2003.

2031 Pers. 3.27–28: “an deceat tibi pulmonem rumpere ventis / stemmata quod Tusco ramummillesime ducis ?” (trans. Ramsay 1965).

2032 On this character, the bibliography is endless: for his Etruscan origins see Eberle 1958; on the literary aspects André 1967; most recently Freudenburg 2009.

2033 Colonna 2011.

2034 The date of the urn *ET* Pe 1.313 = *CIL* XI1963 = *CIL* I(2) 2037 is generally placed in the reign of Augustus on the basis of its material, marble, in my opinion a conviction without solid grounds. The reconstruction of the administrative history of Roman Perugia, which bears directly on the question of who was writing here, has recently interested (Sisani 2011), with arguments I intend to return to in a near future.

2035 Torelli 1975, 23–102.

2036 Morandi and Colonna 1995 have suggested seeing in the tomb an original foundation of the *Smurinas*, patently a very unlikely conjecture. Now Torelli 2013–4.

2037 Campana and Maggiani 1989; cf. Maggiani and Cherici 1986; Agostiniani and Giannecchini 2002, with previous literature.

2038 Fiorelli 1876, 19–20.

2039 See Torelli 1975, 97; on the Tomba del Cardinale, see A. Morandi 1983.

2040 Cic. *Div.* 1.119; *Fam.* 9.24; Suet. *Iul.* 81; Val.Max. 8.11.3; Plut. *Caes.* 63.1–7; perhaps the same *summus haruspex* who was close to Caesar in Africa in 46 BCE from Cic. *Div.* 2.52.

2041 *CIE* 5427 = *ET* Ta 1.16, identical to *CIE* 5566 (Morandi in *REE* 1997 [1999], 424–27, n. 47); on these events of the family tomb of the *Spurinas*, see now Torelli 2013–4.

2042 Nep. *Att.* 18; cf. Torelli 1975, 95–96.

2043 Torelli 2006.

2044 Intelligent discussion of the artistic program and of current interpretations in Lippolis 2011.

2045 Sources and documents in Torelli 1999a.

2046 Torelli 1999b, 150–64, with discussion of both the “Throne” and the family fortunes of the Plauti.

2047 Heurgon 1964, 83–84.

2048 Torelli 1975, 70–72.

2049 Cic. *Leg.* 2.19.21; cf. *Har.resp.* 9.18.

2050 Thulin 1905–9 remains fundamental.

- 2051** Torelli 1988, with previous literature.
- 2052** Illuminating is the synthesis by Momigliano 1984; see more recently Capdeville 1998.
- 2053** Weinstock 1950.
- 2054** Harris 1971, 4–8; from Caecina according to the fragment relating to the founding of Mantua in *Schol. Veron. Aen.* 10.200.
- 2055** Haack 2005; 2006.
- 2056** Torelli 2005.
- 2057** Torelli 2011b.
- 2058** Torelli 1975, 116–35.
- 2059** Serv. *eccl.* 9.46.
- 2060** He may be the same haruspex who dedicated the hypaethral shrine of Iuppiter Iurarius on the Isola Tiberina of *CIL* VI1105 = *CIL* I(2) 990 = *ILS* 3038 = *ILLRP* 186.
- 2061** Bormann 1887.
- 2062** An enigmatic city inscription (*CIL* VI 10213) speaks of *improbae comitiae* [sic!]; Syme 1956 correctly identified it with the consular rally held, contrary to custom, on the Aventine for the powerful *praefectus praetorio* of Tiberius.
- 2063** Torelli 1975, 136–42.
- 2064** Bonghi Jovino 2009, 14–17; Torelli 2012.
- 2065** Sources in *RE4A*, 2009–12 (S. Weinstock); cf. Wood 1980.
- 2066** List in Torelli 2011b.
- 2067** Briquel 1997.
- 2068** Montero 1991.
- 2069** Zos. 5.42, 42, 2.3; Sozom. 9.6.3.4.
- 2070** Montero 1991, 162.
- 2071** Maas 1992.
- 2072** Vitruvius II.1.3 (transl. F. Granger, Loeb Classical Library). For valuable discussions I thank Nancy Winter, Alessandro Naso and Fredrik Tobin, as well as Jesper Blid Kullberg for producing the watercolors of Fig. 39.2–3.
- 2073** Erixon 2001 (originally published in Swedish in 1932). For further studies on the huts of the Roman *campagna*, see Brocato and Galluccio 2001; Close-Brooks and Gibson 1966.
- 2074** Discussed by Colonna 1984.
- 2075** A very large Proto-Villanovan hut was discovered in the early 1960s in nearby Luni sul Mignone. It measured 17.2–17.4 x 9.0–9.1 m and had a completely dugout interior with a depth of between 3–6 m. It is an unusual building and was probably influenced by the Apennine Bronze Age houses on the same site; see Hellström 2001.
- 2076** Malcus 1984, 38; see also *Architettura etrusca* 1986.
- 2077** See plan in Karlsson 2006, 137 and fig. 264.
- 2078** Karlsson 2006, 141, fig. 265.
- 2079** Pohl 1977, 14.
- 2080** Pohl 1977, Cat. No. OHI:213, 57, figs 7, 10 and 49.
- 2081** It was reinvestigated in 1999; see Karlsson 1999.
- 2082** A similar arrangement with a channel and post holes at certain distances on the inside was found at Bronze Age Troy in 1998, belonging to Troy II (2550–2250 BCE); Jablonka 1999, Abb. 18–19.
- 2083** Negroni Catacchio and Domanico 2001, 341; Negroni Catacchio 1995.
- 2084** Hut Ab. 2 in Settore III; Negroni Catacchio and Domanico 2001, 351.
- 2085** The hut has a similar construction to wooden Norwegian stave churches, with their higher central nave; see Storsletten 2001.
- 2086** Erixon 2001, 453f.
- 2087** A good example comes from Fidenae, in Latium: see Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2001, 212, with further bibliography. The hut from the ninth century BCE has a rectangular plan with slightly convex side walls and measures 6.20 x 5.20 m. It is surrounded by a wide oval ring of postholes, in which posts were placed to support the eaves of the projecting roof. The

hip roof would have been almost oval in plan, continuously sloping down on all sides of the building. The walls were built up between upright standing wooden props placed at intervals of about 70–80 cm. The thickness of the walls was only about 20–25 cm. In the middle of the interior, four postholes, creating a wide square with sides of about 2.2 m, indicate the supports for the roof.

2088 Karlsson 2006, 125, 135.

2089 Pohl 1977, 64.

2090 Pohl 1977, Cat. No. OHII:10, 25, 59, fig. 52.

2091 Trotta 2001, 5–9; Fortunelli 2005, 59–61.

2092 Colonna 2002, 146–147, figs. 6–7.

2093 Ward Perkins 1959, figs. 5–6; more recently, van Kampen 2004, 25.

2094 Izzet 1999–2000, 134–138.

2095 Linington 1982, 117; see also Bonghi Jovino 2001.

2096 Bartoloni 2001, 361.

2097 As seen e.g. in the hut on the Palatine in Rome, dated to the eighth century. It consists of a rectangular deep cutting, creating the floor space, with outward-bowing sides. Along the edges of the cut for the floor there are substantial postholes cut into the bedrock. One post stands in the center of the hut, supporting the ridgepole.

2098 See the corpus by Bartoloni et al. 1987 and Bartoloni 1998.

2099 For a longer discussion, see Damgaard Andersen 2001, 246–248.

2100 From Poggio Selciatello necropolis, tomb 45; Cristofani 1985, 50f.

- 2101** This is seen in the early houses of Old Smyrna in Asia Minor, as well as at Leontinoi in Sicily.
- 2102** Dugouts in the soil were discovered at Acquarossa. Eva Rystedt (2001) interprets them as dugouts for huts.
- 2103** Vitr. II.I.3 (transl. F. Granger, Loeb Classical Library).
- 2104** Ridgway and Serra Ridgway 1994. I thank N. Winter for this reference.
- 2105** On this issue, see also Colonna 1986.
- 2106** Karlsson 2006, 135 (Cat. nos. 247, 274, 298 and 328; figs. 188, 211, 224 and 250).
- 2107** H.M. Morgan (1914, 39) translates this passage as “lumps of dried mud.” Vitruvius uses forms of the term *luto*, which in the Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford 2000) is translated “to cover with mud or clay, daub.” It thus seems difficult to know whether Vitruvius means mud or clay when he talks about this material.
- 2108** The area was excavated in 1960–1965 and published in 2006. The pottery consisted of spiral amphorae, buccheroid impasto and the so-called Faliscanizing kantharoi (see Karlsson 2006, 151). The pottery is of the same types that were discovered in the Tomba della Capanna (Tomb of the Thatched Roof) in Cerveteri, now dated to around 700 BCE: see Naso 2001, 35; Prayon 1990, 513, who dates it to 680 BCE, and Prayon 2001; see also Boëthius 1968.
- 2109** Thirty-eight daub fragments were found in House I, several with impressions of branches (see Karlsson 2006, 147, fig. 272).
- 2110** Ward Perkins 1959, 59; van Kampen, 26.
- 2111** Boëthius 1968.
- 2112** Tamburini 1995.
- 2113** De Angelis 2001; Gastaldi 1998.
- 2114** Bartoloni and Delpino 1975.
- 2115** Boitani, Neri and Biagi 2009.
- 2116** Iaia 2009 with references.
- 2117** Rizzo 2005 with references.
- 2118** Tamburini 1995.
- 2119** Taglioni 1999.
- 2120** Carancini 1984.
- 2121** Zimmermann 2007.
- 2122** Antonacci Sampaolo et al. 1992.
- 2123** Toms 2000, 98.
- 2124** Gastaldi 1998, 52.
- 2125** Arancio, Moretti Sgubini and Pellegini 2010.
- 2126** Follo 1992; Toms 2000.
- 2127** Follo 1992.
- 2128** Lehoërff 2007, 182.
- 2129** Peroni 1966.
- 2130** Bianco Peroni 1970; Bietti Sestieri and MacNamara 2007.
- 2131** Bianco Peroni 1970.
- 2132** Gastaldi 1998, 42.
- 2133** Hencken 1971, 4; Iaia 2005, 47; see [chapter 44](#) Iaia.
- 2134** Hencken 1971; von Hase 1988; Iaia 2005.
- 2135** Iaia 2005, 66.
- 2136** Kilian 1977; von Hase 1988; Iaia 2005, 88.
- 2137** Colonna 1991; Geiger 1994; Iaia 2005.
- 2138** Colonna 1991.
- 2139** Iaia 2005, 264.
- 2140** Jockenhövel 1974; Iaia 2005; see [chapter 44](#) Iaia.
- 2141** Marzoli 1989; Geiger 1994; Iaia 2005.
- 2142** Marzoli 1989; Geiger 1994.
- 2143** de Marinis 1999, 605; Zipf 2006 with references.

- 2144** de Marinis 1999.
- 2145** Corretti and Benvenuti 2001. See **chapter 26** Corretti.
- 2146** Hartmann 1982, 65–75.
- 2147** D’Agostino and Gastaldi 1988; Gastaldi 1998.
- 2148** Kilian 1970; Gualtieri 1977, 218.
- 2149** Hartmann 1982.
- 2150** Pacciarelli 2001.

- 2151** Iaia 2006.
- 2152** Gualtieri 1977.
- 2153** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 26–28.
- 2154** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 30–31.
- 2155** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 30.
- 2156** Bellintani 2004.
- 2157** Forte 1994; Boiardi et al. 2006.
- 2158** Setti 1998.
- 2159** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 28, fig. 3.
- 2160** Setti 1998; Boiardi et al. 2006, fig. 6.
- 2161** Forte 1994; Boiardi et al. 2006.
- 2162** Cygielman and Pagnini 2006, 146.
- 2163** Boiardi et al. 2006.
- 2164** See Pacciarelli 2001 for a complete analysis and interpretation of the data. See also **chapter 33** Pacciarelli.
- 2165** Bartoloni 1989.
- 2166** Bettelli and Di Pillo 2000; De Angelis 2001.
- 2167** Iaia 1999a.
- 2168** Iaia and Pacciarelli 2012.
- 2169** Mandolesi 1999.
- 2170** Negroni Catacchio 1987; Pacciarelli 1989–90; 2001.
- 2171** Johannowsky 1983; Melandri 2011, with bibliography.
- 2172** d’Agostino and Gastaldi 1988; De Natale 1992; Gastaldi 1998.
- 2173** Kilian 1970; Trucco 1994; Ruby 1995.
- 2174** Sassatelli 1999; Taglioni 1999; Ortalli 2008; Malnati 2010.
- 2175** von Eles 1999; 2002.
- 2176** Peroni 1992; Drago Troccoli 2003; Montali 2006.
- 2177** Pacciarelli 2001; Iaia 2005.
- 2178** Pacciarelli 2009.
- 2179** Pacciarelli 2006.
- 2180** Pacciarelli 2010.
- 2181** Pacciarelli 1999; 2001.
- 2182** Giardino 1995.
- 2183** Pacciarelli 2001, 170–76, with bibliography. See also Pacciarelli 2009, footnote 34.
- 2184** Peroni 1969; 1989; 1994; 1996; Colonna 1985; 1986.
- 2185** Pacciarelli 1989–90.
- 2186** Pacciarelli 2001.
- 2187** d’Agostino 1982.
- 2188** Pacciarelli 2001.
- 2189** Peroni 1989; 1994; 1996.
- 2190** Iaia 1999b; Pacciarelli 2010; Iaia and Pacciarelli 2012.
- 2191** Bartoloni 2003, 57–63; for the helmets see Iaia 2005.
- 2192** Analyzed in Pacciarelli 2001, **chapter 6**. About aristocratic society in Iron Age Veii see also Bartoloni et al. 1997; De Santis 2005; Drago Troccoli 2005.
- 2193** Toms 1986.
- 2194** Colonna 1988.
- 2195** Capogrossi Colognesi 1981; 1988.
- 2196** Buranelli 1981; Buranelli, Drago, and Paolini 1997; Drago Troccoli 2005.
- 2197** Although not well preserved, this *corredo* includes, among other things: thirty-five bobbins, a bronze distaff, at least twenty-four fibulae (one with a wrapped gold wire, and fourteen with amber elements on the bow), a tripod and two bronze vases, a bronze girdle, iron andirons, more than 138 amber beads and pendants, 1,138 glass beads, *faïence* amulets, gold beads and ornamental discs, an electrum spiral.

2198 Hencken 1968: 200–20; Kilian 1977; Babbi and Peltz 2013.

2199 Carandini 1997; 2006.

2200 Peroni 1981.

- 2201** Pacciarelli 1991.
- 2202** Iaia 1999, 123; see also Trucco 2008.
- 2203** A very similar situation can be found in Veii, in the opening areas of Grotta Gramiccia and Quattro Fontanili necropolises (Bartoloni 2003, with previous literature) as in some of the oldest burial settlements in Sala Consilina (Trucco 1994) and in the early stage of S. Vitale necropolis in Bologna (Pincelli and Morigi Govi 1975).
- 2204** e.g. in Vulci, Tarquinia, Bisenzio, Veii and Caere.
- 2205** In the Po Valley, we can find cobblestone-covered pit-tombs or with lytic box in the necropolises in and around Bologna (Pincelli and Morigi Govi 1975; Silvestri 1994, with previous literature).
- 2206** Spinning tools have been found in several women's graves, but they are much more in these ones.
- 2207** Weapons are not usually found in men's graves at this stage.
- 2208** Peroni 1981.
- 2209** Berardinetti and Drago 1997, 40.
- 2210** Carandini 1997, 475.
- 2211** Some examples of men's graves are known in Tarquinia, Vulci and Vetulonia.
- 2212** We refer especially to the famous sheet bronze urn in the Osteria necropolis at Vulci (Fig. 39.6), which has been interpreted as a reproduction of a hut used in worshipping practices (Torelli 1997a).
- 2213** *Fibulae* are often burned, suggesting the practice of lying bodies on the pyre with their clothes and ornaments, maybe after an exposition of the deceased. At times there are also unburned *fibulae* which are plausibly intended to individualize the dead even after his cremation.
- 2214** Bartoloni et al. 1997, 90–6.
- 2215** In Etruscan Campania, we can observe, at this stage, burials in quadrangular graves, which are emphasized by a circle of square stone tuff blocks or travertine slabs (d'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988, 241), while in northern Etruria—for example at Vetulonia—broken circle graves are largely used and house burials of members of the same family, which are placed in circles of stones wedged into the ground (Bartoloni 2003, 96–7, with previous literature).
- 2216** Ghini et al. forthcoming.
- 2217** Often containing servings of food or beverages.
- 2218** Beside the pyre during the cremation (pottery placed in the *main chamber* usually with the burnt carbon remains) or, in the deposited defunct honor (pottery placed in the “*dromos*”) at the time of tomb covering.
- 2219** To this we can refer, as a rite of passage, the intentional breaking of the objects used during the ceremony and placed, even partially, into the grave.
- 2220** Delpino 1977, 175.
- 2221** Bartoloni 1984, 21.
- 2222** d'Agostino 1982.
- 2223** Metal cinerary urns and clothes wrapping the burned remains are used from this period in some Etruscan graves and that can be related to a clear reference to the Greek rituals. (Bartoloni 1984, 13–15; d'Agostino 1996).
- 2224** Delpino 2005.
- 2225** This cinerary urn was also placed in the lower part in a bronze half sphere, probably used as the mask after the receiving of Hellenic heroic funeral ceremonies in Tarquinia, which were adapted to the oldest funeral rituals by the local aristocracy.
- 2226** Bartoloni et al. 1997, 100.
- 2227** Mangani 1995, 385.
- 2228** d'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988, 197.
- 2229** Trucco 1994.
- 2230** Boiardi von Eles 1994, 102; Trocchi 2004, 64.
- 2231** It has been studied that ritual dressing, showed by ornament goods and/or weapons upon

or at the feet of the cinerary urn in Verucchio graves, is a widespread phenomenon both in female and male tombs (Bentini et al. 2015).

2232 Boitani 2004.

2233 Torelli 1997a, 38; 2006, 410.

2234 Tovoli 1989, 142–4.

2235 De Santis 2005.

2236 In this phase imported vases from Greece or the Near East were commonly used, especially in southern Etruria and in Campania. These vases were displayed as *keimelia* with the grave goods. That was a sign of commercial trade, spread in the form of aristocratic gifts, ever more firmly in the hands of local elites (for an overview: Sciacca 2010). The use of these products, soon locally imitated with frequent formal contamination with types of Central Europe, will have a key role in the spread of Greek and Near Eastern conviviality manners among members of the rising Tyrrhenian elites (Iaia 2010, 40–41, with previous literature).

2237 Horse harness elements are not exclusively used for male burials. In women's graves they can be connected to certain uses of chariots.

2238 Torelli 2006.

2239 Transmitted even in the female line. In Etruria, axes are not exclusively a male attribute. In Veii and Verucchio they can be found in women's graves from the late eighth and the early seventh centuries (Berardinetti and Drago 1997; von Eles 2007, 83).

2240 Laneri 2007.

2241 As for the actual location of these people, it has been suggested to identify them as a sort of *reges curiarum*, from the Roman model (Menichetti 2000, 205).

2242 Several Latin historiographical and literary attestations, concerning liturgies even for the early Etruscan religion, can be in some cases added to these data.

2243 Bonghi Jovino 2008 with previous literature.

2244 Anthropological analysis showed that he was an albino person affected by encephalopathy. This could have been a special ritual for “*monstrum*” figures.

2245 The presence of a Euboic *olla* on the body suggest the identification of this man as a Greek. The remains analysis showed that he died from violent death.

2246 Naso 2012 with previous literature.

2247 For example, the wall cross-boundary.

2248 Several examples are known in Tarquinia (Iaia 1999), in Veii (Berardinetti Insam 1990, 12), in Vetulonia (Delpino 2007) and in many male and female elite burials, in and around Bologna (Trocchi 2004, 63; Locatelli 2010, 219–20).

2249 Torelli 1997a, 38.

2250 Naso 2006.

2251 Tovoli 1989; Naso 2006.

2252 Torelli 2006.

2253 The described vascular forms have been related to the roman *praefericulum*, a worship vase described by Festus as owned by *rex sacrorum* and *regina sacrorum* (Fest. 292. L) and connected with the worship of *Ops Consiva* (Torelli 1997b; 2006).

2254 Documented by graves in Bisenzio, Veii, Roselle, Vetulonia, Chiusi (Cygielman and Pagnini 2006 with previous literature), and in Verucchio (von Eles and Trocchi 2015).

2255 Delpino 2007.

2256 For a complete description and the main interpretations of this depiction, representing many religious but also social and political implications: Torelli 1997a; Carandini 2002, 239–54; Pacciarelli 2002. For a typological analysis of this item: Iaia 2010, 36–7). One of the oldest examples of these cups comes from this rich woman's grave

2257 Torelli 2000 with previous literature.

2258 Torelli 1997a, 41.

2259 The embracing act is more emphasized in the plastic group lid in Chiusi, interpreted as a sexual union between the defunct and the underworld goddess (Torelli 1997a).

2260 Torelli 1997a; Pacciarelli 2002. See also **chapter 16** Chericì.

2261 For this priest college in Etruria we refer to the famous tomb 1036 in Veii Casale del Fosso (Boitani 2001, 112), with two bilobed shields (lat. *ancilia*) covering the deceased. The burial is enriched with a complete *panoplia*, a scepter and a club. The use of this kind of armor refers to the Salii priesthood, traditionally founded by the Roman king Numa, but also attested later. The club used to beat on the *ancilia* is closely related to the Salii worship. For this grave we refer to Morrius, king of Veii (Colonna 1991), who was connected with Numa in Servio's *epitome* to Virgil's Aeneid (Serv. *Aen.* 8.285).

2262 Pacciarelli 2002.

2263 The spear and club armed character would then be the hero in his act of facing *Cacus*, the robbery perpetrator.

2264 The choice of Heracles would be intended to represent warrior values and the acceptance of common rules and proprietary rights, which are recognized to be basic values for the authority of the aristocracy of the main Etruscan sites. The fact that it is a “class” affirmation and not an individual one is well proved by the placement of the representation of this male ritual on the monumental cinerary urn in a woman's grave.

2265 A direct relationship between Etruria and Euboean Greek world certainly started from the second quarter of the eighth century (d'Agostino 2006).

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2266 Many aspects of the economy of the Early Iron Age in Etruria are presented in other chapters; topics such as shipping (**chapter 22** Pomey), mines (chapters 25 Zifferero and 26 Corretti), weights (**chapter 28** Maggiani) and settlement patterns (**chapter 72** Zifferero).

2267 These topics are examined in other chapters. See chapters 41 Pacciarelli and 44 Iaia.

2268 E.g. Barbaro 2010.

2269 The majority of these prescribed burial grounds grew considerably in the centuries to come.

2270 E.g. Nijboer 2008, 426.

2271 See **chapter 41** Pacciarelli. The term “chiefdom” needs to be specifically defined for conditions in Etruria. The few EIA 2 elaborate warrior tombs might represent chiefs but their position does not seem to become hereditary. The figurehead can be labeled chief, rex or king. As such he represented the formal cooperation of the various clans and their respective heads living in the main settlements of Etruria (De Santis 2005; Nijboer 2008, 440–4). It is probable that early state formation started in EIA 2.

2272 These figures are rough estimates and varied per site or territorial unit. I have maintained low to average figures.

- 2273** See chapters 69 Perkins and 72 Zifferero.
- 2274** E.g. Costantini and Costantini Biasini 1987; Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 73–4.
- 2275** E.g. Delpino 1997; 2007; Mori Secci 2005, 70–2; Bonghi Jovino 2010, 163.
- 2276** E.g. Fiorentino 1995; Elevelt 2002; Cazzella and Recchia 2009, 27–8.
- 2277** Bartoloni 1989, 51.
- 2278** Nijboer 1998, 235–40 (Figs. 25.1 and 26.1).
- 2279** Zifferero 1991; 1992; Giardino 1995.
- 2280** Östenberg 1983; Zifferero 1991, 219–21.
- 2281** Similar evidence is recorded from the nearby settlement at M. Piombone (Nardi 1972, 106).
- 2282** Nijboer 1998, 208–209, 238. Giumlia-Mair states that the provenance of tin in Italy is still unresolved and that it might even derive from central Europe (Giumlia-Mair 2003). This remains a hypothesis, though exchange routes between Italy and central Europe existed from ancient times onwards and intensified during the ninth and eighth centuries; see **chapter 44** Iaia.
- 2283** See **chapter 41** Pacciarelli; Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 61.
- 2284** Warden 1984.
- 2285** Bietti Sestieri 1981.
- 2286** However, this possibility cannot be entirely excluded. In a comparison study of seven early civilizations (early city and territorial states), Bruce Trigger mentions mining often as corvée labor (Trigger 2003, 377–89).
- 2287** Mandolesi 1999, 174; 1996, 56; for other sites, see Pacciarelli 2001, 170–6.
- 2288** Mandolesi 1996, 57.
- 2289** Consult for more data on this issue, **chapter 44** Iaia.
- 2290** E.g. Bietti Sestieri 2005, 20–21.
- 2291** For a reconstruction of the amber trade during the Late Bronze Age, see Negroni Catacchio, Massari and Raposso 2006.
- 2292** Nijboer 2011; http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/bao_document/articoli/1_NIJBOER.pdf
- 2293** Mielke and Torres Ortiz 2012; Nijboer 2011. Others have discussed the introduction of iron using different data: e.g. Delpino 1988; Nijboer 1998, 219–35; Vanzetti 2000, 149–150. Iron might have been worked occasionally in Italy from the last phase of the Final Bronze Age onwards (e.g. Delpino, Giachi and Pallecchi 2004). A fully-fledged use of iron in Italy pertains to the ninth-eighth centuries and later.
- 2294** Hart 1982. The sequence is discussed in Nijboer 1998, 62–3.
- 2295** Nijboer 1998, 297–338. It needs to be stressed that even in pastoral societies opportunities were created for exchange on much-frequented locations such as bush markets (Brown 1995, 2).
- 2296** Pare 1999; Peroni 2001; Cardarelli, Pacciarelli and Pallante 2001.
- 2297** See Lehoërff for a thorough description of the changes in bronze working from the twelfth to the eighth centuries (Lehoërff 2007).
- 2298** E.g. Snodgrass 1971, 229.
- 2299** Once there was a reservoir of iron tools and weapons, which could be reused, the devaluation of iron became inevitable (Nijboer 1998, 230–235). There is no evidence for hoarding of just iron.
- 2300** Tamburini 1995, 209–21, 354–62; Bartoloni 1989, 110–11.

- 2301** Giardino and Gigante 1995; Nijboer 1998, 268–70. The imports at Gran Carro are predominantly metals. The economy at the site was based on the exploitation and processing of nearby resources with little direct communication, although culturally the site appears to be related to the Latial *koinè* (Tamburini 1995, 353–62). The economy at Gran Carro was primarily self-supporting.
- 2302** See chapters 25 Zifferero and 26 Corretti.
- 2303** Giardino 1995, 119–33.
- 2304** Bartoloni 1989, 188; 1991, 20; Giardino 1995, 40–62. See chapters 25 Zifferero and 26 Corretti.
- 2305** For example, chamber Tomb PPG 7 dates to the first half of the eighth century. Though robbed, it is associated with imports such as some multi-colored glass beads and silver (Bartoloni et al. 2005).
- 2306** Hartmann 1985, 292.
- 2307** E.g. Nijboer 2008, 444–5.
- 2308** Iaia 2005, especially 221–70.
- 2309** However, see now for Veii, Boitani, Neri and Biagi 2009.
- 2310** Gleba 2008, 162–3; see also [chapter 29](#) Gleba.
- 2311** Nijboer 2006, 132.
- 2312** Brumfiel and Earle 1987, 5. See also Tringham 1996; Nijboer 1998, 37–8.
- 2313** Iaia 2005 ([Fig. 40.6](#)).
- 2314** Emiliozzi lists three chariots at Veii prior to 730 (Emiliozzi 1997, 324–7).
- 2315** E.g. Nijboer 2008. Euboean influence is especially traceable in ceramics, which are not considered luxury goods here. On the impact of the Euboean script see [chapter 21](#) Benelli.
- 2316** Trigger 2003, 342.
- 2317** E.g. Rice 1991, 266.
- 2318** E.g. Trigger 2003, 309–10, 376–82.
- 2319** E.g. Nijboer 2001; Lehoërff 2005.
- 2320** Compare, for the European Bronze Age, Kristiansen and Larsson 2005.
- 2321** Bietti Sestieri 1981, 1997.
- 2322** von Hase 1989; Camporeale 1998, 2004.
- 2323** Este: Capuis 1993, 115. Vadena: Marzatico 2001, 445. Bologna: de Marinis 1988, 55.
- 2324** Ortalli 2008.
- 2325** Camporeale 2004, 113; Iaia 2005, 242.
- 2326** Müller-Karpe 1961; Bianco Peroni 1970; von Quillfeldt 1995; de Marinis 1999.
- 2327** Iaia 2005, 77.
- 2328** Müller-Karpe 1961; von Quillfeldt 1995.
- 2329** Bianco Peroni 1970, 120–123.
- 2330** See also [chapter 40](#) Iaia.
- 2331** E.g.: von Merhart 1952; Jockenhövel 1974.
- 2332** Iaia 2005, 47.
- 2333** Eastern Hungary, Romania, and other areas of East-Central Europe: Clausing 2001, with references. See [chapter 40](#) Iaia.
- 2334** See [chapter 40](#) Iaia.
- 2335** Kytlicova 1991; Jacob 1995; Iaia 2005.
- 2336** E.g. Fossa, Abruzzo: Cosentino, D’Ercole and Mieli 2004, 232, pl. 190.2.
- 2337** Jockenhövel 1974; von Hase 1989; Metzner-Nebelsick 1997.
- 2338** Franco, Mallet and Wachter 1970.
- 2339** Jockenhövel 1974; Iaia 2005, 163–170.
- 2340** Metzner-Nebelsick 1997.
- 2341** Wirth 2006 with references; Iaia 2013.
- 2342** Iaia 2005, 224–238.
- 2343** See [chapter 40](#) Iaia.
- 2344** Kristiansen 1993.

2345 von Hase 1989.

2346 Camporeale 2007; see [chapter 40](#) Iaia.

2347 Lo Schiavo 1994; Bartoloni 1997; Lo Schiavo 2002; Milletti 2012, 206.

2348 Milletti 2012, 209.

2349 Lo Schiavo 2000. Dating of Nuragic boats to the Early Iron Age Phase 2, at the latest, is proved by the Falda della Guardiola hoard (Populonia) (Bianco Peroni 1970, n. 270; Lo Schiavo 2000, 143) and the recently discovered tomb 74 in the necropolis of Monte Vetrano, in southern Campania, dating to the third quarter of the eighth century (Iannelli 2011). According to some authors, finds in later contexts (in burials of the Orientalizing period at Vetulonia and in Greek sanctuaries in southern Italy) could well be “heirlooms,” preserved through many generations until they were eventually deposited in a burial or votive context: e.g. Lo Schiavo 2000, 2002; Milletti 2012.

2350 Lo Schiavo 1978, 2002; Gras 1980; Milletti 2012.

- 2351** Lo Schiavo 2008, with references.
- 2352** Ialongo 2010.
- 2353** Lo Schiavo 2000. Conversely, there is no need to refer Nuragic imports in Italy to Phoenician mediation (e.g. Gastaldi 1994; Cygielman and Pagnini 2002). A Nuragic-Phoenician “partnership” based on the procurement of metals is argued, on different grounds, in Botto 2007, 81.
- 2354** Ialongo 2010.
- 2355** Delpino 2002; Ialongo 2010.
- 2356** Delpino 2002; Camporeale 2007; Lo Schiavo 2008.
- 2357** Cygielman and Pagnini 2002.
- 2358** Camporeale 2007, 40. This aspect can be further highlighted by the pan-Mediterranean distribution of askoid jugs, from Iberia and northern Africa (Carthage) to Crete via Sicily (Lo Schiavo 2008, 433, fig. 13), which could indicate a pattern of mobility of Nuragic groups along a route connecting the eastern and western Mediterranean.
- 2359** Delpino 2002.
- 2360** Falconi Amorelli 1966.
- 2361** Lo Schiavo 1994; Bartoloni 1989.
- 2362** For Villanovan Etruria, see Castello and Mandolesi 2010.
- 2363** For southern Etruria, see Iaia and Mandolesi 2010.
- 2364** Bartoloni 2003.
- 2365** A historical overview: Domínguez 2007.
- 2366** The literature on this topic is enormous: general references regarding Italy and Sardinia in Botto 2007; Nijboer 2008. From a Greek perspective: Ridgway 2002. A useful synthesis is in Riva 2010, 46.
- 2367** See Ridgway 2002. In particular, outstanding discoveries at Iberian sites, such as at Huelva (maybe ancient Tartessos: Gonzalez De Canales, Serrano and Llompart 2004), along with the well-known evidence from the village of Sant’Imbenia in northwestern Sardinia (Botto 2007), have revealed the possible coexistence of Sardinians and Phoenicians.
- 2368** Nijboer 2006; Sciacca 2010.
- 2369** Ridgway 2002. On Pontecagnano, d’Agostino 2014, with references.
- 2370** Ridgway 2000.
- 2371** Botto 2007.
- 2372** Sciacca 2010. On the remarkable amount of *aegyptiaca* at Capua, especially scarabs of presumable Phoenician production, see Melandri 2011, 414–424.
- 2373** See [chapter 40](#) Iaia.
- 2374** Nijboer 2008. A critical look at Orientalizing and Orientalization: Riva 2010, 39–176.
- 2375** Iaia 2010.
- 2376** Sciacca 2005.
- 2377** On the wider picture, Boitani 2005 and Rizzo 2005, with references. At any rate, it is worth remembering that most pottery found at Pithekoussai is of Corinthian, not Euboean, type.
- 2378** Von Hase 1997; Naso 2006 with references.
- 2379** See the comments in Naso 2006. See [chapter 87](#) Naso.
- 2380** Colonna 2000; Rathje 2010.
- 2381** Principi 2000; Bartoloni 2003; De Santis 2005; Drago Troccoli 2005.
- 2382** Burkert 1998; d’Agostino 2000; Delpino and Flourentzos 2000; Prayon and Röllig 2000; Oriente 2005; Riva and Vella 2006; Rendeli 2007.
- 2383** Torelli 2000b.
- 2384** d’Agostino 2006.
- 2385** Gras 2000; Tsatskheladze 2006.
- 2386** Neri 2000.
- 2387** Marinatos 2001.
- 2388** Markoe 1985.

- 2389** Menichetti 2000; Naso 2000.
- 2390** Bonghi Jovino 2000; Tassi Scandone 2001; Torelli 2006; Fortunelli 2008.
- 2391** Delpino and Bartoloni 2000.
- 2392** Muscarella 1989; DeVries 2000.
- 2393** Liverani 2000; Gunter 2009.
- 2394** Matthiae 2007.
- 2395** Athen. 12, 514F.
- 2396** Sciacca 2005; 2010.
- 2397** Kurke 1992; Cristofani and Martelli 1994; Martelli 2008.
- 2398** Prayon 1975; Naso 2001; van Kampen 2003.
- 2399** Donati 1994.
- 2400** Sassatelli 2000; Torelli 2000a; Flusche 2001.

- 2401** Edlund Berry 1992.
- 2402** Waarsenburg 2001.
- 2403** Bartoloni 2000; Zifferero 2000; Naso 2007; 2011.
- 2404** Colonna 1993.
- 2405** Naso 1998.
- 2406** Hom. *Od.* XXIV 71–84.
- 2407** Colonna and von Hase 1984.
- 2408** Prayon 1974.
- 2409** Esposito 1999.
- 2410** van Kampen 2010.
- 2411** Steingraber 1985; Naso 1996; Naso 2010.
- 2412** Boitani, Neri and Biagi 2010.
- 2413** Micozzi 1994.
- 2414** Hom. *Od.* VII167 ss.
- 2415** Liv. 10.42.7.
- 2416** Dentzer 1982; Boardman 1990; Rathje 1994; Coarelli 1995; Matthäus 1999–2000; Delpino 2000; Menichetti 2002; Wecowski 2002; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003; Hammer 2004; Schmitt-Pantel and Lissarrague 2004; Ciacci, Rendini and Zifferero 2007; Baughan 2009.
- 2417** Delpino 1997; Torelli 2011, 115–27.
- 2418** Botto 2000.
- 2419** Ridgway 1997.
- 2420** Bartoloni 2006.
- 2421** Massa-Pairault 1992; Menichetti 1994; Torelli 1997; d’Agostino and Cerchiai 1999; Micozzi 2006; Thomson De Grummond 2006; Domenici 2009; Bellelli 2010.
- 2422** Minetti 1998.
- 2423** Edlund Berry, Greco and Kenfield 2006; Winter 2009.
- 2424** Torelli 1997.
- 2425** Emiliozzi 1997.
- I wish to thank Dr. Yvonne A. Mazurek for the English translation.
- 2426** Recent surveys on Etruscan Orientalizing handicrafts in Martelli 2008a; Naso 2012; Sannibale 2013.
- 2427** For a wide range of Orientalizing Etruscan jewels, see Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 35–51, 253–86 and Martelli 2008a, with further bibliography.
- 2428** Babbi and Peltz 2013, 233–9, 262–4, nos. 1, 10, pl. 1–2, 12–14.
- 2429** Waarsenburg 1995, 423; Cygielman and Pagnini 2006, 145–7; Arancio 2012.
- 2430** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 42, 277, no. 85.
- 2431** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 38–9, 262–65; von Hase 1995; 2000; Martelli 2008a, 126; Sannibale 2008.
- 2432** Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, 127, 3.1, with further bibliography.
- 2433** Martelli 2000, 469.
- 2434** Martelli 1991; 2000.
- 2435** Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, 55–7, 160–70, with further bibliography.
- 2436** Nicosia and Bettini 2000; Martelli 2000; Maggiani 2006.
- 2437** Minetti 2004, 452–3, with further bibliography.
- 2438** Martelli 2008a, 123; Babbi and Peltz 2013, 383–7, nos. 104–7, pl. 80–3.
- 2439** Martelli 2008a, 124; Martelli 2013.
- 2440** Martelli 1994 and 2008a, 125–6. In general on the Etruscan production of glass beads for fibulas see most recently Koch 2010.
- 2441** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 38, 257, no. 19; Principi 2000, 218–9, no. 250.
- 2442** Martelli 2008a, 124.
- 2443** Cataldi 2005; Babbi and Peltz 2013, 246–7, no. 4, pl. 5.
- 2444** Martelli 2008a, 124; On the scale pattern bowls, recently, Babbi and Peltz 2013, 247–52, no. 6, pl. 7–8.

- 2445** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 43, 285, no. 116.
- 2446** Botto 1993.
- 2447** Sciacca 2005.
- 2448** See [chapter 50](#) Micozzi.
- 2449** Torelli 2006; see also Rathje 2006 and Bonghi Jovino 2007.
- 2450** Strøm 2000; see also Jurgait 2000.

- 2451** Torelli 1997; Naso 2006.
- 2452** Geiger 1994, 115–6; Babbi and Peltz 2013, 259–62, no. 9, pl. 10–11.
- 2453** Boitani 2001.
- 2454** Sgubini Moretti 2000.
- 2455** Morandi 2013.
- 2456** Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, 161–2, n.4.8.
- 2457** Emiliozzi 2013, 782, 794. A new restoration, led by A. Emiliozzi, is now available in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.
- 2458** Naso 2006.
- 2459** Martelli 2005.
- 2460** Minetti 2004, 443–50, with further bibliography.
- 2461** Coldstream 2006.
- 2462** Martelli 1987, 9–15, 242–254; Martelli 2008b.
- 2463** Martelli 1987, 12, 245–6, nos. 7.1–3, 8, 16; most recently: Tanci and Tortoioli 2002, 177–8; Neri 2010, 261–4.
- 2464** Martelli 1987, 12–13, 251–2, nos. 20–24; Tanci and Tortoioli 2002, 180–191; Martelli 2008b; Neri 2010, 252–6.
- 2465** For whom M. Martelli (2008a, 137 and 2008b, 19) has recently proposed a Nesiotic provenance.
- 2466** See most recently Neri 2010.
- 2467** See most recently Neri 2010.
- 2468** Martelli 2008b, 17–18.
- 2469** Most recently, Drago et al. 2014 with further bibliography.
- 2470** Boitani 2010.
- 2471** Martelli 1987, 17–20; 2001; 2008b.
- 2472** Martelli 2001; Neri 2010, 244–52; Boitani, Neri, and Biagi 2010 (who propose the Painter also worked in Veii).
- 2473** See, with further bibliography, Martelli 2001; Bellelli 2010, nos. 3–5; Simon 2013, 495–7.
- 2474** There is much literature on this matter. Most recently see Bellelli 2010 and Bonaudo 2010, with further bibliography; Simon 2013.
- 2475** Martelli 1987, 263–5, no. 40; other references in Bonaudo 2010.
- 2476** Colonna 2014, 48–9.
- 2477** Martelli 1987, 20, 265, n. 41.
- 2478** Martelli 1987.
- 2479** Micozzi 1994, 183–200.
- 2480** Martelli 1987, 20, 246–7, n. 43; Micozzi 1994, 188–90; 2005.
- 2481** Micozzi 2005; Bonaudo 2010.
- 2482** Martelli 1987, 217–8, n. 49. Bellelli 2010 with further bibliography.
- 2483** Szilagyi 1992, 35–93.
- 2484** Martelli 1987, 25, 273–80, nn. 58–62; Szilagyi 1992, 95–127.
- 2485** See most recently, with further bibliography: Naso 2004; *Officina* 2011.
- 2486** Torelli 2000, 147.
- 2487** Colonna and Di Paolo Colonna 1997, 160.
- 2488** Sciacca and Di Blasi 2003, 172–3.
- 2489** Rizzo and Martelli 1988–1989; further bibliography in Bellelli 2010, 37, no. 14.
- 2490** On this matter most recently Cappuccini 2007.
- 2491** Ten Kortenaar 2011.
- 2492** Medori 2010.
- 2493** Serra Ridgway and Pieraccini 2010.
- 2494** See [chapter 18](#) Naso.
- 2495** See chapters 45 Menichetti, 46 Micozzi.
- 2496** See chapters 34 Botto, 50 Micozzi.

2497 Prayon 2001.

2498 Naso 2016.

2499 See [chapter 50](#) Micozzi.

2500 See the contributions of d'Agostino 2014 (Pontecagnano) and Naso 2014 (southern Etruria).

- 2501** Canciani 1987, 242–43, no. 3, for Pescia Romana; Mercuri 2004, 135, for the sherds from La Castellina, which have recently been attributed to an Etruscan geometric krater (Gran-Aymerich 2011, 412 nos. 1–6, fig. 156.7).
- 2502** For the Samian imitations see Gehrig 2004.
- 2503** Colonna 1977; see [chapter 21](#) Benelli.
- 2504** See several contributions in Étienne 2010.
- 2505** Colonna 1977, 185–88.
- 2506** Cristofani 1975, 1984.
- 2507** Bartoloni 1988. Further literature in d’Agostino 2011, 38.
- 2508** Respectively *TLE* 155 = *ET*, Ta 6.1 (from Tarquinii) and *TLE* 761 (provenance unknown, presumably Caere, now in the collection of New York University: Bonfante 2005). The mentioned interpretations are respectively by Mario Torelli, quoted in Torelli 2000, 146 and Jonathan Hall (2007, 257). For further examples of geographic mobility between Etruria and Latium vetus see [chapter 79](#) Naso.
- 2509** See the various aspects listed in Richard 1990, with previous bibliography.
- 2510** Linington 1980, 19–25 (periods 2–4). According to Giovanni Colonna, Linington’s period 2 corresponds to the Early Orientalizing (730–670), period 3 to the Middle Orientalizing (670–640/630), and period 4 to the Late Orientalizing (640/630–580): Colonna and von Hase 1984, 19–25.
- 2511** Bagnasco Gianni 2002, 621–23 lists the published tomb groups from B(anditaccia) L(aghetto).
- 2512** On the cemetery of Pontecagnano, still unpublished as whole (more than 10, 000 graves!), see Cuzzo 2007, 230–39, with previous bibliography. For the Daunian and Picenian finds: Cinquantaquattro and Cuzzo 2002; 2003.
- 2513** On the Regolini-Galassi chamber tomb, see Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 154–63; about the Banditella 2 at Marsiliana: Cianferoni 1988.
- 2514** Pontecagnano: Cuzzo 2003, 112 no. 25; Marsiliana: Cianferoni 1988, 103–4 nos. 19–20 (might no. 18 be a spatula for wool working?); Caere: Pareti 1947, 217 no. 150. On the importance of wool working in Etruscan society see Torelli 1997; on woolen items, see [chapter 29](#) Gleba.
- 2515** See chapters 53 Amann and 59 Amann.
- 2516** Colonna 2002, 354–55 with previous literature (eleven inscriptions at all, including one from Pontecagnano with the term *thina* not entirely preserved); Bruni 2007 (a further inscription on a trade amphora dating to the sixth century). See also Menichetti 2002 and [chapter 13](#) Kistler.
- 2517** Colonna 1993. The inscription is not surely authentic.
- 2518** See chapters 29 Gleba and 48 Trocchi.
- 2519** von Eles 2002, 235–72, esp. 268–72.
- 2520** For a detailed description of the *tintinnabulum* see [chapter 29](#) Gleba.
- 2521** Rathje 2007, 177.
- 2522** See [chapter 19](#) Naso.
- 2523** For the chariots see [chapter 24](#) Emiliozzi; for helmets: Iaia 2005, 45–112; for shields, Bartoloni and De Santis 1995; for fans, Guldager Bilde 1994; for parasols, Miller 1992 and Simpson 2014.
- 2524** Delpino 2000 for the literacy tradition and the archaeological finds. See [chapter 9](#) Tagliamonte.
- 2525** One scepter has been identified, which was found in the tomb Monte Michele 5 at Veii (Boitani 2001, 115–16 no. 15). The few bronze thrones from Etruria are listed by Naso (2006a, 362–63). The term “queen” has recently been suggested for the women interred in some rich burials, such as No. 2 of the cemetery of Banditella at Marsiliana d’Albegna (Martelli 2008, 134 footnote 5) and the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere (Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 167; Martelli 2008, 135 footnote 16).
- 2526** For Verucchio, see [chapter 76](#) von Eles; for Chiusi: Minetti 2004, 446–49.

- 2527** Curtis 1925, 46 no. 82 (throne), 21 no. 18 pl. 4 nos. 3–4 (probable scepter), and 36–37 no. 72 (cult wagon). The tomb contained several ivory items (22 no. 20, 36 no. 71) as well.
- 2528** Naso 2006b, with previous literature.
- 2529** On haruspicy see [chapter 20](#) Rollinger.
- 2530** See [chapter 48](#) Trocchi.
- 2531** Naso 2012.
- 2532** See for instance Volterra 1997.
- 2533** Prayon 1975.
- 2534** Mengarelli 1927, 169.
- 2535** Almagro Gorbea et al. 2011.
- 2536** According to the Old Testament (OT, 2 Chron. 2:13–14), at Tyre a single craftsman was able to work in several types of metals, timber, stone, textiles, and more (Pedrazzi 2011).
- 2537** The burial is dated to the late eighth century and was placed with female grave 872 in the middle of a larger group of burials related to a single unit (Drago Troccoli 2005).
- 2538** Bartoloni 2003. The interpretation of these crested helmets—which were also present in Verucchio— as priestly marks, is not unanimous. It can be an emphasis on the symbolic item value in order to glorify the warrior role during social ceremonies (von Eles 2002).
- 2539** Dated back between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century. We observe the closeness to the rich contemporary female grave Lippi 47 (von Eles 2002).
- 2540** Torelli 1997a.
- 2541** The same elements of priestly dignity, military role and political status are to be noticed in both examples as in the late previous stage in leading burials.
- 2542** A scepter, footrest and throne.
- 2543** Naso 2016.
- 2544** Zifferero 1991
- 2545** See d’Agostino 1996.
- 2546** The display of the deceased corresponds to that of the *prothesis* in Greece (d’Agostino 1996; Bartoloni 2003).
- 2547** Bartoloni 2000. That might have been the function of the terraced altars in some mounds in northern Etruria and of the steps with top shelf in Caere; the steps in some access *dromos* in upper- class graves in Tarquinia might have had a similar role.
- 2548** Kruta Poppi 2010.
- 2549** Marchesi 2011.
- 2550** Colonna and von Hase 1984.

- 2551** Corresponding in Greece to the *ekphorà* (d'Agostino 1996; Bartoloni 2003).
- 2552** Colonna 1997.
- 2553** Bartoloni 2000.
- 2554** Colonna and Di Paolo 1997.
- 2555** von Eles 2002.
- 2556** For the wagon as ritual element linked with the Near East custom: Torelli 2006.
- 2557** Polyb. VI, 53. About the affinity of funeral processions with triumphal parades see Torelli 2008
- 2558** During this phase, the shields were carved in relief or painted in many upper-class graves especially in Caere (Naso 1996).
- 2559** Torelli 1997b.
- 2560** Torelli 1997b.
- 2561** Among these, the most famous ritual description is that in Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which funeral ceremonies are celebrated in honor of Aeneas's father, Anchises (Verg. *Aen.* 5, 577–593).
- 2562** The same iconography can be found in one of the represented scenes on the oinochoe from Tragliatella, dated to 620 (Menichetti 1994) (Fig. 16.4).
- 2563** Delpino 2000.
- 2564** The first Euboean wine cups, or their local copies, were already an example in the second half of eighth century, especially in south Etruria, above all in Veii necropolises (Nizzo and ten Kortenaar 2010 with previous literature), and in Etruscan Campania (d'Agostino 2006).
- 2565** Torelli 1997a.
- 2566** Bentini et al. 2015.
- 2567** Rastrelli 2000.
- 2568** Poli and Trocchi 2007.
- 2569** Dore 2007, with previous literature.
- 2570** Mainly seen as worshiping tools (Bartoloni 2000). It has recently been suggested that for their axe shape they could represent a female version of status and power indications. This could show that these prerogatives were transmitted even in the female line (Torelli 2006).
- 2571** Boitani 2001, with previous literature.
- 2572** Esposito 2000.
- 2573** Torelli 2006.
- 2574** Iconography and sculptor are oriental, but the statues, holding the *lituus* and the scepter, have both symbolic local marks of power and social status oriental features.
- 2575** Colonna and von Hase 1984.
- 2576** Colonna and von Hase 1984.
- 2577** We have to observe ancestor figures even in the mourning statues in the *dromos* of the Pietrera mound at Vetulonia, and in the male figurines placed at the top of grave C mound at Casale Marittimo. The carved thrones in the “Tomba degli Scudi e delle Sedie” (Tomb of the Shields and of the Chairs) at Caere, dated to the beginning of the sixth century, have the same meaning (Bartoloni 2000).
- 2578** Rizzo 1989; Naso 1995.
- 2579** Boitani 2010.
- 2580** Menichetti 1994.
- 2581** Cianferoni 2007 with previous literature.
- 2582** With arms folded on her chest and pressing one hand to her breast while the other holds a small vase.
- 2583** See the raised handles with female figurines still spread in Chiusi and in Verucchio at this stage (Delpino 2007; Trocchi 2007a).
- 2584** The depiction of the fabrics manufacturing, as in the mentioned *tintinnabulum* in Bologna, is not related to the simple handmade manufacturing (Gentili 2003), but also to an aristocratic form of ceremony linked to the *mater familias* weaving role (von Eles 2002).

2585 Torelli 1997c.

2586 The environment is identified by the represented trees and animals around the main figurines.

2587 von Eles 2002.

2588 It would be particularly interesting the active women role in the ritual ceremonies administration.

2589 Trocchi 2007b. These *laminae* were attached to a fabric, which covered the cinerary on which they formed two identical and symmetrical scenes in a circular frame.

2590 Pacciarelli 2002.

2591 Bonghi Jovino 2008 with previous literature.

2592 The *lituus* is considered a symbol of political and religious power, and at the same time represents the prototype of the Etruscan *Auguri* typical worshipping tool.

2593 The building probably served at this stage both as a place of worship and assembly for a primitive kind of urban *curia* (Torelli 2006, with previous literature). A further interpretation considers the bronze items (axe, shield and *lituus*) as instruments originally used to inflict capital punishment (Tassi Scandone 2001). What is most interesting is why merely functionless objects were placed as offerings in a sacred place that was especially significant to the community, both from the religious and political perspective.

2594 The worship of female fertility goddesses has been suggested to have taken place during the previous stage as well.

2595 Colonna 2001 with previous literature.

2596 *Menerva* represents a very ancient form of worship, linked to fertility and oracular activities. It has been suggested that this goddess originated in the Latin and Faliscan areas and was then borrowed by Etruscan religion (Torelli 2000).

2597 Maggiani and Rizzo 2005.

2598 Similar to those of San Giovenale and Acquarossa.

2599 We refer also to the little *sacellum* in the aristocratic house court in Murlo—which shows the perpetuation of a strong aristocratic worship administration in northern Etruria—and to the *oikos* in Acqua Rossa (Sassatelli 2000 with bibliography) and in Veii Piazza d'Armi (Bartoloni, Acconcia, and ten Kortenaar 2005), both closely linked to aristocratic residences but at the same time perfectly included in the urban area.

2600 The votive depot in Tarquinia—whatever its interpretation—is also placed in a collective worship area and not in an upper class burial.

- 2601** For comments on the text, forwarded articles and discussion, I would like to thank Prof. A. Naso, Prof. S. Voutsaki, Prof. G. Bartoloni, Prof. A.M. Bietti Sestieri, Dr. A. de Santis, Dr. A. Rathje, Prof. A. Zifferero and my students. All dates given are BCE unless otherwise stated.
- 2602** E.g. Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 60–75, 117–20. I also consider the break between Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods around 580 somewhat contrived with respect to economy. Therefore I will occasionally refer to the first half of the sixth century in this chapter.
- 2603** See chapters 46 Micozzi and 47 Naso.
- 2604** This exercise in demographics merely reveals an order of magnitude. Density of population in the rising urban centers of Etruria requires a more detailed discussion that would stretch the purpose of this chapter. The estimate is based on number of tombs, selection criteria for burials, surveys and a couple of recent settlement excavations.
- 2605** Trigger 2003, 310–3, 397, 661–2.
- 2606** De Ligt 2008, 147–54.
- 2607** E.g. Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 193–199.
- 2608** Enei 1993.
- 2609** Potter 1979, 72–92; Perkins 1991. The data recording infill of the hinterland are more evident for the sixth century and later than for the seventh century.
- 2610** Enei 1993.
- 2611** E.g. Rizzo 1990.
- 2612** Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 197–8; Izzet 2007, 196–7.
- 2613** E.g. Bersani, Canalini, and Dragoni 2010.
- 2614** E.g. Nijboer 1998, 265–8, 272–7.
- 2615** E.g. Rendeli 1993; Izzet 2007, 189–207.
- 2616** Esposito 1999; Nijboer 2008, 444–5; see **chapter 71** Nielsen and Warden.
- 2617** Zifferero 1991b; 2002.
- 2618** See **chapter 72** Zifferero. Later, sanctuaries became “liminal” markers for larger, city-state frontiers, a trend that rose from around 600 onwards (e.g. Izzet 2007, 190–3). A comparable reading is given for Cortona (Fortunelli 2005).
- 2619** Minto 1921.
- 2620** Sciacca 2005, 123–45, 328–32, 431–40; Emiliozzi 1997, 320–2. See also Zifferero et al. 2009; 2011.
- 2621** In this sense Masiliana d’Albegna is like Verucchio (see **chapter 76** von Eles). It is probable that control over long-distance trade at key locations of the inland network resulted in display of wealth at some secondary sites as well.
- 2622** Nijboer 1998, 161–4; 265–8.
- 2623** Emiliozzi 1997, 319–29. See **chapter 24** Emiliozzi.
- 2624** Höckmann 2001, 228.
- 2625** See **chapter 22** Pomey.
- 2626** *Emporion*, gateway community, entrepôt and port of trade are used as synonyms here.
- 2627** Nijboer 1998, 48–50; 56–61.
- 2628** See **chapter 47** Naso. Patron-client relations and clan organization are used here as basic social principles of economic dependence and differentiation. They do not necessarily equal the socioeconomic conditions in Republican Rome.
- 2629** Ceremonies and feasts are reflected, for example, in the evidence from Murlo/Poggio Civitate, partially discussed in section 6; Nijboer 2012.
- 2630** See for notions on elite-sponsored production and corvée labor, Costin 1996 referring to the Inca civilization.
- 2631** Nijboer 2006; see **chapter 21** Haack.
- 2632** Nijboer 2012.
- 2633** Bound 1991, 232.
- 2634** Bound 1991, 229; Nijboer 1998, 316–7.
- 2635** Bound 1991, 203–11; Cristofani 1995, 131.

- 2636** Nijboer 1998, 297–338; 2006.
- 2637** Cascino 2008; Boitani, Neri, and Biagi 2009; Ambrosini and Belevi Marchesini 2010, 211.
- 2638** Gran-Aymerich 1993, 35.
- 2639** Nijboer 1998, chapter II.
- 2640** E.g. Micozzi 1994; Medori 2010; Neri 2010; Gabrielli 2010. The *impasto rosso* ceramic tradition is closely related to the early manufacture of tiles and other terracottas.
- 2641** For an impression of the considerable variability of pastes and ceramics in use during the Orientalizing period in the towns of Tarquinia and Caere, see: Bagnasco Gianni 2010; Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Trere 1997, 160–89; Bonghi Jovino and Biagnasco Gianni 2001, 1–397; Cristofani 1992, 29–31, 107–87; 1993, 217–71, 319–21, 351–64, 367–476.
- 2642** See [chapter 71](#) Nielsens and Warden, for a general description and interpretation of the site; Nijboer 2012.
- 2643** Stopponi 1985, 149.
- 2644** For a report on the site see Phillips 1993. The drainage tubes are published in: Stopponi 1985, 127–8.
- 2645** It was erected with the Italic/Oscan foot as the principal measuring unit, and is the earliest example in central Italy of the employment of a measure for construction works (Nielsen 1987, 91–2; Nijboer 1998, 326–8).
- 2646** Nielsen 1987, 116–9; Winter 2009, 52–4.
- 2647** Nielsen 1993; Warden 1993; Nijboer 1998, 277–81.
- 2648** Cristofani 1975, 11–12.
- 2649** Tobey, Nielsen and Rowe 1986; Nijboer 1998, 164–71.
- 2650** Phillips 1993, 56.

2651 See for the concept of poly-functional workshops, Bonghi Jovino 1990, 44–54.

2652 E.g. Winter 2009.

2653 Less than 4% of the site was excavated; extrapolation leads to a figure of 1,200 buildings (Wikander 1993, 137–9). However, extrapolation often results in high figures, which are not confirmed by cross-cultural analysis. Often, too little terrain is allocated to open spaces and public use such as defense systems, roads, alleys, squares and even vegetable plots. Nonetheless, a considerable number of houses must have existed at Acquarossa around 600–550.

2654 Wikander 1993; Nijboer 1998, 161–4.

2655 Camporeale 1997; Nijboer 1998, 270–2.

2656 Camporeale 1985, 135; 1997.

2657 Camporeale 1985, 26–78; 1997.

2658 Trigger 2003, 153.

2659 The percentages given here and in the abstract of **chapter 43** rest mainly on those provided by Trigger 2003, 154–7, 313. I have adjusted his percentages somewhat because he examined early civilizations that can be compared better to Etruria around 500–400 than to Etruria around 600. Slavery may have existed but we have no data that suggests it was widespread during the Orientalizing period.

2660 See **chapter 30** Li Castro.

2661 For Poggio Civitate see, for example, Rathje 1993.

2662 See **chapter 47** Naso. A recent exhibition exemplifies these firm relations for Vetulonia and Verucchio (Cygielman, Spaziani and Rafanelli 2009).

2663 See now Zifferero et al. 2009; 2011.

2664 For instance, Bound noticed that the Etruscan amphorae from the Giglio shipwreck lack standardization in dimensions (Bound 1991, 203–8).

2665 Colonna 2006, 658. Type Py 5 amphorae appear to have had more uniform dimensions. In her catalogue, Rizzo published four Py 5 amphorae, which have matching measurements (Rizzo 1990, 122, 141, 146). Bouloumié suggests that some Etruscan amphorae contained 21 liters while others contained 7 liters (Bouloumié 1982, 3–10).

2666 Höckmann 2001, 243.

2667 Trigger 2003, 321–31.

2668 E.g. Cristofani 1984.

2669 Enei 1993.

I wish to thank Dr. Yvonne A. Mazurek for the English translation.

2670 See e.g. Colonna 2002.

2671 Naso 2006 with further bibliography; see also **chapter 87** Naso.

2672 Marchesini 2004; 2010.

2673 Cristofani 1988. Relations between Faliscans and Etruscans were recently discussed in De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli 2013, with references.

2674 Di Gennaro 2007.

2675 De Santis 2005.

2676 See most recently Attema, Di Gennaro, and Jarva 2013 with further bibliography.

2677 Micozzi 2014 with further references.

2678 Martelli 2008, 136 footnote 26.

2679 Also suggested by the new specimen from Monte dell'Oro: Rizzo 2006.

2680 Naso 2000, 169–70, 206.

2681 Torelli 2010.

2682 Bonomi Ponzi 2010, 165–73, with further references.

2683 Colonna 2001, 17–19.

2684 Cenciaglioli 2001; Colonna 2001; on the most ancient Paleoumbrian inscriptions see now Benelli 2008.

2685 Manconi 2010; Bruni, Costamagna, and Giorgi 2014; Manca and Weidig 2014.

2686 Lo Schiavo and Romualdi 2009, 143–93.

- 2687** Lo Schiavo and Romualdi 2009, 151–57, nos. 1, 7–8, 10, 26–27. The fragment with embossed lions n. 10, tav. XXXVI could perhaps be a part of the lid of a Vetulonian pyxis (e.g., Camporeale 2007, 4–6, pl. Ia-b), rather than a small shield.
- 2688** Lo Schiavo and Romualdi 2009, 19–141.
- 2689** Shefton 2009; 2014
- 2690** Lo Schiavo and Romualdi 2009, 63–66, nos. 38–42, figs. 20–21; Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 149–50, no. 170 (Pitino); Bonomi Ponzi 2010, 170, fig. 13 (Terni).
- 2691** Martelli 2007.
- 2692** Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 62 no. 11, 189–90 no. 229.
- 2693** Rocco 1999, 117–25; Martelli 2007.
- 2694** Sabbatini 2003; Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 125–29 nos. 157–62.
- 2695** See [chapter 46](#) Micozzi. Most recently Martelli 2013.
- 2696** Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 95–96, with references.
- 2697** Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 181–83 no. 220.
- 2698** See, most recently: Lo Schiavo and Romualdi 2009, 71–74 no. 53 (R.M. Albanese Procelli).
- 2699** Naso 2000, 104, 126, 113, 117. Tomb 17 of Pitino is certainly a woman's grave (Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 143–44).
- 2700** Egg 1999; Naso 2007; Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 78–83 nos. 68, 75 (with composite calotte), 211–12 nos. 252–53 (*Buckelhelme*), with references.

- 2701** Principi 2000, 234 no. 263.
- 2702** Regarding this context in the relationship between the two sides, see Naso 2000, 168–79.
- 2703** Martelli 2005.
- 2704** De Juliis 2001, 262.
- 2705** Stopponi 2003.
- 2706** Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 193–94 no. 232, 231–33 no. 307; Coen 2013, 210–12, figs. 2–3.
- 2707** Rocco 1999; recently Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008, 103–4 no. 121, 136–37 no. 169.
- 2708** Sciacca 2005, 378–79; Camporeale 2007, 7.
- 2709** Camporeale 2007.
- 2710** Martelli 2005, 320–25.
- 2711** Especially Olympia and Samos: Naso 2006.
- 2712** The chariots are particularly indicative of this case: Pare 1992 (see chapters 82 Tomedi and 83 Baitinger).
- 2713** Camporeale 2007, 10–12.
- 2714** Capuis 2001b; recent literature on the issue in Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009.
- 2715** Sciacca 2005, 378; Camporeale 2007, 12–13.
- 2716** Maggiani 2000.
- 2717** Capuis 2001a; see also Zaghetto 2006, with further literature.
- 2718** de Marinis and Gambari 2005, 208–9; de Marinis 2008.
- 2719** de Marinis 2008, 117–18, with bibliography.
- 2720** Maggiani 2006.
- 2721** Paltineri 2010, 323–25.
- 2722** Bonamici 2006; Maggiani 2006.
- 2723** Gambari 2004; Melli 2006.
- 2724** Maggiani 2004; Paltineri 2010, with further bibliography.
- 2725** Recent summary on the topic in d’Agostino 2001, De Juliis 2001, Bottini 2001; on the Altamura ribbed bowl: Montanaro 2010.
- 2726** Especially with regard to the “Rhodian” oinochoai: Shefton 2009, 120–38; 2014.
- 2727** Albanese Procelli 2001.
- 2728** Naso 2011.
- 2729** Cristofani 1976; Spivey 1997, 53–76; Bellelli 2004.
- 2730** Gilotta 1998; Roncalli 2006.
- 2731** Hemelrijk 2009, with previous literature.
- 2732** On this and similar problems of interpreting the archaic Tarquinian tomb paintings, see d’Agostino and Cerchiai 1999.
- 2733** Szilágyi 1981. The figure is labelled (in retrograde) *Phersu*, a name perhaps connected to the Latin term *persona*, originally denoting the use of a mask for theatrical characterization.
- 2734** Jannot 1984.
- 2735** Martelli 1988.
- 2736** Spivey 1987; Rizzo 1988.
- 2737** Turfa and Steinmayer 2002, with previous literature.
- 2738** Maras 2010, with previous literature.
- 2739** Pallottino 1984, 115–50; Rome 1990.
- 2740** Colonna 1977, 158–61.
- 2741** Pallottino 1984, 132–40.
- 2742** Brendel 1995, 111–17, 255–61.
- 2743** Pontrandolfo 1984.
- 2744** *Editio princeps*: Torelli 1971, 55–60, fig. 7.
- 2745** Harari 2002, 21–22, fig. 1.
- 2746** Brendel 1995, 258.

2747 Scarrone 2015.

2748 Steingraber 1984, no. 47.

2749 Roncalli 2000, 360.

2750 Steingraber 1984, no. 121.

- 2751** Gk. *apobatai*, perhaps: equestrians who perform stunts.
- 2752** Roncalli 1997; Torelli 1997, 122–51. More recently, the effectiveness of a comparable symbolic reading of partitions of space has also been proved by Govi (2010) for the bas-relief friezes on the Bologna funerary steles.
- 2753** Steingraber 1984, no. 91.
- 2754** Steingraber 1984, no. 50.
- 2755** See Traina 1988.
- 2756** Colonna 2003.
- 2757** Naso 2005, 48–51.
- 2758** Harari 2005, 79–82.
- 2759** Steingraber 1984, no. 25.
- 2760** Steingraber 1984, no. 15.
- 2761** Bonamici 2012, 322.
- 2762** Cristofani 1979.
- 2763** Bentz and Reusser 2008, 112–14, figs. 62 a-d.
- 2764** Sassatelli and Govi 2005, 38; Sassatelli 2009, 327.
- 2765** Jannot 1984.
- 2766** Jannot 1984, 42–44 no. 1.
- 2767** Cristofani 1975, 49–50, fig. 102; Donati 2007.
- 2768** Cristofani 1975; Bruni 2000, 384 and figs. at 377–79.
- 2769** Bonamici 2003; Carruba 2006, 52–54, no. 2; Bonamici 2012, 323, 329–30.
- 2770** Brendel 1995, 250–53, figs. 175–76.
- 2771** Carruba 2006.
- 2772** Brendel 1995, 230–32, figs. 158–60.
- 2773** Cristofani 1978, fig. 64.
- 2774** Harari 2014.
- 2775** Cristofani 1978, 100, fig. 65.
- 2776** Cristofani 1978, 154–55, figs. 124–25; cf. also Lulof 1996.
- 2777** Colonna 1996, 2000.
- 2778** Brendel 1995, 15: “Their style was ‘classical’... but it was not itself Greek.... It constitutes the only known case of a contemporary classical art apart from the Greek ... the western equivalent of the classical style.”
- 2779** Colonna 2000.
- 2780** Arist. [*Oec.*] 2.2.20i = 1349b; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.2.21; Ael. *VH* 1.20.
- 2781** Massa-Pairault 1992, 72–75.
- 2782** Harari forthcoming.
- 2783** Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.180; Ath. 1.28b, 15.700c; Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.1; Strabo 17.1.28.
- 2784** Nijboer 1998 collecting all workshop finds in central Italy; Bentz and Reusser 2008, 98–110 on Marzabotto.
- 2785** The various types of bronze artifacts described below can best be found in detailed scientific catalogs: Adam 1984; Bini, Caramella and Buccioli 1995; Jurgait 1999; Naso 2003.
- 2786** Frey 1992.
- 2787** Vorlauf 1997.
- 2788** Grassi 2000.
- 2789** Hostetter 1986; Testa 1989; Ambrosini 2002.
- 2790** Jurgait 1999, 259–62 no. 416.
- 2791** Höckmann 1982.
- 2792** Richardson 1983; Cristofani 1985.
- 2793** Cristofani and Martelli 1983.
- 2794** Zazoff 1968; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 81–97.
- 2795** Martelli 1985.
- 2796** Mayer-Prokop 1967; Thomson de Grummond 1982; the *CSE*, organized according to museum, is in progress; fundamental on the technology is Zimmer 1995.

2797 So far there has been no comprehensive work on the bucchero of the sixth century; cf. most recently the conferences reported by Bonghi Jovino 1993 and Naso 2004; see also now the catalogue by Perkins 2007 with bibliography; new typologies by Tamburini 2004 and Capponi and Ortenzi 2006.

2798 Overview, Martelli 1987; for the later Etrusco-Corinthian vases, Szilágyi 1998. Supplements on the work of the black-figure painters in Gaultier 1995, 2003.

2799 Overview by Bellelli 2010 and Bellelli 2011.

2800 Most recently Winter 2009.

- 2801** Jannot 1984; most recent overview by Camporeale 2007.
- 2802** Briguet 1989.
- 2803** On Porsenna see among others Di Fazio 2000. See also Menichetti 1994, 90–117.
- 2804** Steingraber 1985, 24.
- 2805** Fundamental: Jannot 1984, which deals with about 275 monuments. Cf. d’Agostino 1989. Attic influence is obvious.
- 2806** For Orvieto see in general Colonna 1985; 2003b, stressing the absence of an aristocracy in the Orientalizing period. On the necropolises: Bonamici, Stopponi, and Tamburini 1994; Feruglio 2003. Architectonic forerunners of the chamber tomb type are found in Caere.
- 2807** Traces of wall painting from the fifth century are found in cemeteries of the territory (mainly architectural wall paintings, but see also the painted tomb of Grotte di Santo Stefano). On the tombs of Settecimini and Porano see summarily Steingraber 2006, 211–15.
- 2808** See most recently Sassatelli and Govi 2007; Govi 2015.
- 2809** See chapters 12 Amann, 70 Zifferero, 71 Nielsen and Warden.
- 2810** On the wall paintings at Tarquinia see among others Steingraber 1985; Moltesen and Weber-Lehmann 1992; Steingraber 2006.
- 2811** Famous exceptions with more chambers are, for example, the Tomb of the Bulls, the Bartoccini Tomb, and the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing. Cf. the tomb plans in Steingraber 1985, 386.
- 2812** Steingraber 1985, 314, no. 74. Massa-Pairault 2000, 259: “sodalizio, sede di un *collegium mercatorum*” [association, seat of a *collegium mercatorum*].
- 2813** See among others de Marinis 1961; Weber-Lehmann 1985; Amann 2000; Cerchiai and d’Agostino 2004; Amann 2016.
- 2814** Steingraber 1985, 355, no. 124: ca. 500 BCE.
- 2815** For the problem see d’Agostino 1990, esp. 63–69; Adam and Rouveret 1990.
- 2816** Jannot 1984, 382–86. Alongside heroic individual combat, hoplites standing in a row are also known (e.g. a base from Poggio Gaiella, Palermo, Jannot 1984, A.2, fig. 65; d’Agostino 1990, 79). Weapon dances likewise belong to the pictorial repertoire. For the unique sarcophagus from the Sperandio necropolis of Perugia, which shows persons armed with spears (Jannot 1984, C.I.1b, figs. 158–59), see most recently Cherici 2002, 101–3. The question of weapons as grave goods also arises here. Fragmentary fighting scenes on horseback show paintings in the Paolozzi Tomb: Steingraber 1985, 271, no. 21.
- 2817** Colonna 2003b, 137; Camporeale 2003, 156–62, figs. 1–3; Maggiani 2005.
- 2818** Magi 1932, esp. 40–43. See now Perazzi et. al. 2016; Amann forthcoming.
- 2819** According to d’Agostino 1990, 82, there could be some indication that a military class was emerging, but he stresses that evidence is very scanty.
- 2820** According to the tradition (Livy 1.43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.6ff.), the *comitia centuriata*, based on the hoplite army, were introduced to Rome under King Servius Tullius, thus around the middle of the sixth century. The reliability of the ancient sources, however, is very much under discussion. For armor in ancient Italy see in general Stary 1981.
- 2821** All in all the deposit included nearly 150 bronze helmets. Martelli 1995, no. 22; *CIE* 3.4.12023–78; Maggiani 2012. Cf. on this question also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.5.4, who on the occasion of a campaign in 480 speaks of “the powerful, the wealthy,” and their “dependents” (*penestai*) in the Etruscan army (see [chapter 59](#) Amann).
- 2822** Sassatelli and Govi 2007, esp. 77, 83.
- 2823** d’Agostino 1990, 78. According to Torelli 1987, 45, he did not belong to the aristocratic-gentilicial class. For other hoplite and warrior graves see Adam and Rouveret 1990, 345–46.
- 2824** Colonna 2003a. On the stela of *Vel Kaikna* in Felsina depicting a ship see Sassatelli and Govi 2007, 73 ([Fig. 61.1](#)).
- 2825** For the building see Donati 1994.
- 2826** An open-air banquet that separates male from female participants decorates the walls of the Tomb of the Funeral Couch (460–450 BCE) in Tarquinia; this extraordinary representation

is probably to be explained on the basis of special cult requirements. Most recently Scala 1997.

2827 So e.g. in the Tomba delle Bighe (Tomb of the Chariots) at Tarquinia: Steingraber 1985, 289–91, no. 47. On the tomb, most recently Benassai 2001.

2828 On the not very numerous illustrated mirrors of the sixth and fifth centuries, see along with the volumes of the *CSE* the fundamental compilations of Mayer-Prokop 1967 and Pfister-Roesgen 1975.

2829 See d'Agostino 1993, esp. 68; Amann 2000, esp. 210. Cf. also Nielsen 1998.

2830 For the interpretation of these banquet scenes, see the summary in Amann 2000, 138–41. For the interpretation of the pictorial world of the Etrusco-Latial terra-cotta plaques see in general: d'Agostino 1991; Torelli 1992; Menichetti 1994, 93–102.

2831 In only four examples is there a woman's name over the entrance to the tomb: *ET*² Vs 1.37, 1.66, 1.85, 1.112 and 1.94 (*cippus*). Cf. Amann 2000, 116–17.

2832 Readings and interpretations of this inscription differ (1st half of the 6th century), see *ET*² Ve 3.13; Amann 2000, 115; Maras 2009, 413, Ve do.8: *venalia(s)* (female *praenomen* or divine name). For the whole complex of inscriptions, see Maras 2009, 405–427.

2833 Maras 2009, 208–9: Ve do.8, Py do.2, Py do 3–4 (?). On the new inscription from Orvieto, Campo della Fiera, see below footnote 52.

2834 See Krauskopf 2012 with reference to the terra-cotta frieze from Murlo. The situation is somewhat better in the Late Etruscan period. Cf. **chapter 59** Amann.

2835 Steingraber 1985, 293–94, no. 50.

2836 This is the oldest banquet scene with *klinai* in Tarquinia. Weber-Lehmann 1985, 42–44; Steingraber 1985, 286–87, no. 45; Amann 2000, 151–52. The four-chamber grave is bigger than contemporary graves usually are.

2837 The wife seated on her own chair plays a role as pictorial motif in the imagery of the grave stelae from Fiesole as well: Magi 1932, 46, no. 16; Magi 1933; de Marinis 1961, 30, no. 91–92. Stele from Trivignoli and stele bought at Sansepolcro: Amann 2000, 174–75; Amann forthcoming.

2838 On this question see Amann 2000, 109–14, 154–55, 164. On women in Etruscan tomb painting see most recently Scheffer 2007.

2839 Steingraber 1985, 316–17, no. 77 and 289–91, no. 47.

2840 See d'Agostino 1989, 3–4; 1993, 68–69. See in general Jannot 1984, 368–73.

2841 This is certain for a relief in Chiusi dating ca. 490 BCE: Jannot 1984, 60, C. I.30, fig. 203, cf. also 377, 380. Possibly also relating to a marriage context are a relief in Rome/Museo Barracco (Jannot 1984, 91, C. III. 3, fig. 319) and one in Copenhagen/Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Jannot 1984, 82, C. II. 35, fig. 295).

2842 Jannot 1984, esp. 362–68. The banquets with female participants, attested especially between 490/80 and 470 BCE and altogether not frequent, provide the opportunity for discussion of the status of the women depicted (wives, courtesans). Cf. Amann 2000, 171–73.

2843 Steingraber 1985, nos. 15, 17, 18, 22, 24.

2844 E. Govi in Sassatelli and Govi 2007, esp. 83, 91 (stela no. 169 is an exception). For the journey to the underworld, cf. in Tarquinia the Tomb of the Blue Demons (probably last quarter of the fifth century), discovered only in 1985: Adinolfi, Carmagnola and Cataldi 2005.

2845 See the summary in Amann 2000, 141–44.

2846 Cristofani 1996, 49–57; Torelli 2004. For Sostratos see also Hdt. 4.152.

2847 Most recently Maggiani 2006, who also deals with the interesting finds from Murlo.

2848 Due to the morphology of the Etruscan *nomen gentile*, early examples do not have a unique interpretation, such as *Rutile Hipocrates* (*ET*² Ta 6.1, “Rutile of Hippocrates” or “Rutile Hipocrates”). Cf. also *larθaia telicles* (*ET*² OA 2.2): de Simone 1968–1970, II, 228; Colonna 1975, 189. The number of genuine Etruscan *gentilicia* derived from Greek personal names, however, is quite limited; see de Simone 1968–1970, II, 251.

2849 See e.g. Musti 1987, 140–45.

2850 See Reed 2003.

- 2851** Amphora from the Praxias group with two Greek labels painted in the Chalcidian alphabet. de Simone (1968–1970, II, 231–32, 242, 265) interprets *arnthe* as the name of the vase owner; differently Colonna 1975, 188–89, establishes a connection between the two separate labels and recognizes them as a binomial Etruscan personal name. See also Colonna 2014, esp. 61 with reference to other recent opinions.
- 2852** Colonna 1975, 190 localizes the workshop of *metru*, who was educated in Athens, in Vulci (because of *-ce* instead of *-ke* in *menece*).
- 2853** For discussion of the status of Greek craftsmen in Etruria, see also de Simone 1968–1970a, II, 259–68. Secure Greek slave names in Etruscan are rare in the sixth and fifth centuries, e.g. *tamum*? de Simone 1968–1970, II, 237, 265f.
- 2854** Stopponi 2009, 441–49; *ET*² Vs 3.12: *kanuta larecenās laute/nitha aranthia pinies puia turuce/thuschval marvethul faliath/ere*.
- 2855** All of the other approximately 150 *lautni* inscriptions belong to the Late Etruscan period. Fundamentally Rix 1963, 356–72; 1994, 96–111.
- 2856** See with various results among others Torelli 1987, 46–47; Marchesini 1997, 146–66; Maggiani 2005, 47.
- 2857** Of this opinion is Colonna 1975, 184–85 (“servo/autore delle pitture” [slave/creator of the paintings]), 186–88 (evidence for the use of slaves of local origin in the ceramics industry); Colonna 2014, 58–60. But cf. *ET*² Ta 7.12 with another reading.
- 2858** *ET*² Ve 2.7. Cf. Colonna 1990, 15–16.
- 2859** Torelli 2000, 280.
- 2860** Bonaudo 2004.
- 2861** Naso 2000; 2006.
- 2862** Möller 2000.
- 2863** Fiorini and Torelli 2010.
- 2864** Colonna 1996.
- 2865** Bloch 1969.
- 2866** Simon 2006.
- 2867** Maras 1998.
- 2868** Massa-Pairault 1992; Bonaudo 1999.
- 2869** Sorrentino 2004.
- 2870** Emiliozzi 1997.
- 2871** Jannot 1984, 90–92, no. 3, fig. 318.
- 2872** Colonna 1993.
- 2873** Roncalli 1994.
- 2874** Maras 2009 on offerings with inscriptions.
- 2875** Moretti Sgubini 2001, 39.
- 2876** Colonna 2006.
- 2877** Colonna 1985.
- 2878** Steingraber and Menichelli 2010.
- 2879** Sassatelli and Govi 2010.
- 2880** Becker 2013.
- 2881** Maggiani 2002. See [chapter 28](#) Maggiani.
- 2882** *Quod tantum valet regio ac genus terrae, ut ex eodem semine aliubi cum decimo redeat, aliubi cum quinto decimo, ut in Etruria locis aliquot.*
- 2883** Gras 1986, 146.
- 2884** Perkins and Attolini 1992, 111.
- 2885** Camporeale, Canocchi and Donati 1985, 170.
- 2886** Camporeale, Canocchi and Donati 1985, 135.
- 2887** Camporeale, Canocchi and Donati 1985, 134–35.
- 2888** Camporeale, Canocchi and Donati 1985, 135.
- 2889** Naso, Rendeli and Zifferero 1989, 544, 553.
- 2890** Cresci and Viviani 1995, 146.

2891 Craddock 1984, 212.

2892 It may be that there were not sufficient timber resources at Elba to heat the furnaces to the correct temperature, as is addressed below.

2893 Martelli 1981a, 158.

2894 Sassatelli 1996, 109. See also Martelli 1981a, 158.

2895 Elban hematite in its raw form, dated to the sixth and fifth centuries, has also been found at Pisa and Genoa (Corretti and Taddei 2001, 254).

2896 Aranguren et al. 2004. The last phase of the site, which is best understood, dates to the first decades of the sixth century to the beginning of the fifth.

2897 Maggiani 2002, 169.

2898 Cristofani 1986, 123; Craddock 1984, 216; Cucini 1992.

2899 Diodorus's emphasis on currency may reflect his first-century BCE perspective, although some coinage may have been used. Note that Dicaearchia was not founded until ca. 530 BCE (Hegesander *FHG* 4, 421 fr. 44; Steph. Byz. s.v. Dicaearchia; Strabo 5.4.6; Ciampoltrini and Firmati 2002, 35).

2900 Ciampoltrini and Firmati 2002; Aranguren, Ciampoltrini, Cortesi, et al. 2004, 328–30. It is possible that Fonteblanda may be one of the alternate trading centers to which Diodorus refers. Fonteblanda was occupied for a few decades from the late sixth to the early fifth century.

- 2901** Haynes 2000, 172.
- 2902** Demetriadou 2010.
- 2903** Johnston 1972; Harvey 1976.
- 2904** van der Meer 1984; Spivey 1991, 136–37.
- 2905** Vickers and Gill 1994. A different interpretation of these paintings has been suggested by Colonna 2005.
- 2906** Winter 2002, 229.
- 2907** Gras 1985, 325–36; Gras 1986, 145–6.
- 2908** Gras 1986, 145–6.
- 2909** Perkins 1999, 178; Bound 1985; Bound and Vallintine 1983.
- 2910** Gras 2000, 105–06; Long, Gantès and Rival 2006; Turfa 2008.
- 2911** Ormerod 1978, 153. See also Diod. Sic. 5.40.1.
- 2912** Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.567: *Tuscorum iure paene omnis Italia fuerat.*
- 2913** Turfa 1977, 373.
- 2914** Haynes 2000, 201–02.
- 2915** Gran Aymerich 2009.
- 2916** Cristofani 1993, 834–35; Colonna 1988, 552. Colonna observes that the family name *Utavu* originates from Perugia and the *Ager Faliscus*. Cristofani believed that *Utavu* was a Latin individual.
- 2917** Renfrew 1984, 119–121.
- 2918** Catalli 1990, 29.
- 2919** Perkins and Attolini 1992, 129–30.
- 2920** This count was determined by Maurizio Cattani, who classified this set by including only pieces that had been fused together into regular plates (Cattani 1988).
- 2921** Plin. *HN* 33.13: *Servius rex primus signavit aes*. Ampolo 1974. See also Cattani 1988, 209.
- 2922** Turfa 1986, 70; Cristofani 1985, 240; Parise 1985.
- 2923** Catalli 1990, 33.
- 2924** Martelli 1976, 103–4.
- 2925** Catalli 2000, 89.
- 2926** Catalli 2000, 90.
- 2927** Catalli 2000, 89. Note that one coin of the *Thezi/Thezle* type was found at Malta (Catalli 1990, 36). On Vulci's trade see Colonna 1977.
- 2928** Catalli 2000, 89; 1990, 35–36.
- 2929** Colonna 1976, 16; Haynes 2000, 263–64; Cataldi Dini 2010, 180.
- 2930** Torelli 1986, 56; Steingraber 1985, 25; Haynes 2000, 263.
- 2931** Martelli 1981b, 172; Camporeale 2001, 60.
- 2932** Sassatelli 2004, 188; 2012, 172.
- 2933** Sassatelli 1989, 26; 1993, 189; 2004, 184.
- 2934** Haynes 2000, 189.
- 2935** Cattani 2001.
- 2936** This weight standard is seen again in a late fourth—early third century bronze weight (with lead core) from Sant'Antonio (Caere: Fig. 28.3), which weighs ten times this stone weight; this second weight is discussed later in this volume (see chapter 61 Becker). This first weight is also $^{10}/_{25}$ the weight standard popularly used in southern Etruria (the “light pound” = 286.5 g; Maggiani 2002, 176.). See also chapter 28 Maggiani.
- 2937** Maggiani 2002, 175 nos. 29 and 38.
- 2938** Maggiani 2002, 176.
- 2939** Maggiani 2002, 175 no. 32.
- 2940** Marotta 1996, 69.
- 2941** Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 103, 1L: *mantisa, additamentum dicitur lingua Tusca, quod ponderi adicitur, sed deterius et quod sine ullo usu est*. See d'Aversa 1994, 33. On the Latin use of this word, see Kleijwegt 2002.

2942 Note that Strabo 5.1.7 describes Ravenna in a similar fashion.

2943 Sassatelli 1993, 188.

2944 Strabo 5.1.7; 9.3.8; Plin. *HN* 3.120. For the date, see Camporeale 2001, 98.

2945 Sassatelli 1993, 195.

2946 Sassatelli 1993, 211–13; 2004, 190.

The chapter has been translated by S. Meinel.

2947 Johnston and Jones 1978, 119 (Vatican 20359).

2948 Reusser 2013.

2949 Reusser 2002, 1:204–6. Cf. also Shapiro 2000; Osborne 2001; Lewis 2003; Spivey 2006.

2950 E.g., the case of the Attic pottery from the votive deposit of the northern sanctuary at Gravisca; Fortunelli 2007, 55–149.

- 2951** Reusser 2002, 36–45; 2:66–100, 146–47. See Fortunelli and Masseria 2009, 217–386.
- 2952** See Stissi 2003, 77–79; Fortunelli and Masseria 2009, 13–55, 89–162.
- 2953** Maggiani 1997.
- 2954** Reusser 2002, 1:30–36; 2:31–63, 142–45.
- 2955** Reusser 2002, 1:110–22.
- 2956** Muggia 2004, 39–45.
- 2957** Reusser 2002, 1:124–39.
- 2958** Cf. the overview in Rasmussen 1985.
- 2959** Arafat and Morgan 1994. For Attic pottery in Etruria see also Shapiro 2000; Osborne 2001; Lewis 2003; Spivey 2006.
- 2960** Reusser 2002, 1:12–14, 23–27.
- 2961** Maggiani 1997.
- 2962** See the excellent study of the Attic pottery from the northern sanctuary at Gravisca in Fortunelli 2007, 55–149, 309–34. See also Fortunelli and Masseria 2009.
- 2963** Reusser 2002.
- 2964** Reusser 2002, 1:15–45.
- 2965** For the early Attic imports to Chiusi and its region see now Iozzo 2006.
- 2966** For Etruscan myths see de Grummond 2006, for the problem of Greek influence esp. 12–15.
- 2967** Arafat and Morgan 1994, 117.
- 2968** Fless 2002.
- 2969** Fless 2002, 27–40; Cahill 2002, 180–87.
- 2970** With one notable exception: Gates 1983.
- 2971** Jacopi 1931
- 2972** Jacopi 1931, 10–18, 30.
- 2973** Jacopi 1931, 19–21.
- 2974** For the Bologna cemeteries see Govi 1999, 13–28.
- 2975** Zannoni 1876–84; Govi 1999, 13–18.
- 2976** Reusser 2002, 1:70–75, 2:180–91.
- 2977** See Reusser 2002, 1:72, 2:180–91.
- 2978** Jacopi 1931, 21–23, 25–29.
- 2979** For example, in the case of Certosa, the complete absence of terracottas and the comparatively greater importance of metal artifacts and jewelry are striking.
- 2980** The only exceptions are white-ground *lekythoi*, which occur at Macri Langoni (albeit only two examples, and without figurative decoration at that) but are entirely lacking in Bologna.
- 2981** For Attic black-gloss ware from Bologna in general, see Govi 1999.
- 2982** Reusser 2002, 1:70–75, 133–36.
- 2983** Reusser 2002, 1:74, 177–78.
- 2984** Jacopi 1931, 64–69 figs. 41–44.
- 2985** Jacopi 1931, 83, 86, 88–92 figs. 68–74.
- 2986** Jacopi 1931, 204, 206–8 figs. 218–20.
- 2987** In this chapter the most important topics were selected and necessarily synthesized; because of space limitations only the most recent bibliography (with references) was mentioned.
- 2988** Roma 1973; Siena 1977; Enea 1981; Maggiani 1985; Gilotta 1985; Carandini 1985; Torelli 1985; Romualdi 1992; Gentili 2000; Emiliozzi and Maggiani 2002; Martelli 2000; Ambrosini 2013a; Ambrosini and Jolivet 2014; Ambrosini 2016.
- 2989** About Etruscan Red-figure pottery Martelli 1987, with references.
- 2990** Szilágyi 1973, with references. Bruni 2013; Scarrone 2014; 2015.
- 2991** Bruni 1993, with references.
- 2992** Shefton 1967, with references; Lubtchansky 2013.
- 2993** *ET2*, AS 7.2 with references.

- 2994** Torelli 1985, 129 fig. 79; Cristofani 1987, 231 fig. 178.1, 329, with references; Bruni 2013, 303; also Colonna 2014, 60, 73, fig. 18 who read the inscription: *Hezi Utaveś*, i.e. *Hezi* (slave) *of Utave*.
- 2995** Gilotta 2003, with references; Melli 2009; Gilotta 2014.
- 2996** Denoyelle 1993.
- 2997** See now Gilotta 2014.
- 2998** Gilotta 2003.
- 2999** See Ambrosini 2005, 317, with references; Ambrosini 2009b, with references.
- 3000** Ambrosini 2009b.

- 3001** Adembri 1990.
- 3002** Bocci Pacini 1979.
- 3003** Dragoni 2006, with references.
- 3004** Rastrelli 2009; Gilotta 2010, with reference; Harari and Franceschini 2014.
- 3005** Cristofani 1995. See now also Ambrosini 2013c.
- 3006** See now Pieraccini and Del Chiaro 2014.
- 3007** Del Chiaro 1974; Harari 1990; Coen 2013; Massa Pairault 2014, 381–382.
- 3008** Villard and Gaultier 1985.
- 3009** Del Chiaro 1964.
- 3010** For the relationship with the Alto Adriatica pottery made in Picenum see Ambrosini 2003b.
- 3011** Beazley 1947, 133.
- 3012** Jolivet 1982 for the Group; Ambrosini 2009a, 49–50, with references, for the Painter.
- 3013** Ambrosini 2009a, 52–53, with references.
- 3014** For the finds in Corsica see Ambrosini 2007.
- 3015** Del Chiaro 1957. Ambrosini 2009a, 53–56, with references; Ambrosini 2014a; Torelli 2014. For the Mario Del Chiaro Archive of Etruscan Vase-Painting at the Getty Research Institute see Ambrosini 2014d.
- 3016** M. Torelli highlighted the dedication *M. T. V. Genucilio sen l(iberti) / Feroneai dedit* on a base from the sanctuary of Lucus Feroniae, dated to the second half of the second century. According to him *sen* would be *sen(atoris)*, so the patron of the three *liberti* would be a Roman senator (Torelli 2014, 423–424).
- 3017** Ambrosini 2009a, 55, with references.
- 3018** Ambrosini 2010c, with references.
- 3019** For the *oinochoe* shape VI see Krauskopf 1984.
- 3020** Ambrosini 2010a.
- 3021** Bruni 1992.
- 3022** Michetti 1993, with references; Ambrosini 2013b L. Ambrosini, in Ambrosini and Pellegrini 2015.
- 3023** For the Phantom Group see Ambrosini 2009a, 59–60, with references; Pianu 1978, 184.
- 3024** Bruni 1992, 62.
- 3025** Ambrosini 2009a, 91–92, with references.
- 3026** Bruni 1992.
- 3027** Ambrosini 2009a, 64–66, with references.
- 3028** Ambrosini 2009c, 130; Ambrosini 2010a.
- 3029** Cifarelli, Ambrosini, and Nonnis 2002–3, with references; Ambrosini 2012.
- 3030** Morel 1981.
- 3031** Ambrosini 2013d, with references.
- 3032** Ambrosini 1999; Ambrosini 2002; Ambrosini 2011b.
- 3033** Weight about 58 kg and diam. 60 cm. See now van der Meer 2014, containing all the references.
- 3034** Diam. more than 1.50 m. Rastrelli 1993a, 351, fig. 1; Rastrelli 1993b, 474, Pl. XIC; Rastrelli and Paolucci 1997, 76–7, fig. 62.
- 3035** See now L'Ipogeo 2011, 31–2, figs. 15–6, 103, figs. 10a-b, 128, fig. 5, most of all 137, with references.
- 3036** Carpino 2003.
- 3037** Ambrosini 2005.
- 3038** Ambrosini 2003a.
- 3039** Mangani 2005, 648–49; also Ambrosini 2003a, 426, with references.
- 3040** Bonamici 2002, 87; Ambrosini 2010a, 64.
- 3041** *CSE Italia* 7.
- 3042** For the inscriptions see Ambrosini 2009d and Ambrosini 2010b.
- 3043** Ambrosini 1996, with references; Cateni 2002.

- 3044** Ambrosini 1996, 87.
- 3045** Cateni 2002.
- 3046** Della Fina 2002, with references; *CSE Italia* 4, 23, with references.
- 3047** Ambrosini 2003a, 434–35, with references.
- 3048** Anderson 1981; Jucker 1988; Pochmarski 1988, with references.
- 3049** See e.g. Krauskopf 1980; Del Chiaro 1984; Bini, Caramella, and Buccioli 1995.
- 3050** Ambrosini 2014b.

- 3051** Ambrosini 2009c, 130; Ambrosini 2010a, 64, figs. 27–28.
- 3052** On Etruscan jewelry: Cristofani and Martelli 1983; Castor 2010b; Gaultier 2014; Guzzo 2014.
- 3053** Coen 1999.
- 3054** Ambrosini 2010a, 66, with references.
- 3055** Castor 2010a, 166.
- 3056** Ambrosini 2010a, 68, with references. For the typology see Schojer 1984.
- 3057** Ambrosini 2009c, 130; 2010a, 66 figs. 36–37.
- 3058** Ambrosini 2010a, 68, with full references; Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 309 no. 230 (M.A. Rizzo).
- 3059** Boardman 1966.
- 3060** Coen 2005, with references.
- 3061** Coen 2007.
- 3062** Martelli 2000 and Hansson 2014 about Etruscan glyptic. Ambrosini 2011a for inscripted scarabs in Etruria.
- 3063** For the depiction of the artisans on Etruscan-Italic gems see Ambrosini 2014c.
- 3064** Hansson 2005, 142.
- 3065** For example, there was a gradual decline in the presence of Greeks at the so-called *emporion*- sanctuaries as well as in imported Attic ceramics, which also holds for the number of painted chamber tombs in Tarquinia in the second half of the century. See among others Colonna 1990, 7–9, 18.
- 3066** On these regions, which are not very well known, see Maggiani 1990. On Greek ceramics in Etruria, see also Reusser 2002 and [chapter 56](#) Reusser.
- 3067** In the late sixth and first half of the fifth centuries, these small centers had been considerably curtailed by the urban centers. Colonna 1990, 12, 17; Torelli 1990, 193; 1995, 114.
- 3068** On the great *gentes* of the south Etruscan city-states see Morandi Tarabella 2004. On the epigraphic evidence for the Cilnii see Maggiani 1988.
- 3069** Morandi Tarabella 2004, 625, 636–37 and 627–28, 635. Additional examples there.
- 3070** On southern Etruria generally, see Morandi Tarabella 2004, on Tarquinia also Chiesa 2005. For Chiusi most recently Benelli 2009.
- 3071** The original is lost; the text is known only from a sixteenth-century copy. Maggiani 1988, 176–77; Steinbauer 1998; Agostiniani and Giannechini 2002; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 129–31.
- 3072** Quelling of a *bellum servile*: Torelli 1975, 41, 80–81. Cf. footnote 38 below.
- 3073** Most recently Bourdin 2007 with a summary of scholarly opinion on the Celtic invasion of 391/387 BCE.
- 3074** For these see Steingraber 1985.
- 3075** Oleson 1982; Maggiani 1994; Barbieri 2010.
- 3076** Malitz 1983, 87. Whether 5.40.4 should be seen as an interpolation by Diodorus is controversial.
- 3077** See among others Broise and Jolivet 1997.
- 3078** On the necropolis see most recently Chiesa 2005, 89–187, esp. 254–257. On the Anina tomb: Steingraber 1985, 67, 282, no. 40.
- 3079** The evidence is especially rich in Hellenistic Chiusi, but even here there are no systematically excavated necropolises. The number of documented burials increases tenfold with the beginning of the third century. See Cristofani 1977, 77–78; Berrendonner 2007.
- 3080** See most recently Benelli 2009, 157–58.
- 3081** In general see Cristofani 1986, 151–52. On the Tabula Cortonensis among others Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000; Pandolfini and Maggiani 2002. Summary of the interpretations in Amann 2005.
- 3082** In all, about 6000 chamber tombs have been excavated by the Fondazione Lerici, of which a not precisely specifiable, but in any case significant, number belongs to the Late

Etruscan period. See among others Cavagnaro Vanoni 1996, 19–21; Serra Ridgway 1996; Chiesa 2005. About thirty-four painted tombs belong to the period between the mid fourth century and the second half of the second: Steingraber 1985, 58.

3083 Colonna 1990, 13–14. For Castel d’Asso see Colonna di Paolo and Colonna 1970.

3084 The tomb owners could have been clients or a distant branch of the powerful patrician *gens* Claudia in Rome. Most recently Morandi Tarabella 2004, 132–35.

3085 On the character of these *foedera* see the still fundamental Harris 1971, 85–113.

3086 See among others Heurgon 1959; Harris 1971, 121–23; Cristofani 1986, 145–46; Torelli 1995, 104–5. Most recently Mastrocinque 1996, 252, who takes them to be slaves in the possession of the state (“*servi pubblici*”) from the native population. Massa-Pairault 2000, 262–63. Mostly the right of “slaves” to hold private property is emphasized as an Etruscan peculiarity.

3087 These represent autochthonous population groups defeated by conquerors (with varying legal positions), whereas especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.30.2) vehemently supported the autochthony of the Etruscans as a whole.

3088 Benelli 1996, 340. In this sense also Cristofani 1995, 83. Cf. Dion. Hal. 2.9.2 for the introduction of the patronage system by Romulus: The Thessalians would have called their *pelátai* by the pejorative term *penéstai*.

3089 Examples collected by E. Benelli, in *ThLE* 12, 2009, 119.

3090 As already excluded by Rix 1963, 371 footnote 165. But see also Torelli 1987, 90–91: “classe dei servi”; Mastrocinque 1996, 255–59; Massa-Pairault 2000, 264–65: „*clientes*”; Facchetti 2002: “semiliberi dotati di una (seppur limitata) capacità giuridica,” “plebeo, cliente, vassallo.”

3091 See already Olzschka 1968, 222; Rix 1977, 65–66; Maggiani 1996, 117–23, esp. 119–20: “membro della *iuventus*.” *Camθi* might correspond to Latin *camillus* in the sense of “(highborn young) cult servant.”

3092 Benelli 2003, 220. The construction *lautn eteri* known from Perugia and Chiusi remains difficult to explain.

3093 Rix 1963, 372.

3094 Steingraber 1985, 278, no. 32. Most recently Massa-Pairault 2000, 263.

3095 *ET*² Vs 7.11–12. Rix 1963, 274; de Simone 1968–1970, II, 96, 143. The individual names that seem to be typical for slaves are seen as decisive. Most recently Morandi Tarabella 2004, 350, 363–64.

3096 Rix’s (1994, 111–16) proposal to see *lautni(tha)* not as “the one who belongs to the family/gens”, but as “who belongs to the community of the free (= the people)” does not seem to me convincing, since the *lautni* was free in regard to his own person, but as a rule had no political rights.

3097 About 150 examples, collected in Rix 1963, 356–72, and 1994, 100–106; *ThLE* 12, 2005, 237–38. Rix interprets the differences in the formulas historically (before or after 90 BCE), but there also might have been different forms of manumission. On the Late Archaic inscription from the Campo della Fiera sanctuary nearby Orvieto (*ET*² Vs 3.12) see [chapter 53](#) Amann.

3098 See also de Simone 1968–1970, II, 259–68. It’s of course possible that especially Greek names were “in vogue” for slaves.

3099 *REE* 56, 1991, 364–66, no. 82 (E. Benelli). On dedications from the lower classes: Maras 2009, 210–11.

3100 E.g. *ET*² Vs 3.12; CI 1.1179; CI 1.1459; CI 1.1565; CI 1.768; CI 1.777. Rix 1994, 99.

- 3101** Livy 10.3.2 speaks only of unrest, 10.5.13 defines it more clearly: *Cilnio genere cum plebe in gratiam reducto*. Cf. also the *cetera multitudo* in contrast to the 470 *ditissimi* in the case of the Etruscan city of *Troilum* (Livy 10.46.10–12: 293 BCE).
- 3102** Interpreted as two different events by Torelli 1975, 80–81; Maggiani 1988, 187. Contra Steinbauer 1998, 273–76.
- 3103** See among others Harris 1971, 115–17; Torelli 1987, 91–92; Benelli 1996, 342–43. On the revolt of “Oinaréa” (*Mir. ausc.* 94) see Harris 1971, 118.
- 3104** On the industrial quarters, see most recently Bonamici 2007.
- 3105** Romualdi and Amadasi 2007. The burial chamber itself had been completely looted.
- 3106** Meiser 2009, 147–50. The suggestions by Rix 1963, 372–78, and 1977, 67, regarding the enrollment of formerly discriminated Italics (called *penéstai*) in the citizenry of Chiusi in the Hellenistic period were based on incorrect archaeological assumptions and should be disregarded; see the criticism in Benelli 2011.
- 3107** Benelli 2002. On the territorial expansion of Perugia see Amann 2011, 150–58.
- 3108** For these women, see Haynes 2000, 287–89, 336–39; Swaddling and Prag 2002. For Larthi Cilnei see footnote 7 above.
- 3109** On the passage, see Amann 1999.
- 3110** Probably similar to the form of marriage *sine manu* in Late Republican Rome, as convincingly argued in Nielsen 1989, 85.
- 3111** Haynes 2000, 357; *ET*² Vt 3.3. Emphasis on the deceased as mother is already found on the large figural cinerary urns from Chiusi and territory, which were used by the aristocratic upper class beginning in the second quarter of the fifth century: Cristofani 1975, 39, no. 7 (so-called “Mater Matuta” from Chianciano).
- 3112** Steingräber 1985, 344, no. 111; Chiesa 2005, 257–258: second half of the third century.
- 3113** See the compilation in Maras 2009, 209–10.
- 3114** *ET*² Co 3.3–4. Completion as either *v(elia)* (so recently Maras 2009, 256–258), or *v(el) cvinti* (so Benelli 2007, 220) is possible.
- 3115** See Nielsen 1990, also on the Tomb of the Inscriptions in Vulci. Most recently Lundeen 2008, recognizing in *hatrencu*—not convincingly—a civic title.
- 3116** *ET*² Pe 1.852–1.855, second century. A priesthood inherited through the female line would be a theoretical possibility. On the phenomenon of the “women’s tombs” see Nielsen 1999.
- 3117** Comella 1981; 2004; Edlund-Berry 2004.
- 3118** MacIntosh Turfa 1986; 1994; 2004; Edlund-Berry 1987; Comella and Mele 2005; MacIntosh Turfa 2006.
- 3119** Translation by Behr 1981.
- 3120** Torelli 1973a; 1973b; de Cazanove 2000; *contra*, Glinister 2006a; 2006b.
- 3121** Glinister 2009.
- 3122** Söderlind 2002.
- 3123** Colonna 1991.
- 3124** Haack 2007b.
- 3125** Haack 2007b.
- 3126** Lesk 2002.
- 3127** Van Straten 1981, 129–132.
- 3128** *CIL*1440 = *CIL* XI 6708.2 = *ILLRP* 40.
- 3129** Miari 2000, 170–71 n. 1.
- 3130** Krauskopf 1988, no. 1.
- 3131** Costantini 1995, E III 12
- 3132** Haack 2007a.
- 3133** Pensabene et al. 1980.
- 3134** Gasperini 1988; Prayon 1993; Zinelli 2003; Gasperini 2006; Haack 2007a.
- 3135** Maggiani 1999; Chellini 2002.
- 3136** Fortuna and Giovannoni 1975.

- 3137** Colonna 1985, 114, 5.4.B.6–7.
- 3138** Colini 1979.
- 3139** Broise and Jolivet 1991, 89.
- 3140** Broise and Jolivet 2004, 34–35.
- 3141** Krauskopf 2006.
- 3142** Cristofani 1989 (= Cristofani 2001, 725–30).
- 3143** Roncalli 1994.
- 3144** Livy 5.30.8; Diod. Sic. 14.102.4.
- 3145** Plut. *Rom.* 25.4. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.55; Livy 1.15.5; for the salt beds as a reference point during the final war, see Livy 5.45.8. See Roselaar 2010, 41–44 for a brief summary of the Roman distribution of the territory belonging to Veii.
- 3146** Sassatelli 2004, 190.
- 3147** Sassatelli 2004, 22.
- 3148** Sassatelli 1993, 216. See also Giuffrida Ientile 1983, 84–87.
- 3149** Jannot 1995, 775–776. Sassatelli 1993, 188.
- 3150** Sassatelli 1993, 188.

- 3151** Livy 5.33.
- 3152** Livy 5.33.2–5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.10.3–13.11.2; Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 15.3–17.4.
- 3153** Becker 2002–2003; 2008; Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2008; Prayon 2008.
- 3154** Livy 2.34.5; 4.12.9; 4.25.4; 4.52.5. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.12.3 and 12.1.2. See Colonna 1985, 106–8.
- 3155** Livy 9.41.4; 28.45.13–18.
- 3156** Livy 4.52.5.
- 3157** Turfa 2006a. For recent collections of votives from many different Etruscan sites, see: Comella and Torelli 1986–; Simon *et al.* 2004; Comella and Mele 2005.
- 3158** Becker 2009. 61 Economy, 450–250 BCE
- 3159** Turfa 2006b, 73; Turfa 2004, 363. All of these inscriptions date from the third and second centuries BCE.
- 3160** Turfa 2004, 363 no. 301; *CIE* 10012 = *TLE* 898; Colonna 1966.
- 3161** Polanyi 1957, 27; Becker 2009, 94.
- 3162** Diod. Sic. 15.14.3–5.
- 3163** Plin. *HN* 34.16.
- 3164** Torelli 1968. See **chapter 38** Torelli.
- 3165** Ducci 2005, 24–46; Turfa 2006a, 99.
- 3166** Maggiani 2002, 169–170.
- 3167** Maggiani 2001 and 2002.
- 3168** Rastrelli 1993, 463.
- 3169** Maggiani 2001.
- 3170** Maggiani 2001, 67 and 72.
- 3171** Maggiani 2001, 69; Maggiani 2002, 168.
- 3172** Diod. Sic. 5.75.2. Maggiani 2001, 73.
- 3173** Maggiani 2001, 72–73; Maggiani 2002, 167–68; Becker 2013, 356.
- 3174** Maggiani 2001, 73; Bertinetti 1985, 109; Corti 2001. See Cic. *Ad fam.* 8.6.4 and Juv. 10.101.
- 3175** Maggiani 2002, 168.
- 3176** Catalli 1990, 30, 41, 56; Cristofani 1986, 144.
- 3177** Catalli 2001, 90.
- 3178** Cristofani 1986, 144. That is, the expenses involved in outfitting an army to protect the coast of Populonia as well as their interests in Elba and its ore. See also Parise 1985, 260. 61 Economy, 450–250 BCE
- 3179** Martelli 1981, 173.
- 3180** For a full list of these inscriptions, see Watmough 1997, 47–51; Becker 2010.
- 3181** See e.g. Davidson and Thompson 1943, 28 no. 3, 30 no. 26 and Donati 2010.
- 3182** *TLE* 694.
- 3183** Colonna 1975.
- 3184** Colonna 1988, 19 footnote 21; *TLE* 421; *CII* 446. See also Cristofani 1979, 125, no. 2, which notes that the inscription was copied in a seventeenth century text but is now lost.
- 3185** Maggiani 1972.
- 3186** Maggiani 1978; *TLE* 487.
- 3187** Ruoff-Väänänen 1975, 55; Veyne 1960, 430–431. These later developments are discussed in chapter 67 Becker. 61 Economy, 450–250 BCE
- 3188** Colonna 2005, 69–94.
- 3189** Lepore 1988, 485–503. 62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE
- 3190** Bruni 2004a, 256–63.
- 3191** Bruni 2001a, 88–89, fig. 17.
- 3192** Venezia 1999, 41–70. 62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE
- 3193** Bruni 2004b, 77–116.
- 3194** Arles 2000, 93–98; Sacchetti 2011, 97–149. 62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE
- 3195** Venezia 1999, 167–68.

3196 Giuffrida Ientile 1983; Venezia 2004; Bruni 2013.

3197 Roma 1990, 7–49; 189–98.

3198 Romualdi 2004, 183.

3199 Briquel 2002, 265–70.

3200 Bruni 1995, 236, footnote 80.

- 3201** Martelli 1989, 781–812; Reusser 2000; Giudice 2008, 311–33. For Populonia see Romualdi 2004, 181–205; for Pisa: Bruni 2004a, 227–269; for the district of Volterra: Bruni 2009, 233–54; for Faesulae: Bruni and Cagianelli 2009, 255– 68.62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE
- 3202** Catalli 1987, 26 nos. 63–4.
- 3203** Città del Vaticano 1987, 136 no. 35.
- 3204** Arles 2000, and particularly 105– 110; Bruni 2004a, 254–56; Bruni 2009, 236–37; Bruni and Cagianelli 2009, 256–57.
- 3205** Bruni 2009. 62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE
- 3206** Torelli 1975, 39–40 and 70–72.
- 3207** Bruni 2001b, 62.
- 3208** Venezia 1999, 117–45.
- 3209** To be understood as *Apol(lodoros)*, *Apol(lonios)* or similar.
- 3210** CVA *Louvre* 22, tav. 23. 9.
- 3211** Ambrosini 2009, 128–31.
- 3212** Harari 2010, 56–77.
- 3213** Bruni 2007, 115–30.
- 3214** Visonà 1984, 222–25.
- 3215** Jolivet 1980; Pianu 1985.
- 3216** Bruni 2004b, 94.
- 3217** No study of Etruscan handicraft focused solely on the period under consideration exists to date. On late Etruscan handicraft in general, see Maggiani 1985; Ambrosini 2011 (with extensive literature).
- 3218** General historical background: Harris 1971.
- 3219** C. Lapius/ Lapie: Benelli 1994, 29–31 nos. 26–27. On Italo-Megarian ware, see Puppo 1995 (33–39 on Lapius).
- 3220** See, e.g., Ambrosini 1996.
- 3221** Throne of Bolsena: Massa-Pairault 1980, 1981, 1986; Cazanove 2000. Tiles and pottery with makers' marks: Colonna 1985a, 128–129 n. 109; Massa-Pairault 1985; Jolivet 2008, 346–8; Di Giuseppe 2012, 91.
- 3222** See Morel 1990a; 1990b. 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE
- 3223** Morel 1981; 1986; Pedroni 1986–1990; 2001; Cibecchini and Principal 2004; Roth 2007; Di Giuseppe 2012.
- 3224** Cosa: Brown, Richardson, and Richardson 1960; 1993; Scott 1992; see now Taylor 2002. On Talamone, see *infra*, n. 27.
- 3225** Ambrosini 2002.
- 3226** Baths of Musarna: Broise and Jolivet 2004 (101–105 for the mosaic). See also the coeval baths of the House of the Cryptoporticus in nearby Vulci: Carandini 1985, 64–73 (G. Gazzetti et al.); Broise and Jolivet 2004, 101–105.
- 3227** Black-gloss imports: see, in addition to Roth 2007 and Di Giuseppe 2012, Patterson, Di Giuseppe, and Wichter 2004, 13–17; Di Giuseppe 2005. Vases by C. Popilius: Puppo 1995, 39–52; Sisani 2007, 159, 175.
- 3228** Votive deposit from the Northern gate of Vulci: Pautasso 1994; see also Moretti Sgubini 2001, 182 (S.Costantini). Fufuns from Vulci: Sannibale 2006, 133–45. Club for Herclé: Colonna 1989–1990, 894–98; Cristofani 2000, 414–16. 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE
- 3229** Comella 1981; *ThesCRA* 1 (2004), 330–48 s.v. “Offerte in forma di figura umana” (A. Comella), and 359–68 s.v. “Anatomical Votives” (J.M. Turfa); Comella 2005; Gentili 2005; Nagy 2013; Recke 2013.
- 3230** See, e.g., Cazanove 2000.
- 3231** Söderlind 2005.
- 3232** Söderlind 2002. For some exceptions, see Papini 2004, 271–73.
- 3233** Blumhofer 1993.
- 3234** Gentili 1994; Maggiani 1995; Papini 2004, 329–33.

- 3235** Sannibale 1994, 185–91; 2008; 2009.
- 3236** Figurines: Bentz 1992. “Putto Corazzi”: Cristofani 1985, 299–300 no. 128. “Putto Graziani”: Cagianelli 1999, 120–34 no. 3. See also Cagianelli 2005, 297–98, 299. On the tradition of votive bronzes in Etruria, see most recently Scarpellini 2013.
- 3237** Arringatore: Dohrn 1968; Cristofani 1985, 300 no. 129; Colonna 1990; Papini 2004, 335–43.
- 3238** Maggiani 1985, 148–52 (G.C. Cianferoni).
- 3239** Objects from the Via della Società Operaia: Colonna 1985b, 179–185; Papini 2004, 268–71. Arretine coroplastics: see, e.g., Maggiani 1985, 381–84 (P. Bocci Pacini); Ducci 1987–1988; 1992.
- 3240** Urns: Brunn and Körte 1870–1916; *CUE* 1–2.3 (1975–2012); Martelli and Cristofani 1977; Maggiani 1985, 33–122; Steuernagel 1998; Cenciaioli 2011; Cifani 2015; de Angelis 2015.
- 3241** Connections among urn workshops: see, e.g., Maggiani 1989; 2011.
- 3242** Massa-Pairault 1972; 1973; 1975; Maggiani 1976a; 1976b; de Angelis 2015, 147–48.
- 3243** Talamone and urns: Freytag-Löringhoff 1986; de Angelis 2015, 65–79.
- 3244** Bonfante 2009.
- 3245** See the works by Massa-Pairault and Maggiani mentioned supra, footnote 26.
- 3246** Maggiani 1985, 26–28 nos. 1–3.
- 3247** See de Angelis 2015, 79–102.
- 3248** Cristofani Martelli 1974–1975.
- 3249** Sclafani 2010; Benelli 2009.
- 3250** Cygielmann 1993; 2010. 64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE
- I am very grateful to Enrico Benelli, Peter Garnsey and Alessandro Naso for their help and advice while writing this article.

- 3251** Rix 1963.
3252 Benelli 2011.
3253 Benelli 1996.
3254 Cerchiai 2000.
3255 Harris 1971.
3256 Massa-Pairault 2000. 65 Society, 250–89 BCE
3257 Canfora 1989.
3258 Colonna 1985.
3259 *CIE* 1288 = *TLE* 470 = *CIL* XI 2203 from Chiusi; and *CIE* 3962 = *CIL* XI 1990 from Perugia.
3260 Harris 1971.
3261 Capdeville 2002.
3262 Benelli 1998.
3263 Berrendonner 2007. 65 Society, 250–89 BCE
3264 Valvo 1988.
3265 Rix 1977.
3266 Gabba 1994.
3267 Harris 1977.
3268 Gabba 1972. 65 Society, 250–89 BCE
3269 Sordi 2009.
3270 Terrenato 2001.
3271 Sordi 1991.
3272 Benelli 1998.
3273 Papi 2000.
3274 Torelli 1982. 65 Society, 250–89 BCE
3275 Colonna 1991.
3276 *marunuch pachanati* (*ET*, Ta 1.184) from Tarquinia; *maru pachathuras* (*ET*, AT 1.32) from Tuscania.
3277 Nielsen 1990, 61.
3278 *ILS* 18 = *ILLRP* 511.
3279 Pailler and Massa-Pairault 1979.
3280 Heurgon 1957.
3281 Maggiani 2005, 70. 66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE
3282 Fab. Pict. Fr. 12 P; Serv. *ad. Aen.*, 8.345; Plin., HN 28.15.
3283 Massa-Pairault 1997, 341–42.
3284 Pl. *Symp.* 727b–c; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.7.7–27; Iambl. *VP* 27.127.
3285 Diog. Laert. 8.1–2; Diod. Sic. 10.3.1; Porph. *Plot.* 2.10; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.62; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.4.13.
3286 Sannibale 2008.
3287 Fiorini and Torelli 2010.
3288 Fiorini 2008.
3289 *CIE* 11134, 11135 (= Cristofani 1989–1990).
3290 Massabò and Ricciardi 1988, 32.
3291 Maggiani 1982; van der Meer 1987.
3292 de Grummond 2000.
3293 *LIMC* 3 s.v. Cacū, nos. 3–4, based on model no. 1.
3294 Stearns-Davis 1912–13, 186–88.
3295 Lachmann 1848, 350; Valvo 1988. 66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE
3296 Translation by N.T. de Grummond, in de Grummond and Simon 2006.
3297 Flor. 1.16; Val. Max. 9.1.2; Zonar. 8.7; Oros. 4.5.3.
3298 Acconcia 2000, 117–18, fig. 40.
3299 Bevilacqua 2001.
3300 Colonna 2001.

- 3301** Translation from Foster 1924.
- 3302** Bagnasco Gianni 2001, 197–220.
- 3303** Colonna 2001, 168–69.
- 3304** Haack 2006, 54–58.
- 3305** Brunn and Körte 1870–1916, 2.2.222, pl. 99.4; 2.2.221, pl. 99.3. 66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE
- 3306** Coarelli 1992, 213–14, fig. 38. See chapters 38 Torelli (Fig. 38.10) and 61 Becker (Fig. 61.2).
- 3307** Olivieri 2005.
- 3308** Comella 1982, 32.
- 3309** Mengarelli 1935, 92, pl. XXI.2, 4.
- 3310** Hafner 1965, 45–46; 1966–67, 29–30.
- 3311** Comella 1978, 15, A7.
- 3312** Comella 1978, 21–24, BII and pl. VI, 27–31.
- 3313** Ricciardi 1988–89, 167 n. 73.
- 3314** De Lucia Brolli 1990, 193.
- 3315** Comella 1986, 38; 46–47; Nijboer 1991.
- 3316** Bonamici 2003.
- 3317** Galluccio 1999.
- 3318** von Vacano 1992.
- 3319** Torelli 1999, 25–29.
- 3320** *ILLRP* 237. 66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE
- 3321** Colonna 1989–90. But for Papini (Papini 2004, 335–43), the statue dates from about 100 BCE.
- 3322** The fleet consisted of twenty quinqueres and ten quadriremes. If these numbers are correct, and that is all these contributions were supposed to contribute toward, there would have been more than 9,000 men.
- 3323** Minto 1954.
- 3324** Gualandi 2005, 144–46.
- 3325** Gualandi 2005, 146–47.
- 3326** Diod. Sic. 5.13.1. His emphasis on currency may reflect his first-century perspective, although some coinage may have been used. (Ciampoltrini and Firmati 2002, 35). 67 Economy, 250–89 BCE
- 3327** Becker 2010.
- 3328** Lambrechts 1970, 19–21; *TLE* 692. See also Stopponi 2006, 315 nos. 263–64. These date to the late third century.
- 3329** See Lambrechts 1970, 1984 for a full treatment and Becker 2013.
- 3330** Cristofani 1985.
- 3331** de Grummond 2006, 191–92.
- 3332** Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.2. Rand's commentary rejects the alternate reading of *ruris* (in place of *iuris*) and finds support in Cic. *Div.* 2.50 (Rand 1946, 10). See also: Scarano Ussani and Torelli 2002, 42; Facchetti 2000, 46–48.
- 3333** Roncalli 1985; Facchetti 2000.
- 3334** Maggiani 2001; Pandolfini and Maggiani 2002; Scarano Ussani and Torelli 2002; Becker 2010.
- 3335** The *Tabula* states in the final section that a copy of the agreement was stored in the home of the Cusu, as well as in the homes of witnesses (i.e. Velche Cusu, son of Aule; Velthur Titlni, son of Velthur; Lart Celatina, son of Apnei/Alpnai; and Laris Celatina, son of Titlnei/Pitlnei—with differing readings of two names by Maggiani and Wallace: Maggiani 2001, 107; Facchetti 2005, 82–83; Wallace 2008, 212–13; Becker forthcoming).
- 3336** Facchetti 2000, 89–94; *ET* Ta 8.1. 67 Economy, 250–89 BCE
- 3337** Marzano 2009; Carandini 1985; Giardina and Schiavone 1981.
- 3338** Cass. Dio fr. 33; Livy 7.19.6. Harris 1971, 106–7; Valvo 1988, 113–14.

- 3339** Marzano 2009, 38.
- 3340** Marzano 2009, 37.
- 3341** Gazzetti 1990, 101, 103. See *Lib. colon.* 219, IL. Note that the *Libri coloniarum* also mention a settlement at Arretium (see *Lib. colon.* 215.3L; Harris 1971, 205).
- 3342** Marzano 2009, 39.
- 3343** S. Dyson posits that the large villa of Settefinestre dates to the late second rather than the mid first century BCE as its excavators believe, based on ceramic evidence. Dyson 1981, 272; Carandini 1985; Marzano 2007, 126, 138.
- 3344** Marzano 2009, 38–39; Potter 1979, 115; Terrenato 1998.
- 3345** Motta, Camin, and Terrenato 1993, 113; Terrenato 1998, 102–4; Camin and McCall 2002.
- 3346** Fracchia 1996, 196. This villa was built in the late second or early first century BCE.⁶⁷ Economy, 250–89 BCE
- 3347** Harris 1971 still remains the best critical account of Etruria’s history in the Hellenistic period. See also Torelli 1981, 251–78, as well as the works mentioned in footnotes 2, 12, 16, and 25–27.
- 3348** The bibliography on the François Tomb is vast: in addition to Coarelli 1983 and Buranelli 1987 see, more recently, Holliday 1993; Steuernagel 1998; Holliday 2002, 63–76; d’Agostino 2003; Andreae 2004; Moretti Sgubini 2004; Musti 2005; Briquel 2006; Domenici 2009, 132–55; de Angelis 2015, 195–210 and references therein.
- 3349** Livy 28.45.15–18 (transl. F.G. Moore).
- 3350** On these myths, see the recent treatment by Domenici 2009; see also, de Grummond 2006; Sclafani 2010, 69–71; de Angelis 2015, 58–50, 86–89, 246–53, 291–98. ⁶⁸ External Relationships, 250–89 BCE

- 3351** Bienkowski 1908, 79–138; Höckmann 1991; Zimmermann 1995; Colonna 2002; Pirson 2005; Kistler 2009, 226–31, 247–56; de Angelis 2015, 173–82.
- 3352** Calenian ceramics: Pagenstecher 1909, 44–48; Höckmann 1991, 208–10; Zimmermann 1995, 101–102; Kistler 2009, 230–31, 256, 275–82. Civitalba frieze: Bienkowski 1908, 93–104; Andrén 1939–1940, 301–308; Landolfi 1994, 81–84; Kistler 2009, 282–91; Holliday 2009; La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2010, 249 (M.J. Strazzulla), with further bibliography.
- 3353** Polyb. 2.23.12–14 (transl. E.S. Shuckburgh).
- 3354** Brunt 1971, 44–60; Ilari 1974; Baronowski 1993.
- 3355** *Metus Gallicus*: see Bellen 1985; Grünewald 2001.
- 3356** For this interpretation, see de Angelis 2015, 188–91.
- 3357** Tomb of the Esquiline: La Rocca 1984; Coarelli 1990, 171–75; Holliday 2002, 83–91; Coarelli 2011, 156–60; 2012.
- 3358** Pfiffig 1966; Harris 1971, 129–44; Diana 1989.
- 3359** See Livy 27.21.6; 27.4; 27.38.6; 28.10.4–5; 29.13; 30.26.12. 68 External Relationships, 250–89 BCE
- 3360** Commercial, cultural, and even military relationships of the Etruscans with the Carthaginians are attested well before the Hellenistic period: see **chapter 88** Naso.
- 3361** Robinson 1964, 47–48; Baglione 1976; Catalli 1990, 112–13; Rutter 2001, 26 no. 69; Bergamini 2001, 86–88 nos. 94–99.
- 3362** Siege of Casilinum: Livy 23.17.8–11; 23.19.13–18. On the inscription of Laris Felsnas (ET Ta 1.107), see Sordi 1989–1990; Benelli 2007, 74–78.
- 3363** Hannestad 1993; Kremer 1994; Strobel 1994; Marszal 2000; Kistler 2009.
- 3364** The literature on this subject is vast and need not be listed here in full; see, most recently, Wallace-Hadrill 2008; La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2010.
- 3365** Massa-Pairault 1973; 1975; Maggiani 1976, 22–27; Massa-Pairault 1977, 159–60; Maggiani 1985, 89–90; Papini 2004, 477–83. *Revixit ars*: the allusions are to the famous passage in Plin. *HN* 34.52 about the alleged “renaissance” of art in 156 BCE—which, however, refers to bronze sculpture alone (see Settis 1982, 189–91; *contra*, Coarelli 1996, 522–26).
- 3366** Massa-Pairault 1985, 202–205; Nielsen 1993, 342–45.
- 3367** See, e.g., Maggiani 1989. On the Etruscan relationship to Pergamene art, see also Dohrn 1961; Steingraber 2000. 68 External Relationships, 250–89 BCE
- 3368** See, on the attenuation of pathos (*Pathosdämpfung*) in portraiture, Giuliani 1986, 200–20; Fittschen 1991; Papini 2004, 472–73.
- 3369** On the Hellenizing tendencies of late Republican architecture in Rome, see, most recently, Gros 2009; La Rocca and D’Alessio 2011. On Hermorodos of Salamis, see especially Gros 1973; Zevi 1976; Tortorici 1988; La Rocca 2011, 8–14.
- 3370** Hellenistic marble monuments of northern Etruria: Bonamici 1985; 1991. On the use of marble in Etruria more generally, see especially Andrén 1967; Bonamici 1989; 1990; and, most recently, Maggiani 2004, 152–64 (with further bibliography).
- 3371** See Sordi 1960; Harris 1971, 45–47; Humbert 1972; Kaimio 1975, 95; Galsterer 1976, 70–84; Humbert 1978; Torelli 2000; Aigner-Foresti 2004, 224–27.
- 3372** See, on these phenomena, Harris 1971, 147–201, 319–28. On enfranchisements before the Social War, see Torelli 1969; 1982; Weber 1998.
- 3373** On the role of the Etruscans (and Umbrians) in the Social War, see Harris 1971, 202–29; with diverging evaluations, see Sordi 1988; Mouritsen 1998, 153–59; Cappelletti 2004. For the quotation from Appian, see *Civ.* 1.49.213.
- 3374** Particularly relevant for the Imperial-age memory of the Etruscans’ external relationships are the *elogia Tarquiniensia*: see Torelli 1974–1975; 1975; Gabba 1979. 68 External Relationships, 250–89 BCE
- 3375** Lambeck, Antoniolì, Purcell, and Silenzi 2004; Lambeck, Anzidei, Antoniolì, Benini, and Esposito 2004; Antoniolì et al. 2009; 2011; Biserni and Van Geel 2005.
- 3376** Narcisi and Anselmi 1998.

- 3377** Guidoboni et al. 2007.
- 3378** Hunt 1998; Sadori, Jahns and Peyron 2011.
- 3379** Biondi and Baldoni 1994.
- 3380** Adapted from Blasi et al. 1999.
- 3381** Drescher-Schneider et al. 2007; Magny et al. 2007. 69 The landscape and environment of Etruria
- 3382** Colombaroli, Marchetto, and Tinner 2007; Costantini et al. 2009; Drescher-Schneider et al. 2007; Mariotti Lippi et al. 2007; Sadori, Mercuri, and Mariotti Lippi 2010.
- 3383** Bellotti et al. 2004.
- 3384** Camporeale 2005; on the late-Roman administrative distinction between *Tuscia annonaria* and *Tuscia suburbicaria* see Solarì 1915–20, 63–68; on the boundaries of regio VII Etruria, created after the reorganization of Italy carried out by Augustus, see De Laurenzi 2007, 67–77.
- 3385** Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 21–7; Barocca 2012.
- 3386** See **chapter 23** Michetti; Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2012; Morselli and Tortorici 1985; Casi and Celuzza 2000; Enei 2001, 52–55; Bruschetti 2008.
- 3387** See **chapter 69** Perkins; Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 21–33; Barker and Rasmussen 2000, 10–22.
- 3388** See **chapter 33** Pacciarelli; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 25–42; Pacciarelli 2001, 128–79.
- 3389** See **chapter 72** Zifferero; Iaia and Mandolesi 2010; Mandolesi 2012.
- 3390** Cifani 2003, 175–206; *Atti Marseille* 2006; Barbieri, Ciacci, and Zifferero 2010, 107–20; Zifferero 2012.
- 3391** Cerchiai 2012.
- 3392** Torelli 1993, 7–48; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Veio; Cifani 2005; Boitani 2008a; Cascino, Patterson, and Di Giuseppe 2012; van Kampen 2012, with references.
- 3393** Ampolo 1987; Zifferero 2002; Camporeale 2005; Cifani 2005; Damiani and Pacciarelli 2006.
- 3394** Liverani 1996; De Santis 1997; Cifani 2005; Damiani and Pacciarelli 2006.
- 3395** Bartoloni 1997; Pacciarelli 2001, 159–65; Babbi 2005.
- 3396** Boitani 2005; Bartoloni 2009; 2011; Bartoloni et al. 2011; Bartoloni and Acconcia 2012.
- 3397** Boitani 2008b; Colonna 2004; Cascino and Di Sarcina 2005; Bartoloni 2009, 65–123; Ambrosini and Belevi Marchesini 2010; Belevi Marchesini 2011; Bartoloni and Benedettini 2011.
- 3398** Bartoloni 1997; Bartoloni et al. 1997; Boitani 1997; De Santis 1997; 2003; van Kampen 2003, 67–99.
- 3399** Rizzo 1989a; Boitani 2010; Boitani, Neri, and Biagi 2010; Brocato 2012.
- 3400** De Santis 1997; 2003; Bartoloni, Michetti, and van Kampen 2012.

- 3401** Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 37–88; Colonna 2002a; 2008, with references; Ambrosini 2009; Carlucci 2011; 2012; see also Winter 2009.
- 3402** Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 9–22; Colonna 2009; Bartoloni 2011, 11–15; Fusco 2011.
- 3403** Liverani 2012.
- 3404** De Lucia Brolli 1991a; 1991b; Torelli 1993, 25–48; Carlucci and De Lucia 1998; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Falisci and *Falerii*; and in general *Atti Civita Castellana* 1990; Cifani 2013.
- 3405** Cifani 2003, 72–113; 2005.
- 3406** Potter 1979; Moscati 1983; Carlucci et al. 2007; De Lucia Brolli 1991a, 18–41; Gazzetti 1992; Bakkum 2009; De Lucia Brolli, Biella and Suaria 2012.
- 3407** *Atti Civita Castellana* 1990; Baglione and De Lucia Brolli 1997.
- 3408** De Lucia Brolli and Benedettini 2000; Biella 2007; 2014. On white-on-red impasto ware see Micozzi 1994, 154–71 and 227–35.
- 3409** Cristofani and Coen 1991–92; Comella 1993; Carlucci 1995.
- 3410** *Atti Civita Castellana* 1990; Comella 1993; Carlucci 2004.
- 3411** Potter 1979, 29–35; *Atti Civita Castellana* 1990; De Lucia Brolli 1991a, 6–16; Hay et al. 2010.
- 3412** Torelli 1993, 49–122; Marconi Cosentino 1995; Cristofani and Nardi 1988; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. *Caere*; Cosentino 2008; Pacciarelli 2001, 159–65; Bellelli 2014.
- 3413** Pohl 1972; Pacciarelli 2001, 165–70; Enei 2001, 39–45; Barbaro 2006; Belardelli et al. 2007, 28, 35, 69–70, 82–7, 89.
- 3414** Pace 1955, 1–24; Linington 1980a.
- 3415** Naso 1998; 2016.
- 3416** Naso 1998; 2005; Drago Troccoli and Belelli Marchesini 2006; Cosentino 2008; Bellelli 2012, with references.
- 3417** Naso 1996, 29–42; Colonna and Di Paolo Colonna 1997; Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 163–76; Rizzo 2008; Cosentino 2008.
- 3418** Gran-Aymerich and Dominguez-Arranz 2011; Zifferero 1995; 2000; Brocato 2009; Cerasuolo 2012; Pohl 2009, with references; Quilici Gigli 1976; Colonna Di Paolo 1978; Ceci and Schiappelli 2006; quotation from Colonna 1967, 13.
- 3419** Micozzi 1994, 173–226 and 243–74; Rizzo 1989b; Sciacca 2004; Pieraccini 2003; Serra Ridgway 2010; Cristofani 1992; 1993; 2003; Ten Kortenaar 2011; Bellelli 2012.
- 3420** See **chapter 72** Zifferero; Colonna 2000; Zifferero 2005; *Atti Marseille* 2006; Belelli Marchesini, Biella, and Michetti 2015.
- 3421** Cristofani 2001, 467–83; Bonaudo 1999; Hemelrijk 2009, with references.
- 3422** Naso 1996, 64–67; Drago Troccoli and Belelli Marchesini 2006; Rizzo 2008.
- 3423** Santoro 1989; Nardi 1989; Cristofani 1992; 1993; 2000b; 2003; Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 121–62; Colonna 2001; Rizzo 2008; Guarino 2010.
- 3424** Cristofani 1983, 77–89; Rizzo 2008.
- 3425** Colonna 2012, with references; Belelli Marchesini et al. 2012; Baglione and Gentili 2013; Bellelli 2014.
- 3426** Tartara 1999; Enei 2001, 49–62; Zifferero 2005; *Atti Marseille* 2006; Rizzo 2008.
- 3427** Cristofani 1965; Proietti 1985; Blanck and Proietti 1986; Torelli 2000; Rizzo 2008; Colonna 2012.
- 3428** Enei 2001, 62–87; Liverani 2012.
- 3429** Torelli 1993, 123–62, 216–46; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Tarquinia; Mandolesi 1999; Pacciarelli 2001, 165–70; Moretti Sgubini 2001b; Cataldi 1993; Perego 2005; Cataldi Dini 2008.
- 3430** Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 21–44; Bonghi Jovino 2005, with references.
- 3431** Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 45–51, 69–72; Bonghi Jovino 2005; Bonghi Jovino and Bagnasco Gianni 2012.
- 3432** Torelli and Menichetti 1997; Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 95–99; Neri 2010, 252–60; Mandolesi 2009; Mandolesi and Lucidi 2010; Mandolesi and De Angelis 2011; Cerasuolo

2014.

3433 Linington 1980b; Bonghi Jovino 1986, 277–92; Maggiani 2000.

3434 Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 125–40; Boitani 2008c, with references; Fiorini 2008.

3435 Steingraber 1985; 2008, with references; Cataldi 1993, 36–83; Cristofani 2001, 467–83; Cataldi Dini 2008; Brocato 2010.

3436 Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 69–75; Cataldi Dini 2008.

3437 Torelli 1975.

3438 Barbieri 1991; Wendt et al. 1994, with references; Moretti and Sgubini 1983; Moretti Sgubini 1991, with references; Colonna Di Paolo and Colonna 1970; 1978; Colonna Di Paolo 1978; Quilici Gigli 1976; Barbieri 2004; Scapatucci 2010; Gentili 2005; Zifferero 1995; Naso 1999; Pulcinelli 2012, with references.

3439 Naso 1999; Liverani 2012.

3440 Torelli 1993, 163–212; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Vulci; Pacciarelli 2001, 128–79; Moretti Sgubini 1993; 2002; 2008a. On the Banditella votive deposit see Naso 2012, with references.

3441 Casi and Celuzza 2000, 60–64; Iaia 2005; Arancio, Moretti Sgubini, and Pellegrini 2010, with references; Neri 2010, 261–64, with references.

3442 *Atti Vulci* 1977; Pellegrini 1999; Perkins 1999; Berlingò 2005; Iaia and Mandolesi 2010.

3443 Moretti Sgubini 1993, 13–25; 2001a, 187–206; 2004a; 2005; 2008b; Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2005, with references.

3444 Moretti Sgubini 1986; Mangani 1995; Pellegrini 1989; Donati 1989; Iaia 2005; Moretti Sgubini 2000; 2008a; Neri 2010, 261–64, with references.

3445 Moretti Sgubini 1993, 110–14; Colonna 2002b; Moretti Sgubini 2008b.

3446 Naso 1996, 230–39; Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 207–15; Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2005; Perkins 1999; *Atti Etruria meridionale* 2005; Atti Marseille 2006.

3447 Michelucci 2008; Firmati, Rendini, and Zifferero 2011; Zifferero 2009; Zifferero et al. 2011a, Zifferero et al. 2011b; Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2012; Perkins 1999; 2012.

3448 Morselli and Tortorici 1985; Moretti Sgubini 1993, 115–19; Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2012.

3449 Spivey 1987; Rizzo 1988; Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 179–86, 216–55; Belevi Marchesini 2004; Celuzza et al. 2004; Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2005; 2011; Moretti Sgubini 2008a; 2008b.

3450 Moretti Sgubini 1993, 94–107; 2004b; 2005; 2008b; Musti 2005.

- 3451** For Sovana: Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Sovana; Michelucci 2005; Barbieri et al. 2010; Barbieri 2011. For Vulci: Moretti Sgubini 1993, 37–40, 68–84; Liverani 2012.
- 3452** Torelli 1993, 213–20; Timperi and Berlingò 1994; Della Fina 1999; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Orvieto and Bolsena; Tamburini 2003; Cifani 2003, 38–48; Sisani 2006, 39–53.
- 3453** Colonna 1985.
- 3454** Colonna 2003; Feruglio 2003; Bruschetti 2012.
- 3455** Roncalli 2003; Stopponi 1993; 2003; 2012; see also in general Della Fina 2012.
- 3456** Camporeale 2003; Della Fina 2005.
- 3457** Orvieto 1982; Bruschetti 2003.
- 3458** Santrot and Santrot 1995, with references; Tamburini 2001, 5–54; Liverani 2011.
- 3459** Timperi and Berlingò 1994; Tamburini 1995; 1998, 56–117, with references; Cifani 2003, 48–57; Medori 2010.
- 3460** Torelli 1993, 213–16; Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Bisenzio; Delpino 1977; Naso 1996, 239–58; Iaia 1999, 93–112; Della Fina 2004; Berlingò 2005, with references.
- 3461** Cristofani 2000a, s.v. Perugia; Sisani 2006, 1–38; Stopponi 2008.
- 3462** On the city and the territory generally see Della Fina 2002; on the necropolises see Feruglio 2002; 2011; Nati 2008; Cencioli 2011.
- 3463** Stopponi 2006; 2008.
- 3464** Ciacci 2004.
- 3465** For instance the kyathoi found at Gavorrano, part of a ceramic production also evident at Vetulonia and Poggio Civitate, which has been connected to Caere. Donati and Cappuccini 2007, 680, fig. 3. See also Tuck and Nielsen 2008, 49–66. For a complete discussion of this group of ceramics: Cappuccini 2007.
- 3466** Nielsen 1991; see esp. 252–53, n. 21.
- 3467** Steingraber 2001, 17.
- 3468** Mangani 1984; Mangani 1986, 94–98.
- 3469** Cristofani 1979, according to whom the city name, Siena, may have Etruscan origins from the elite family name Saina/Seina.
- 3470** For the dispersed archaeological evidence of this region: Mazzeschi 1976; Mangani 1986; Pistoi 1997.
- 3471** As set out, for instance by Stoddart 1990.
- 3472** For sanctuaries of this type: Zifferero 1995.
- 3473** Nielsen 2006, esp. 20–28.
- 3474** Standard references are Falchi 1891 and Cygielman 2000.
- 3475** Camporeale 1999. Among the many objects that document contact with the Eastern Mediterranean or Sardegna are: a *faïence* Bes figurine (second half of the eighth century) from Poggio alla Guardia; a seventh-century bronze *lebes* from the Circolo dei Lebeti that has strong stylistic connections to Anatolia or North Syria; and a seventh-century Nuragic boat-shaped “lamp” from the Circolo delle Tre Navicelle. Most recently for Nuragic *navicelle*, see Lo Schiavo on the Nuragic boat from the Tomba del Duce: Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, cat. 3.39, 136–38, with bibliography. Also: Lo Schiavo and Milletti 2015, with previous bibliography.
- 3476** Phillips 1970, 15–16 and 18.
- 3477** G. Camporeale (in Celuzza 2009, 27) in speaking of bronze production during the Villanovan period mentions a variety of objects said to be of Etruscan manufacture recovered at Dodona, Samos, Delphi and Olympia. See [chapter 87](#) Naso.
- 3478** Camporeale 1967.
- 3479** Two of the best-preserved examples were most recently published by Celuzza and Cianferoni, 2010, 158, figs. 3.106–7.
- 3480** For recent publication of Orientalizing tomb groups: Cygielman 1997; Rafanelli and Cygielman 2002; Cygielman and Pagnini 2006.
- 3481** As argued elsewhere for Ceri: Colonna and von Hase 1984; and for Picenum: Warden 1994.

- 3482** Magness 2001, with bibliography.
- 3483** For early Roselle: Cygielman 2009.
- 3484** Cygielman 2009, 56.
- 3485** Cygielman 2009, 56.
- 3486** Cristofani 1975. See also Cristofani 1976, 38, no. 38.
- 3487** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 142 and 282.
- 3488** Cygielman 2009, 57.
- 3489** E. Nielsen and K. Phillips, in Stopponi 1985, 68–69. For further thinking on the interpretation, Phillips 1993, 81–83.
- 3490** Phillips 1993, 80.
- 3491** Steingraber 2001.
- 3492** Donati 1998.
- 3493** See for instance Maggiani 2004: 151–52.
- 3494** Steingraber 2001.
- 3495** N. Winter, personal communication 2012.
- 3496** For instance the rich and varied assemblage of the Tomba dei Flabelli: Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010: 83–109. For the Tomba dei Carri: Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010: 110–14.
- 3497** For the industrial production at Populonia: Warden 1983. For an extensive discussion of the broader context of Etruscan mineral exploitation: *Atti Populonia*.
- 3498** Zifferero 2000 for funerary architecture at Populonia.
- 3499** For the architecture and other considerations: Romualdi 2002.
- 3500** For full consideration of this city, with bibliography: *Atti Volterra*. More recently, Camporeale and Maggiani 2009.

- 3501** Bonamici 2007, 220–21.
- 3502** Bonamici 2007; 2008.
- 3503** For the Cecina valley, especially in the later periods: Regoli and Terrenato 2000.
- 3504** Bruni 1999.
- 3505** Bruni 2004a, 18–63. See Bruni 2004b for the demography of the region.
- 3506** Bruni 2007, 226–29.
- 3507** For the Classical and Hellenistic Periods: Bruni 2009, 181–248. Also Regoli and Terrenato 2000. For Lucca: Zecchini 1999.
- 3508** Esposito 2007, 90–91.
- 3509** Esposito 2001; 2007, 90–95; Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, 115–22.
- 3510** Esposito 2010, 123–24.
- 3511** Cristofani and Martelli 1983, 121–22 and 273–74.
- 3512** Tuck 2009.
- 3513** The best source for a review of the material still remains Stopponi 1985, 64–154; see also Phillips 1993.
- 3514** Edlund-Berry 1994. See also Tuck 2006
- 3515** Nielsen 1987; 1994. For a more recent and thorough discussion of the architectural terracottas from the site in the context of Etruscan architectural decoration see Winter 2009.
- 3516** Tuck and Nielsen 2000.
- 3517** Nielsen 1993.
- 3518** Tuck and Nielsen 2000, 35–63.
- 3519** Tuck and Nielsen 2008, 49–66.
- 3520** Winter 2009, 198–208.
- 3521** For a comprehensive discussion of the burials and their contents, Tuck 2009, especially 16–23 and 83–98. Nine simple fossa graves with inhumation burials have been uncovered to date. They are located on the hill adjacent to Poggio Civitate less than one kilometer northwest of Piano del Tesoro. The grave goods are mostly composed of local ceramics together with fibulae, and a scattering of bronze and iron weapons. Several examples of pottery contemporary with the elite gifts from the Tomba del Duce have been recognized. Chronologically, the Poggio Aguzzo material would seem to fit comfortably in the middle of the seventh century, providing some small overlap with the earliest pieces from the Orientalizing Complex on Poggio Civitate.
- 3522** For which see Warden 1983, and also: *Atti Populonia*.
- 3523** For the site, with previous bibliography: Camporeale 2010.
- 3524** For the settlement, see Camporeale, 1997; for tombs, Camporeale 2000. Also Camporeale and Giuntoli 2000.
- 3525** Minetti and Rastrelli 2001. For new data about Chiusi see Gastaldi 1998 and Chiusi 2000.
- 3526** For a complete discussion with excellent color photographs and full bibliography: Minetti 2006. For another painted tomb from this area: Rastrelli 2003, 94–99.
- 3527** Minetti 1997, 28.
- 3528** Vilucchi 2009.
- 3529** Scarpellini Testi 1995, 371.
- 3530** Schiatti 1995.
- 3531** Paoli and Zamarchi Grassi 2002, 23–32.
- 3532** Romualdi 1981.
- 3533** For a detailed summary of recent work, see Bruschetti et al. 2011.
- 3534** Bruschetti and Zamarchi Grassi 1994.
- 3535** See Zamarchi Grassi 1992, pls. 25–29. Also Bruschetti and Zamarchi Grassi 1994.
- 3536** Warden 2009a. For ancestor worship: Camporeale 2008, with extensive bibliography.
- 3537** Nicosia 1974.
- 3538** Bruni 1994.
- 3539** Salvini 1990, 117–43.

- 3540** For the region: Bettini and Poggesi 2000.
- 3541** Bettini 2008.
- 3542** Poggesi 1999; Comune di Carmignano 2006; Maggiani 2008.
- 3543** Bettini and Poggesi 2000, 58–71; Poggesi et al. 2005; Poggesi et al. 2007.
- 3544** Nicosia 1966; de Marinis G. 1996; Capecchi 1996; and most recently Cappuccini et al. 2009.
- 3545** Warden et al. 2005, with previous bibliography. More recently: Warden 2009b.
- 3546** The artisan areas and settlement surrounding the sanctuary are summarized by Thomas 2000.
- 3547** For a summary of the ritual contexts and their possible interpretation: Warden 2009b; Warden 2010.
- 3548** A summary of these phases can be found in Warden et al. 2005.
- 3549** Warden 2009b; Warden 2010.
- 3550** Bruni 1998, 105–107; Floriani and Bruni 2006. For the region, see also Bruni 2009.

- 3551** Ciampoltrini 2005.
- 3552** Paribeni 1990; de Marinis and Spadea 2004.
- 3553** On environment and landscape, see **chapter 69**. Perkins; see also Barker 1981; Rendeli 1993, 115–53; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 11–42; and Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 21–37. On archaeobotanical and biomolecular research on grapes and olives, see Ciacci, Barbieri, and Zifferero 2010; Ciacci, Rendini, and Zifferero 2012; Fiorentino 2011; Zifferero 2012.
- 3554** On data from the South Etruria Project, see Potter 1979 and, most recently, Rendeli, Cascino, and Di Sarcina 2009; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, and Patterson 2012, with references.
- 3555** Rome 1987; on amphorae and the consumption of wine in funerary contexts, see Gras 1985; Bartoloni, Acconcia, and ten Kortenaar 2012; on Etruscan domestic ceramics, see Zifferero 2004; Rendeli 2009.
- 3556** On the suburban area and countryside of Etruscan cities, see Zifferero 2005a; on commerce see chapters 55 and 61 Becker. On amphorae produced by Caere and Vulci see *Atti Marseille* 2006; Zifferero 2005b; Firmati, Rendini, and Zifferero 2011.
- 3557** On the definition of “territorial state” see Cifani 2003, 175–206; on the organization of the *chora* in the Po Valley and Etruscan Campania see Sassatelli and Donati 2005, 117–338; Govi and Sassatelli 2010, 291–310; Ortalli 2010; Harari and Paltineri 2010; Pontrandolfo and Santoriello 2009; Pellegrino and Rossi 2011, with references.
- 3558** See **chapter 33** Pacciarelli; Pacciarelli 2001, 115–79; Barbaro 2010; Mandolesi 2012, with references.
- 3559** Iaia and Mandolesi 1993; 2010; see also Bonghi Jovino 2005.
- 3560** Rendeli 1993, 156–220; 2002; Zifferero 2000.
- 3561** Torelli 2000; on the network of open sites controlled by the residence of Poggio Civitate, see Cenni 2007, 319–30.
- 3562** Rendeli 1993, 74–78; Cifani 1998; 2002; Zifferero 2005b.
- 3563** See chapters 49 Nijboer; 55 and 61 Becker; Rendeli 1993, 369–72; Enei 2001, 49–62; Zifferero 2005a; 2010.
- 3564** Rome 1987, 17–36; Barker 2000; Enei 2001; for discussion of the forms of land ownership see Torelli 2002; Damiani and Pacciarelli 2006; Carandini 2006; Cifani 2009.
- 3565** Zifferero 2000; 2005a.
- 3566** Tartara 1999; Enei 2001; Cifani 2002; Damiani and Pacciarelli 2006; Perkins 1999; 2012; Michelucci 2008; Firmati, Rendini, and Zifferero 2011.
- 3567** Iaia and Mandolesi 2010; Zifferero 1991; 2000, 232–47.
- 3568** Zifferero 1995; 2000, 232–47; Maggiani 2008, on northern Etruria.
- 3569** Terrenato 2001; Carandini 2006; Cifani 2009; on the context of the Villa dell’ Auditorium in Rome, see now Carandini, D’Alessio, and Di Giuseppe 2006.
- 3570** Cifani 2002; Damiani and Pacciarelli 2006.
- 3571** Enei 2001, 49–62; Cifani 1998; 2002.
- 3572** For the phenomenon of Orientalizing tombs near open sites see, most recently, Zifferero 2000 around Caere; on the area around Vulci, see Zifferero 2009, 230–38; Zifferero et al. 2011.
- 3573** Mariotti Lippi et al. 2002; Paribeni 2009; Firmati, Rendini, and Zifferero 2011, 33–38; Zifferero 2009, 230–38; Zifferero et al. 2011.
- 3574** Zifferero 2009, 230–38; Zifferero et al. 2011.
- 3575** Firmati, Rendini, and Zifferero 2011, 21–32; Perkins 1999, 165–93; 2012.
- 3576** Rendini and Firmati 2008; 2010; Cerasuolo, Pulcinelli, and Rubat Morel 2008; Cerasuolo and Pulcinelli 2010.
- 3577** Campana 2001, 276–97; 2013, 276–79; Felici 2004, 302–8; Felici 2012, 219–22; Cenni 2007, 319–30; Acconcia 2012; on Etruscan toponyms in Tuscany, see Pieri 1969; for the example of Percenna from *Perkna/Perkena*, see Cenni 2007, 322–23, with references. On the Romanization of inland Etruria, see chapters 37 Marcone and 38 Torelli.
- 3578** Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000; Scarano Ussani and Torelli 2002; Torelli 2005.
- The Introduction and paragraphs nos. 1.1.–1.2., 3. and 4. are by C. Pellegrino, nos. 1.3. and 2.

by T.Cinquantaquattro.

3579 For a summary portrait of Campania, see Cerchiai 1995; 2010a.

3580 Peroni 1994; Cerchiai 1995, 10–12. For a recent fine-tuning of the question see d’Agostino 2011a, 69–72.

3581 Colonna 1991, 46.

3582 Cerchiai 1995, 12.

3583 The materials are published in Bartoli 2005 and Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012, where they are adduced in confirmation of Peroni’s thesis on the non-ethno-cultural significance of the “Villanovan.”

3584 Ruby 1995.

3585 Sestieri 1960.

3586 Bonaudo et al. 2009, 170–72; Pellegrino and Rossi 2011, 209–10.

3587 Gastaldi 1998.

3588 On the possible location of the inhabited area see Ruby 1995, 30–38.

3589 For syntheses of the available data on Eboli, see Cipriani 1990; Di Michele 2008.

3590 On the necropolises of San Valentino Torio, San Marzano sul Sarno, and Striano, see Gastaldi 1979; D’Ambrosio, Di Maio, and Scala 2009. On the settlement of Longola, see Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012.

3591 Robinson 2008.

3592 d’Agostino and Gastaldi 1988; De Natale 1992; Gastaldi 1998.

3593 d’Agostino 1982.

3594 Cerchiai 1995, 60–61.

3595 Gastaldi 1994, 2006.

3596 Bailo Modesti and Gastaldi 1999.

3597 For Pithecusae see Pithekoussai I; Nizzo 2007; d’Agostino 2011b; Cinquantaquattro 2016. For the Agro Picentino see Cinquantaquattro 2001, 2009; Bailo Modesti and Gobbi 2010.

3598 Cerchiai, Rossi and Santoriello 2009.

3599 Campanelli 2011, 172–83, 157–70.

3600 Campanelli 2011, 157–70.

- 3601** Cerchiali and Nava 2008–9, 101–4.
- 3602** Cerchiali, Rossi, and Santoriello 2009, 81–82.
- 3603** Cinquantaquattro 2001.
- 3604** Cinquantaquattro 2001, 91–94.
- 3605** Bailo Modesti, Battista et al. 2005, 576–80; Bailo Modesti, Cerchiali et al. 2005, 205–14.
- 3606** Pellegrino and Rossi 2011, 211.
- 3607** Bonaudo et al. 2009, 172–78.
- 3608** Cerchiali 1985.
- 3609** Cuozzo 2004–5.
- 3610** d’Agostino 1977.
- 3611** Cuozzo 2003, 108–12; see also Bonaudo et al. 2009, 193–94.
- 3612** Cerchiali, Cinquantaquattro and Pellegrino 2013.
- 3613** Bailo Modesti 1982, 250–51.
- 3614** For a recent analysis of the entire corpus see Pellegrino 2008.
- 3615** Cinquantaquattro 2004–5, 2005.
- 3616** Colonna and Pellegrino 2002; see also de Simone 2004. On the context of the tomb and the relevant area of the burial see Pellegrino 2008, 448–49; forthcoming.
- 3617** Cerchiali 1995, 99–177; 2010a, 55–93.
- 3618** Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990, 14.
- 3619** Cerchiali 2008a.
- 3620** Pellegrino 2008, 424–35.
- 3621** Russo 2005; Senatore and Russo 2010, 25–101.
- 3622** Cerchiali 2010b. More generally on the historiografic tradition see Mele 2010.
- 3623** Mele 2010, 301–311.
- 3624** Senatore and Russo 2010, 186–87.
- 3625** Rescigno 1998; d’Agostino and Cerchiali 2004, 271–77.
- 3626** For a recent summary of the evidence and the problems connected with the Archaic period of Pompeii, see Bonghi Jovino 2011; see also Pesando 2010.
- 3627** De Caro 1986.
- 3628** d’Agostino and Cerchiali 1998.
- 3629** De Waele 2001.
- 3630** For a recent summary on the stages of settlement see Campanelli 2011, 198–207.
- 3631** Pellegrino and Rossi 2011, 212–14.
- 3632** Bailo Modesti, Battista et al. 2005; Bailo Modesti, Cerchiali et al. 2005; Bailo Modesti, Frezza et al. 2005.
- 3633** Colonna 1997.
- 3634** Colonna and Schiano di Cola 2007.
- 3635** Bailo Modesti 1984; on the inscription, *ibid.* 255–76.
- 3636** La Regina 1998.
- 3637** Bonaudo, Cuozzo, Mugione, et al. 2009, 178–84.
- 3638** Pellegrino 2004–5.
- 3639** Cerchiali 1990.
- 3640** Cinquantaquattro and Cuozzo 2003; Bonaudo et al. 2009, 178–84.
- 3641** Pellegrino 2010.
- 3642** Pontrandolfo 1987; for this type of relationship and the phenomena of mobility revealed by the epigraphic evidence, see d’Agostino and Cerchiali 2004, 279–82.
- 3643** Colonna 1974 and Zancani Montuoro 1983; see also d’Agostino and Cerchiali 2004, 281.
- 3644** Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990, 301–9.
- 3645** Colonna 1994, 359–60; Pellegrino 2008, 432–33.
- 3646** Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990, 196, 231–34, figs. 314–15, 387–94.
- 3647** Tomay 2009, 161–65.
- 3648** Pontrandolfo and Santoriello 2011, 167–70.

3649 Pontrandolfo 2009.

3650 For a synthesizing framework see Tomay 2002.

- 3651** Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990, 167–70; Pontrandolfo, Serritella, and Monda 2011.
- 3652** Greco and Pontrandolfo 1990, 68, fig. 78.
- 3653** Campanelli 2011, 205, fig. 241.
- 3654** Pellegrino and Rossi 2011, 73–106, 214–18.
- 3655** Colonna 2007, with bibliography.
- 3656** Cerchiai 2008a, 407–8, with bibliography.
- 3657** Pellegrino 2008. See also **chapter 18** Maras.
- 3658** *CIE* 8867–8868; Colonna 1998.
- 3659** Colonna 2005, 1763–71.
- 3660** The earliest attestation of this city name is in Hecataeus (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Nola*), at the end of the sixth century BCE.
- 3661** Greco Pontrandolfo 1980.
- 3662** Cerchiai 1996; Pellegrino 2014.
- 3663** Colonna 2005, 177–78; on the the bronze coins see Cantilena 2016.
- 3664** Cerchiai 2008b, 24–26.
- 3665** Beloch 1890, 1.
- 3666** The term “Campania” is derived from the adjective “Campanus,” which refers to the *ager* of the main city of the region, Capua.
- 3667** De Franciscis 1992.
- 3668** Beloch 1890, 379–386.
- 3669** For an overall picture on the ancient sources on Campania before the Romans, see Lepore 1978 and 1989, Martin 1984; Mele 1991 and Mele 2014b. On the Greek presence in Campania, see in particular: Mele 2014a.
- 3670** Recent researches have revealed the high consistency of the Opician settlement of Cuma (so called pre-Hellenic Kyme) before the colonization. Despite previous conjectures, the village would have spread outside the limits of the natural acropolis; see Greco 2009; for interpretation see d’Agostino 2011b.
- 3671** Recent analyses in Musti 2009; Mele 2010; Chiaramonte Treré 2011 and Colonna 2011. The sources are collected in Pagliara 2002.
- 3672** Bugno 2009; Cesarano 2011.
- 3673** Despite the name, ancient Capua corresponds to the modern city of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, not to be confused with the modern Capua.
- 3674** It has been argued, in particular, that in Ecataeus’ picture of Campania there is an open reticence in admitting the participation of the Etruscans in the peopling of the region: Colonna 1991, 26.
- 3675** Musti 1992. Strabo (5.4.3) in particular accounts for an Etruscan *dodecapolis* in Campania, similar to that of southern Etruria, of which Capua would have been the capital.
- 3676** Bellelli 2006, 119–20.
- 3677** Recent discussion in Musti 1992; Cerchiai 2010a, 31–2; d’Agostino 2011a, 77–78 and Sirano 2014a.
- 3678** Colonna 2005, 155–60.
- 3679** As stated by M. Cristofani (1997, 189) and M. Torelli (1994, 867).
- 3680** Bellelli 2006, 110–22.
- 3681** Beloch 1890, 339–421; Heurgon 1970; Frederiksen 1979 and 1984.
- 3682** His contributions on this matter are now usefully collected in one volume: Johannowsky 2010.
- 3683** Johannowsky 1965; 1983, 7–88.
- 3684** Cristofani 1987; Colonna 1991; Cerchiai 1995; 1999; 2008; 2010a; 2010b; 2011; Massa-Pairault 1996, 138–142; Bonghi Jovino 2000; d’Agostino 1996; 2001; 2011a; Pellegrino 2013a.
- 3685** Haynes 2000, 197–200; Camporeale 2011, 425–45; Cuozzo 2012.
- 3686** Szilágyi 1988; Kästner 2010.
- 3687** *Atti Salerno-Padula-Paestum-Caserta-Teano-Capua* 1965; *Atti Benevento* 1992; *Atti*

- Salerno-Pontecagnano* 1994; *Atti Caserta-Santa Maria Capua Vetere-Capua-Teano* 2011.
- 3688** Bonghi Jovino 1965–2011; for bronze working see also Grassi 1996; 2000; Bellelli 2002a; Gilotta 2006.
- 3689** Benassai 2011; Cammarota 2000; 2001; 2003; Lyons 2007; Castaldo 2011.
- 3690** For an overall picture of the history of ancient Capua see Gilotta 2009; Melandri 2011c and Sirano 2013.
- 3691** Recent discussion in Bellelli 2006, 118–9, with references to previous literature.
- 3692** Occhilupo 2011; on the most ancient human presences in the area see Minoja and Raposso 1996 and Nava 2011. More generally, on the protohistory of northern Campania see the recent account in Albore Livadie 2014. Some new interesting data are now available thanks to the survey of Quilici Gigli 2012 in the Tifata area.
- 3693** Colonna 1991, 38.
- 3694** Melandri 2011a.
- 3695** Johannowsky 1983; Chiaramonte Treré 1999; Setti 2000; Colombo and Stanislao 2011; Melandri 2011a; Occhilupo 2011.
- 3696** Allegro and Santaniello 2008.
- 3697** Johannowsky 1994; 1996.
- 3698** Torelli 1981, 42; Colonna 1991, 36–40; Sirano 2014a.
- 3699** See in particular the comments of Colonna 1991, 36.
- 3700** Colonna 1991, 36–7.

- 3701** d'Agostino 2011b; 2014.
- 3702** d'Agostino 2014.
- 3703** Melandri 2011a; Bellelli 2012.
- 3704** Johannowsky 1989, 37; 1996, 64; Melandri 2011a; see also E. Santaniello, in Allegro and Santaniello 2008, 27. Prominent among the remarkable previous discussion on this crucial theme are therefore the provocative proposals by R. Peroni to dissolve the difference between Villanovan and *Fossakultur*: Peroni 1994; *Atti Roma-Napoli-Pompei* 2007, 859–60.
- 3705** d'Agostino 2011a, 73, pl. VIIa; Colombo and Stanislao 2011, 335, note 1, pl. IIIa–c; Melandri 2011a. See also the comments of M. Pacciarelli (2014, 53).
- 3706** This complex reminds us of the importance of an archaeological discovery of over a century ago—wrongly underestimated due to its sporadic nature—the discovery in the territory around Capua of a crested Villanovan bronze helmet now kept in New York: Bellelli 2006, 29, pl. VII:1.
- 3707** Gobbi 2011; Melandri 2011a; Melandri and Sirano 2016.
- 3708** Peserico 1995; Kourou 2005.
- 3709** De Salvia 2008; Melandri 2010 and 2011a; Melandri and Sirano 2016. As for the amber, see Grassi and Minoja 1998 and Borriello 2007.
- 3710** It has been recently the object of two important analyses, and opposing points of view: d'Agostino 2010, Melandri 2011b.
- 3711** Johannowsky 1989, 32.
- 3712** Johannowsky 1983, 298–9; 1989, 43; Minoja 2006a. For a general picture on this period: Minoja 2014; Melandri and Minoja, forthcoming.
- 3713** For a general picture see Albore Livadie 1985.
- 3714** Valenza 1969; Mingazzini 1969; Murolo 2003.
- 3715** Ferrante 2006 and 2007.
- 3716** On the class see Canciani 1974. On the Campanian productions, see Bellelli 2003a and 2011.
- 3717** Albore Livadie 1979; Rasmussen 1986; Minoja 2000.
- 3718** Cerchiai 2008; Gobbi 2012.
- 3719** Latium vetus, *ager faliscus*, Sabine and indigenous Campania all adopt bucchero: Naso 2004.
- 3720** Napolitano 2011.
- 3721** Johannowsky 1989, 44.
- 3722** Bellelli 2001.
- 3723** Bellelli 2003a.
- 3724** It is disputed whether this group of local vases can be considered, from a stylistic point of view, the output of a school working on Corinthian or Etrusco-Corinthian models: see Cerchiai 1990 and Szilágyi 1990.
- 3725** Johannowsky 1978.
- 3726** Minoja 2009.
- 3727** Cerchiai 1998.
- 3728** Cerchiai 1997b.
- 3729** Stibbe 2000; Bellelli 2006, 89–93.
- 3730** Di Giuseppe and Russo 2008, 50, figs. 32–34.
- 3731** Bellelli 1997 and 2006.
- 3732** Iasiello 2011.
- 3733** V. Bellelli and A. Emiliozzi, in Bellelli 2006, 62–75, 131–48.
- 3734** See Bellelli 2006, 22–5, but Ellen Thiermann and Stephan Karl kindly inform me that the axe and the clay vases have been recently identified respectively in Berlin and in Graz.
- 3735** Bellelli 2006, 25–30.
- 3736** Bellelli 2006, 87–110.
- 3737** A good account is offered by F. Sirano (2014b).
- 3738** Sampaolo 2008; 2011b; Regis 2011.

- 3739** Allegro 1984; N. Allegro, in Allegro et al. 1995, 37; E. Santaniello, in Allegro and Santaniello 2008; Minoja 2011.
- 3740** N. Allegro, in Allegro et al. 1995, 37.
- 3741** Allegro 1984; *CIE* 8629–8676.
- 3742** Johannowsky 1989, 47.
- 3743** Martelli 2006; Greco, Castaldo and Ciardiello 2008; Ciardiello 2011. As for the imagery, recent researches have shown the popularity of some religious themes, such as the Eleusinian mysteries: Rendeli 1993.
- 3744** This subject has been studied by E. Thiermann (2012).
- 3745** On the topography of Capua's archaic necropolis, and in particular on the northern side of it, see Benassai 2011 and Castaldo 2011.
- 3746** Beazley 1956; De La Genière 2002.
- 3747** Williams 1992.
- 3748** Cerchiai 1997a.
- 3749** Batino 2002.
- 3750** Castaldo 2011.

- 3751** Cerchiai 1995, 186–7, pl. XXX, 1, with previous literature.
- 3752** Cerchiai 2010a, 99–101. The problem of the multiple names of the city has been recently discussed by Minoja 2012.
- 3753** De Franciscis 1956. For a general overview of Campanian sanctuaries, and in particular to the Capuan ones, see Cristofani 1995; 1998; Minoja and Grassi 1996; Carafa 2008; Cerchiai 2011.
- 3754** Cf. von Duhn 1876; Grassi and Sampaolo 2006; Minoja 2006b; Sampaolo 2011a; Poccetti and Sampaolo 2014; an interesting history of discovery is offered by Crawford 2009.
- 3755** Migliore 2007, 2011a and 2011b.
- 3756** Adriani 1939; De Caro et al. 1988; Haase 2010.
- 3757** Cristofani 1995.
- 3758** Coarelli 1995.
- 3759** Crawford 2009; Minoja 2011; Sampaolo 2011a and 2011b.
- 3760** Cristofani 1995, 13–21.
- 3761** Franchi De Bellis 1981.
- 3762** Poccetti 1998.
- 3763** Ventriglia 2011.
- 3764** Grassi 2011.
- 3765** Falcone 2010; 2011.
- 3766** Rescigno 2009.
- 3767** Koch 1912; Riis 1981; Winter 1986; Bonghi Jovino 1993; Rescigno 1998; Aversa 1999; Grassi and Sampaolo 2006.
- 3768** Johannowsky 1983, 74–9; 1989, 46; Heurgon 1986.
- 3769** Rescigno 1998.
- 3770** Lulof 2006.
- 3771** d’Agostino 1996. See also Edlund 1987, 134, who considers Marica’s sanctuary at the mouth of the Garigliano River as the *epineion* of Etruscan Capua.
- 3772** Johannowsky 1989, 301.
- 3773** Parise Badoni 1968; Falcone and Ibelli 2007, 49–78; Bellelli 2009, 123–28.
- 3774** Falcone and Ibelli 2007; Bellelli 2009.
- 3775** V. Ibelli, in Falcone and Ibelli 2007.
- 3776** Benassai 1995; Cammarota 2011, with literature.
- 3777** Cerchiai 1998; d’Agostino 2003; Minoja 2010.
- 3778** Benassai 2002.
- 3779** Guggisberg 2005.
- 3780** For the interpretation of the giant as Alcioneus or Cacus: Benassai 1997; Cerchiai 2006 and 2010a.
- 3781** Visone 2001; Gilotta 2006; 2013.
- 3782** *CIE*; de Simone 1992; Pellegrino 2013b; Bellelli 2014.
- 3783** For the “Castulo”-type cups see in particular Shefton 1996.
- 3784** Vetter 1939.
- 3785** Marchesini 1996.
- 3786** *CIE* 8730.
- 3787** Mazzocchi 2011. One of them has been brought to light in the Greek settlement of Pithekoussai, where—according to a complicate conjecture—it would have arrived as a gift of a Capuan aristocrat to an *aristos* from Cumae taking refuge on Pithekoussai: Mazzocchi 2011, 69.
- 3788** Cristofani 1995, with literature. A short synthesis in Bellelli 2014.
- 3789** Bellelli 2002b.
- 3790** Pellegrino and Colonna 2002.
- 3791** See the considerations in Bellelli 2006, 116.
- 3792** Rix 1992.
- 3793** See for instance the reconstruction of Ventriglia 2006.

3794 Agostiniani 1992, 46–7.

3795 Cerchiai 2008, 408–13; 2010a, 99–101; Gobbi 2012, 92–4.

3796 Cerchiai 2008; Gobbi 2012.

3797 Cristofani 1993 (= Cristofani 2001, vol. III, 1177–1184).

3798 On this problem, see in general Rix 2005.

3799 Colonna 1991, 61.

3800 Cornell 1974.

- 3801** d'Agostino 1992.
- 3802** Colonna 1991, 61–2; Cristofani 1995, 103–4; Cerchiai 1995, 184–90; Bellelli 2006, 120–21; Cerchiai 2008, 410–11; Minoja 2011, 20–21.
- 3803** Sampaolo 2008.
- 3804** Allegro 1984.
- 3805** Benassai 2001.
- 3806** Gasperetti, Passaro and De Caro 1999; Chiesa 2011.
- 3807** Sirano 2005 and 2007a.
- 3808** Rescigno 1993.
- 3809** Talamo 1987.
- 3810** Cristofani 1996.
- 3811** Sirano 2007a.
- 3812** Sirano 2007b.
- 3813** Sirano 2011.
- 3814** Passaro and Ciaccia 1996; Gilotta and Passaro 2012.
- 3815** Gilotta 2008.
- 3816** Chiesa 1993.
- 3817** Frederiksen 1979, 298.
- 3818** Chiesa 1993, 52–3, pls. XXIV, XLVII.
- 3819** Gilotta 2008.
- 3820** Mingazzini 1969; Borriello 1991 and 2003.
- 3821** Colonna 1991; d'Agostino 1996; 2001, 245.
- 3822** Laforgia 2009.
- 3823** Albore Livadie 1989; M.R. Borriello, in Nava and Salerno 2007, 198–200; d'Agostino 2011b, 76–7.
- 3824** See Ferrante 2006 and 2007.
- 3825** Bellelli 2003a.
- 3826** As for the burial contents, the cemeteries of Calatia are known mainly through the wide selection of the rich Orientalizing and Archaic tombs unearthed in recent years by E. Laforgia: Laforgia 1996a; 2003; 2009; 2011.
- 3827** Bellelli 2003b.
- 3828** Frère 2008.
- 3829** History of research in Ferone 2008. A small group of materials is housed in Rome in the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini (Mangani 2011). For recent research on the field see Giampaola and Rossi 2011.
- 3830** Borriello 1991 and 2003.
- 3831** Laforgia 1996b.
- 3832** Johannowsky 1983, 50–52; 1989, 41. See also Aigner Foresti 1986.
- 3833** Cerchiai 2002.
- 3834** La Rocca and Angelillo 1971.
- 3835** Pallottino 1984, 402.
- 3836** Cerchiai and Salvadori 2013.
- 3837** L. Vecchio, in Nava and Salerno 2007, 189–95.
- 3838** Bonghi Jovino and Donceel 1969; Lezzi-Hafter, Isler-Kerényi and Donceel 1980.
- 3839** For Etrusco-Corinthian imports, in particular, see Bellelli 2003b. M. Cesarano (2007) has studied an interesting type of Etrusco-Corinthian bottle, so far attested principally at Nola.
- 3840** Cesarano 2011.
- 3841** *CIE* 8728–8746. Bellelli 2002b.
- 3842** Cristofani 1993.
- 3843** Sampaolo 1985.
- 3844** Rescigno 1998, 300–3, pl. XXIX: 3–4.
- 3845** Cinquantaquattro 2006–2007 and 2009.
- 3846** Cinquantaquattro 2006–2007, 121, fig. 16:5.

3847 On the class, see Naso 2006.

3848 Cinquantaquattro 2007.

3849 Cinquantaquattro 2009, 140–42.

3850 The most recent and broadest account of the subjects remains Malnati and Manfredi 2003.

3851 The most recent and broadest account of the subjects remains Malnati and Manfredi 2003. To the bibliography given there, add, with extensive relevant bibliography at least: Sassatelli and Donati 2005; Locatelli and Malnati 2007; Ortalli 2008; Curina et alii 2010; Marchesi 2011.

3852 The most recent and broadest account of the subjects remains Malnati and Manfredi 2003: to the bibliography given there, add, with extensive relevant bibliography at least for Marzabotto: Vitali, Brizzolara and Lippolis 2001; Sassatelli and Govi 2005; Bentz and Reusser 2008; Sassatelli and Govi 2010. For Spina: Berti and Harari 2004. For western Emilia: Chiaramonte Treré 2009; Burgio, Campagnari and Malnati 2010. In general; Calastri et alii 2010.

3853 Recent bibliography and discussion in von Eles and Pacciarelli forthcoming. For relations with the Chiusi-Cetona group see also [chapter 76](#) von Eles.

3854 For a purely conventional, not ethnic, sense of the archaeological concept of ‘Picene civilization’ and of the adjective derived, see Baldelli 2000, 31–2, 35, with bibliography and discussion at notes 1–3, 27). The northern limit of such a group compared to the Verucchio group seems attested at Boncio (Baldelli 2001, 66; 2002b, 11–12), in the vicinity of Gradara; it is more difficult to identify a frontier in the successive phases (cf. Lollini 1985, 338–44, 353–54, 358, with comments of G. Colonna and P. von Eles, on which also Baldelli 2002a, 69, n. 2).

3855 The Italian expression ‘*teste di ponte*’ is Pallottino’s (1984, 56, 150), but used with reference to the overcoming of the Apennines by the single Emilian and Romagna nuclei, the first of which also as we now know (Bermond Montanari 1993), reaches the Adriatic at Argenta, not far from Spina. The analogy with the ‘outposts’ of Guillermo Algaze (1993) is evidenced by Guidi (2006, 60).

3856 Delivered for printing in February 2012; researches and excavations after this date have not been considered here; only recent studies on Verucchio and results of excavations in Verucchio, Pian del Monte, by Prof. Maurizio Harari (Pavia University) are briefly mentioned. For an updated general outlook of Romagna from Final Bronze Age to Iron Age and previous bibliography: von Eles and Pacciarelli forthcoming.

3857 For preliminary information on recent excavations and studies in Imola Pontesanto, Ca’ Borghese and Orto Granara and for a map of Iron Age sites von Eles et al. forthcoming; Giumlia-Mair and von Eles forthcoming.

3858 The significance of the bronze belt (Torelli 2000, 547, no. 26) has been underestimated: Marradi is not far from the cemetery of San Martino in Gattara.

3859 In the site (Casa della Musica, via Nanni), situated near the northern edge of the plateau, structures and stratigraphy strata and structures, unfortunately probably exposed for a long time and therefore very disturbed, refer to two separate chronologic horizons dating to Final Bronze Age and First Iron Age. Excavations are yet unpublished.

3860 Sestieri 1999; Vanzetti 1999; Zanini 2000; this facies is named *facies Chiusi Cetona* by Alessandro Zanini, while Alessandro Vanzetti (and Renato Peroni) preferred to indicate it as *facies di Pianello*.

3861 There are certainly remarkable affinities between the two centers but differences are also noteworthy: territorial strategies as well as rituals (presence or absence of inhumation graves) or typological comparisons. For Verucchio: Gentili 1987, Colonna 1987, 1993 (for a later synthesis of this point: Sassatelli 1996); for Fermo and references see [chapter 77](#) Baldelli.

3862 See, as an example, some pottery shapes (Bettini 2000, fig. 5, 5; 15).

3863 Gentili 1985; Cristofani 1995, 146–149. For bibliographic references to Verucchio up to 2012: von Eles 2012.

3864 Giumlia-Mair and von Eles forthcoming; Giumlia-Mair 2015, 137–153.

3865 Bartoloni 1986.

3866 From this point of view it is interesting to observe that in the ninth cent. BCE the *fibule serpeggianti*, which are a standard item in male graves Bologna as in Etruria, are completely

missing in Verucchio (von Eles 2015b).

3867 von Eles 2009; Bottazzi and Bigi 2008.

3868 This necropolis is named by Gentili “Lippi/Sotto la Rocca” (Gentili 2003); hereafter it will be named as “Lippi”, including parts formerly known as Podere Gardini, Podere Dolci and Proprietà Giovannini.

3869 The site was partially excavated before a parking area (Verucchio, via Nanni) was built. I wish to thank Michele Degli Esposti (Bologna) to whom I am in debt for following all the work and documentation and providing a first structural and stratigraphic interpretation.

3870 From unpublished data in Soprintendenza Archeologia dell’Emilia-Romagna archives.

3871 Gentili 1986.

3872 Gherardini (1917), Scarani (1961) and Gentili (1963): archive data in Bologna Soprintendenza finds prove beyond doubts that Pian del Monte was intensively occupied during Early Iron Age. Indirect proof is the early “practical” use for water supply of the deep pit (infra) at the center of the plateau. Recent research in the archives and deposits in Bologna Soprintendenza by Lisa Manzoli and Lorenza Ghini (Specialising Thesis at Bologna University) have demonstrated that the method adopted by Gentili in excavation in the *Campo Sportivo* did not follow stratigraphic units but layers of a pre-determined depth: a procedure that does not allow identification of structures and even less their chronological attribution. Particularly difficult is establishing a chronology for what Gentili calls *capanna A* and attributes to the ninth cent. BCE: apparently the relative “layers” were only seen but not excavated and nothing has been found in the deposits labelled as *Capanna A* or *Fondo di Capanna I*. In the event of a real continuity of structures a possible interpretation was advanced by von Eles, Miari and Romualdi 1997 (discussion in *Ocnus* 1999) later accepted by Luigi Malnati (Malnati 2008b) and recently confirmed by M. Harari’s excavations in Pian del Monte (Harari 2016; forthcoming). A recent partial review of references and archive data on Pian del Monte topography in Rondini and Zamboni 2016.

3873 von Eles, Miari and Romualdi 1997.

3874 Including the ritual deposition of bronze shields (Gentili 1969).

3875 Paus. 5.12.5.

3876 Colonna 1987; 1993. Here Colonna, recalling his previous 1987 work, considering the late chronology he assigns to the Olympia throne (late sixth or early fifth cent. BCE) does not exclude a connection with an Etruscan chief settled in Capua or Nola after the Etruscan expedition against Cuma (524 BCE), which in his opinion saw a leading role of Etruscans from Romagna. See also [chapter 87](#) Naso.

3877 A recent proposal has been advanced considering five phases in the chronological development of the necropoleis covering the period from the tenth to the decades around the middle of the seventh cent. BCE (von Eles 2015a).

3878 Maggiani 2000, 251.

3879 Among the most significant types that represent clear links with Tyrrhenian Etruria the helmet shaped urn lid in Lavatoio, Campo del Tesoro Grave 52 (Tamburini-Müller 2006, 157 with earlier bibliography; according to Cristiano Iaia (Iaia 2005, 112–114) this is a close imitation of a bronze helmet *tipo Tarquinia* dating to the early eighth cent. BCE. Again to Southern Etruria and/or Umbria (Terni) point several types of disk-shaped bar fibulae (*fibule con staffa a disco*).

3880 See the many types of *fibule ad arco ribassato e ingrossato* which all have clear parallels in Bologna and *fibule ad archi paralleli*, an exclusive Bologna type which is imitated, with technical differences, in Verucchio (von Eles 2015b).

3881 Bentini 2015.

3882 Bettini 2000, fig. 5, 3.

3883 Delpino 2000, figg. 9, 9.12.17–18, 20–21.

3884 The decoration scheme of the painted throne from the grave from Poggio Renzo, in Cristofani’s opinion dating to the second quarter of the seventh cent. BCE (Cristofani 1971, 25, fig. 7) could have some relations to Verucchio wooden thrones where the openwork wheel

- motive is recurrent; for a “religious” interpretation of this motive Ortalli 2011, 160, footnote 121.
- 3885** Mazzoli and Pozzi 2015, 94–95.
- 3886** Delpino believes that the development of Chiusi was related to control of trade connected to metallurgical activities (Delpino 2000, 94); Giumlia-Mair 2015.
- 3887** Cygielman, Spaziani and Rafanelli 2009.
- 3888** von Eles 2002, 118, nos. 135–140; von Eles and Marchesi 2015; on these European harnessing types see also D. Faccenna and M. Martelli 2005, 320 considering the possibility of direct contacts between central Europe and Verucchio; Naso 2011.
- 3889** von Eles 2014, fig. 6.
- 3890** Manzoli, Poli and Negrini 2015.
- 3891** Bentini et al. 2015.
- 3892** It can be interesting to remember the completely different attitude of the Villanovan elites in coastal Campania, that fully adopt ways and ritual of the *gruppi dominanti delle aree più avanzate* (d’Agostino 1988, 100).
- 3893** Bentini 2015b.
- 3894** Bentini 2015c.
- 3895** Bentini and Di Lorenzo 2015, pl. 14, nos. 68–69.
- 3896** The motive with a central human figure and animal all around is exclusive to Verucchio.
- 3897** This opinion has been recently shared by M. Harari (Harari 2016).
- 3898** von Eles 2002.
- 3899** von Eles 2007; Bentini et al. 2015.
- 3900** This is the case of the iron sword in grave Lippi XX/1970, that can be compared to the one from Casale Marittimo, but where the sheath cannot be removed from the blade being nailed to it: Bentini and Di Lorenzo 2015b.

- 3901** von Eles and Trocchi 2015, 103.
- 3902** Ten exemplars of this type are now known from Verucchio, on the possible origin in Verucchio of the type see Iaia 2005, 138–139; Mazzoli and Negrini 2015.
- 3903** Extremely rare is the presence of working tools, and no grave can be definitely ascribed to an artisan.
- 3904** von Eles 2015a, 40–43.
- 3905** Many aspects concerning the social and economic structures and developments in Verucchio were discussed at the conclusion of the meeting held in Verucchio in 2011 (Rodriguez 2015).
- 3906** Cristofani 1995, 158–159; von Eles 1999.
- 3907** Sassatelli 1996, 252–253.
- 3908** Boiardi, von Eles and Poli 2006.
- 3909** Which does not consistently appear in the necropoleis.
- 3910** See note 21.
- 3911** In my opinion somewhat earlier than that.
- 3912** Malnati 2006, 87.
- 3913** Whose real function, that does not necessarily coincide with architectural plan, has not really been discussed.
- 3914** Harari 2016; forthcoming.
- 3915** von Eles, Miari and Romualdi 1997.
- 3916** A particular type of short and narrow spearhead, to be used only for point thrusting, has been recognized in Romagna and Umbria, from contexts dating between middle sixth and fifth cent. BCE by Armando Cherici (Cherici 2014).
- 3917** Bergonzi and von Eles 1988, 344.
- 3918** Colonna 1974; Zuffa 1975, 134.
- 3919** Bermond Montanari 1996, 2005.
- 3920** Sassatelli 1999; Sassatelli and Macellari 2002, 407–415.
- 3921** Colonna 2008, 47–48; the general frame outlined in 1981 (von Eles 1981) been enriched but not substantially modified by recent discoveries; updated synthesis of available information are due to Malnati (Malnati 2006; 2008a).
- 3922** Miari 2014, with previous bibliographic references; a new burial ground referring to the same aspect has been recently explored in Castelbolognese (Faenza) by Monica Miari, whom I wish to thank for the information.
- 3923** Miari et al. 2008. Most of known sites are in the Apennine valleys (Santerno, Senio, Lamone, Bidente, Savio, Rubicone, Conca). A good number of sites from the plain were already, though insufficiently known (von Eles 1981), a fact that suggested how lack of sites in the plains, should not be considered an historic reality (Sassatelli 1999; Sassatelli and Macellari 2002) but evidently only a result of geomorphological changes or occasional lack of documentation and systematic research, as correctly foreseen by Guido Achille Mansuelli and recently by Colonna (Mansuelli 1963, 119–121; Colonna 2008, 47).
- 3924** Site of Fossatone: von Eles et al. forthcoming.
- 3925** Boiardi 1987; von Eles and Pacciarelli 1994.
- 3926** Which represent, with the two graves from Russi, the earliest finds that can be attributed to this cultural aspect; for other finds showing contacts with Piceno see Prati 1996, 284–92.
- 3927** von Eles, Mazzoli and Negrini, forthcoming; Carancini's chronology is here adopted: Carancini 1969.
- 3928** Cherici 2014.
- 3929** Different opinions have been advanced on specific inscriptions and objects, regarding dating, linguistic and ethnic attribution: see Cristofani 1995; Colonna 2008; Malnati 2006, 2008b; Agostiniani 2003.
- 3930** Colonna 1987, 37.
- 3931** Cherici 2014.
- 3932** Iaia and Moroni Lanfredini 2009.

3933 Malnati 2006, 90.

3934 Some of the little bronze statuettes from Villa Ruffi have been attributed to northern Umbrian background: Romualdi 1987, with earlier bibliography.

3935 Pian del Monte until early fourth cent. BCE, Covignano up to the foundation of the Roman colony of Ariminum (269 BCE); von Eles, Miari and Romualdi 1997.

3936 Most recently, in general and with rich bibliography, Baldelli 2000c; Baldelli et al. 2003. The history of the excavations and research is reconstructed by Baldelli 1996. In all these articles, however, is forgotten Colini (1915, 67, n. 1), almost prophetic about the results of the digs carried half a century later. For the chronology of the necropoleis and relations with the other Villanovan centers, in the absence of the publication and complete study of the former, instead, as well as Drago Troccoli 2003, Peroni 1992 remains fundamental. His work is the result of accurate and highly competent sampling of grave goods and individual objects, particularly from the necropolis of Misericordia, selected at Ancona, not only from the National Archaeological Museum, but also from the annexed deposits. Of great interest, finally, Montali 2006, summary of a first exemplary work of analytic (and also graphic) documentation and reconstruction of the archaeological reality completed as far as possible: her work, limited to only one sector of the Misericordia necropolis, remains to be published in its entirety and systematically extended to the rest of Ferman necropoleis.

3937 To limit oneself to the essentials: Lollini 1976; Naso 2000; *Eroi 2001; Atti Ascoli Piceno – Teramo – Ancona*.

3938 Pallottino 1984, 150, actually defines it as an ‘island’ for this reason. For the distance from Verucchio see above Introduction, and for a critically conducted comparison between the two centers von Eles 2008, 204–217, 225.

3939 Less so by sea: see further ahead in this text.

3940 The fragments of biconical vases from the inhabited area of Belmonte (Dall’Osso 1915, 112; cf. von Duhn 1939, 219; Baldelli 2000b, 45–6; Peroni 2005, 736), not far away, remain undocumented and should be considered by now irremediably lost; but Dall’Osso’s knowledge of the materials of this type was deep, direct and at first hand, acquired at the Museum of Bologna, where he worked for many years. Further south, now in Abruzzo, the concentration of eight lozenge belts in the necropolis of Salino and the other elements of Tyrrhenian–Villanovan provenance (Lucentini 2009), added as far as Campovalano (Grassi 2003, 491–92, fig. 2, tab. Ia), continue to appear to be an isolated instance and without much connection to Fermo, at a period when, in the whole intermediate territory, the Early Iron Age remains known only from sporadic objects or some isolated Picene tombs (Baldelli 1982, 143–44, nn. 6–7; Lucentini 1995, 27–30, 41, figs. 8 e 14; Bergonzi 2000, 34–5). On the relatively numerous lozenge belts from Fermo and from other findspots of the region, see here footnote 30.

3941 The northern Etruscan votive small bronze, portraying Minerva and accredited with a provenance from Fermo (Richardson 1983, 348, no. 2, figs. 824–26; Cristofani 1985, 280, no. 90), actually comes from the Fermo ancient collection belonging to the De Minicis brothers, which was rich in materials acquired from throughout central Italy: cf. Baldelli 1996, 18, n. 9. Without a possible reference to an archaeological known context, near Fermo, remain also the other north Etruscan votive statuette of the Danish National Museum (Richardson 1983, 75, no. 6, fig. 876), said from the locality of Porto San Giorgio and datable around the middle of the sixth century BCE.

3942 Such as Montegiorgio (von Duhn 1939, 233–36; Seidel 2006, 156–60) and then, attested only from the sixth century BCE, still in the vicinity and forming a circle, also Sant’Elpidio a Mare (Ritrecina 2010, 45–6), Montegranaro (Jacobsthal and Langdorf 1929, 93; Lucentini 1999, 171, n. 66), Rapagnano and Torre San Patrizio (Baldelli 1998, 109; but earlier von Duhn 1939, 236–37), Grottazzolina (Lucentini 2004, 2005), Monterubbiano (von Duhn 1939, 241) and Torre di Palme (Baldelli et al. 2003, 341–47), but in the latter with the important difference of the frequent presence of large rings with six knots.

3943 Unlike Verucchio, but as in the entire Ascoli province: Bergonzi 2000, 36–7.

3944 Cf. Baldelli (1996, 15, n.4), which remains as stated without further proof.

3945 Few fragments of Middle/Recent Bronze Age, recovered on the summit of Giralco, and the neighboring contemporary sites of Monte Urano and Marina Palmense (Baldelli *et al.* 2005, 566–67, 569, 571) suggest that more intense archaeological exploration could modify the actual state of knowledge.

3946 Peroni 1992, 21 and 23; Camporeale 2000b, 104; Drago Troccoli 2003, 36–8. All with references, among the other centers and above all for the earlier phase, at Chiusi.

3947 About the Misericordia necropolis see Montali (2006, 190–91, nn. 21–2), who forgets tomb 10E/1956 at that necropolis (Baldelli 1996, 23; 1998, 59) and the Mossa tomb 15 (Baldelli 1996, 33; 1998, 62). At the opposite extreme, the only one without any burnt earth and important because it is among the earliest, Misericordia tomb 42D/1956 (Baldelli 1996, 25).

3948 In this necropolis is found tomb 15 (Baldelli 1996, 33), the earliest among the few now datable. Drago Troccoli (2003, 38, n. 28, 47–8) attributes it to the passage to the successive phase, but he places before it tomb 3, of a baby of a few months (cf. Baldelli 1996, 32).

3949 37D/1956 (Montali 2006, 218, 240–41, n. 22).

3950 For one of the numerous examples seen at Mossa and for others noticed at Misericordia see respectively Baldelli (1991b, 19, fig. 9, with multiple laying down) and Montali (2006, 191, 219), whose list, once again all of only female burials (apart from one, but damaged and dubious), does not include tomb 121Sm/1957 (Baldelli 1996, 29–30). Similar preparations are referred to the Picene necropoleis of Offida (von Duhn 1939, 250), Spinetoli (von Duhn 1939, 253), and Cupra Marittima and Grottammare (Dall’Osso 1915, 182, with notification also of very rare nailed coffins). Interment inside tree trunks or in real coffins, as in Latium (cf. Drago Troccoli 2003, 48–50, n. 94), are not attested at Fermo; the case of Matelica, pointed out by Montali 2006, 191, is isolated and should anyway be considered separately.

3951 This use then spread during the second phase (Drago Troccoli 2003, 50, 69, 74, figs. 8, 23/3–4; Montali 2006, 220), also in the incineration pits (Drago Troccoli 2003, 56, 61–2, figs. 11/3, 14/1; Montali 2006, 191).

3952 10S/1956 (Baldelli 1996, 26; Drago Troccoli 2003, 45–47). To minimize slightly Montali's perplexity (Montali 2006, 189, n.16 and 218, n.103) over the dating, account should be taken that the later date suggested by Baldelli (1998, 61) had taken place ten years before publication (Percossi Serenelli 1998, 6).

3953 Baldelli 2000c, fig. 76; Drago Troccoli 2003, 45–6, fig. 6D.

3954 Compared to what was hypothesized in Baldelli 1996, 20.

3955 The unpublished documents of the excavation assign to it, apart from the spindle (feminine gift?) and the helmet already known, a second weapon (an iron dagger) and perhaps part of a third (bronze spear butt), an impasto vase with geometric ornamentation and – in bronze – a little basin (for drawing water from the vase?), a razor, a '*forcella*', a spit, a little button, three small twisted rings, and three fibulae.

3956 Baldelli 1996, fig. 2.

3957 Lollini 1990, fig. 7; Iaia 2005, 76–7, no. 19, fig. 20. Another example from the same necropolis (Iaia 2005, 92–3, no. 40, fig. 30) is ascribed to the destroyed tomb 74S/1957 (cf. Baldelli 1996, 27), unfortunately the only find that can be attributed to it.

3958 Iaia 2005, 65, 131. According to Mario Torelli (1990; now in Torelli 2011, 69–70), the models of the weapons still carried at Rome by the *Salii* in the first centuries BCE, as elements of the ancient *vestis regia* or *triumphalis*, can be identified in such helmets just as well as in bronze breastplates and swords of the types found at Fermo in the Misericordia tomb 78S/1957 (Baldelli 1996, 28; Fig. 77.3). As *Salii's encheiridion* (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 70. 3 and 5), predecessor in the more remote age of the *sceptrum* or royal *scipio* (cf. Torelli 2011, 70), it may not have been unlike the axe, which is, for example, in the right hand of the bronze statuette of Ripatransone with a crested helmet (*Eroi* 2001, 232, no. 360).

3959 In the Mossa necropolis, apart from tomb 51 (Baldelli 1991b, fig. 9), we can date to the second phase of the Early Iron Age, according to Lollini (in Corrain and Capitanio 1972, 23, 26–8), the two-body tombs 6 and 11. The second is probably a family tomb and has – the only case of a mixed ritual – a cinerary urn of a third adult, male and not old. For the two-body and three-body tombs at Misericordia, of which at least that already in the Museum of Ancona is datable between the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, see Baldelli 1996, 20. This funerary usage is also particularly part of the Picene culture – cf. for example tombs 4 Via Diaz (Landolfi 2009, 50), 14 Fabiani and 8 Campodonico at Sirolo (Baldelli and Lollini 1998, 95–8), 2 Mossa of Fermo (Baldelli 1996, 32), 16, 21 and 46 Curi at Belmonte (Dall'Osso 1915, 33, 67–8, 89, 152–53), at Montegiorgio (von Duhn 1939, 233–34) etc. – but not for the earlier phases when, apart from at Fermo and Novilara (cf. Beinhauer 1985, 31), the usage is also known in Lazio (at Crustumium, Tivoli, Osteria dell'Osa, Decima, Ardea etc. — cf. Landolfi, forthcoming).

3960 Other known single examples (Montali 2006, 191–92), only from Misericordia, tombs 7S/1956 and 19S/1956 (Baldelli 1996, 25–6), IB/1956, 19Alidori/1959, 19R/1957 and 41D/1956, among them the last two, as Drago Troccoli (2003, 48, 80) emphasized, belonging to armed men. For such a use elsewhere see Lollini (1976, 118, 122, 125), who regards them as typically Picene, and Beinhauer (1985, 49), who apart from Novilara points it out at Cerveteri and in Istria.

3961 But, it seems, less distinct from the rest of the community compared with Etruria (cf. Montali 2006, 234–35). To the dominance of this same rank certainly belongs the pit tomb with walls and false cupola in stone, found unfortunately already looted in the Mossa necropolis and for which de Marinis (2000) refers to northern-Etruscan examples.

3962 Misericordia tomb 78S/1957: Baldelli 1996, 28. Misericordia tomb 63Q/1957: Baldelli 1996, 27.

3963 Baldelli 1996, 23; 2002c, 27.

3964 Baldelli 1996, 29–30.

3965 For all of this see Lucentini 2009, but with the following clarifications: the belt buckle shown only in a photograph from Dall’Osso (1915, 137) is that of the Fermo Museum (Lucentini 2009, fig. 5/2), given by a landowner of Misericordia (Baldelli 1996, 18–19). The other, found in 1911, certainly comes from tomb 7 (Baldelli 1996, 20–21), a two-bodies tomb, or, better, female, but with a male then placed on top (with a bronze helmet of Picene kind, javelin, and two iron daggers), probably badly preserved and even worse excavated: the description in the excavation documents — with the belt ‘on the knees’ — ignores the fragment of ‘pre-Certosa’ fibula (a clear addition perpetrated in the museum) and corresponds perfectly to the contemporary photographic evidence gathered by Lucentini (2009, fig. 6), who trusts himself too much to the sequence of objects in the *Inventario vecchio* of the Soprintendenza as proof of the association between them. From Numana von Duhn (1927, 136; 1939, 194), differently from Randall-MacIver (1927, 127, n. 1), knows of a single lozenge belt, evidently that already described by Dall’Osso (1915, 262), who gives no details of either the site or the means of acquisition. Finally, in the north of the region, the fragment believed to be of a belt from Sant’Angelo in Vado, instead belongs to a ribbed pail (cf. Monacchi 2004, 136, fig. 46).

3966 Peroni 1992, 26.

3967 Agostini 1987, 91–92.

3968 Baldelli 1982, fig. 1.

3969 Surprisingly Boullart (2003, 164–65; 2005) gives only a fleeting hint of the dimensions of the inhabited areas, which can, however, be easily reconstructed on the basis of geomorphology and the displacement of the necropoleis. For some examples from the area to the north of Fermo cf. the maps in Mambelli et al. 2005, figs. 1/A–2.

3970 Most recently Bartoloni (2012, 92), with reference also to Fermo.

3971 The difference is clearly pointed out by Mambelli et al. (2005), who indeed apply it also to Fermo.

3972 Agostini 1987, 89.

3973 With its extent compared to that of Villanovan Fermo: Peroni 1992, 26, fig. 12.

3974 See above **chapter 76** von Eles.

3975 For Veii: Bartoloni 2012, 91–92; Camporeale 2008, 17.

3976 As happens, for example, at Bologna in the first half of the eighth century: Sassatelli 2012, 163.

3977 Pallottino 1963, 44; 1977, 147; 1984, 56, 150–51.

3978 Most recently Capriotti 2010.

3979 Lollini 1976, 160.

3980 The link between the spread of the Cupra cult and Villanovan urns found in the Marche was already in von Duhn (1939, 247), where Fermo’s absence from the list of localities is simply forgetfulness (cf. in fact, von Duhn 1939, 239). Of the goddess, whose Umbrian-Sabine relevance is however confirmed, even if the theonymic basis gave the *gentilicia* names as much Latin (*cuprēnus*, but at Gubbio: *CIL* XI 5854) as Etruscan (*cuprna*, at Chiusi: *ThLE* 118), Colonna (1993, 23–25) has documented the assimilation also to the Etruscan *Mlacuch*, carried off by Hercules on a famous mirror from Atri examined in the article. On Cupra see recently Calderini 2001 and Betts 2013, both of whom we cannot always share due to the amount of conjectures; more synthetic and interesting the point made by García Ramón 2016. For a hypothesis of the geographical placement of the sanctuary, which must have existed in the territory of the *Cuprenses cognomine Montani*, and for tracing back to it the bronze statuette of Hercules from Castelbellino and the Picene necropolis itself of the same locality: Baldelli 1995a; 2003.

3981 First Torelli 1986, 24, 32.

3982 Veio for Torelli 1986, 32; Orvieto or perhaps Chiusi, but less determinedly as possible mother countries in the true sense, for Bartoloni (2012, 95), in the footsteps of Drago Troccoli 2003, 78. But, more cautiously, Pallottino (1984, 56) limited himself to writing of the spread of a ‘Villanovan model’.

- 3983** A review of the proposed solutions in Naso 2000, 69–72.
- 3984** Peroni 1992, 25–26.
- 3985** Sassatelli 2008, 77–80.
- 3986** Colonna, in Camporeale 2008, 24, n.67; but earlier Baldelli 1996, 16; 2000c, 59.
- 3987** Colonna 1993, 7–8, n. 27. His reference is to the presence, not to the foundation, which he judges earlier and, insofar as attributed to the Etruscans, only ‘asserted’ (cf. Colonna 1993, 10). This escapes Sassatelli (1999, 86) who in a note offers a hypothesis on the Picene origin of the sanctuary, suggested to him by M. Torelli and not at all incompatible with Colonna’s analysis.
- 3988** Colonna 1993, 10–13, nn. 27 and 34, figs. 2–3.
- 3989** Camporeale 2000a, 63; Sisani 2009, 114. Less obvious Naso 2000, 243.
- 3990** There is evidence, with very full reference bibliography, of a good part of the contributions in *Atti Ascoli Piceno — Teramo — Ancona*. The general treatments given to the theme are brief and mostly unsatisfactory (Lollini 1976, 159–61, 169; Landolfi 2001b). Marconi (1935), with his consciously cultural-historical approach, inspired by the principles of the Vienna School of Ethnology, is by now dated, but was first to have the merit of considering the trade with Etruria (essentially Tyrrhenian) and its influence and export — as well as that which came at the same period by sea from the Greek and Near Eastern world — as fundamental to the very formation and development of Picene civilization.
- 3991** Colonna 1992, 2001.
- 3992** Baglione 2001; Camporeale 2003; for the later period also Ambrosini 2003.
- 3993** Gentili 1992; von Eles 2008, 216–24. For the provenance of the two bronze censers from Novilara see Stopponi 2003, 395, fig. 1.
- 3994** Recently Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008. Mainly on these latest discoveries Riva 2003; 2005; 2007 (*non vidi*).
- 3995** On these and the unnoticed destructions which probably largely obliterated them see also most recently Sabbatini 2009.
- 3996** Unfortunately the results of the 2010 first test diggings in some of the many ring-shaped ditches of Acquaviva di Cagli, unexpectedly containing a dwelling structure right inside, have weakened the hope (cf. Baldelli 2008, 251–52), at least for the moment, of seeing the route of spread of this submontane orientalizing *facies* rising even further to the north.
- 3997** von Duhn (1939, 202) described the grave goods of Fabriano as of ‘mixed culture’, that is, Umbrian-Etruscan, and would undoubtedly have applied the same definition also to the grave goods of Matelica, if not directly to those of San Severino.
- 3998** The orientalizing signs in the rest of the region and along the Adriatic coast seem less strong.
- 3999** Stopponi 2009, 128.
- 4000** Nothing comparable, as far as we know, not even in centers at a greater distance such as Foligno, Campello, and Spoleto, where a number of similarities in materials are found.

- 4001** See Allegretti 1987.
- 4002** In this way, but for a later period, Colonna 1992, 16–20; 2001. Also other activities, such as pastoral farming, stock-rearing, and work in the fields and in the first cities in the course of their growth, could sometimes be the cause of people movement.
- 4003** Piceno IVA of Lollini 1976, 137–50.
- 4004** von Duhn 1939, 195.
- 4005** Colonna 1980, 44–49; Baldelli 1991a, 100, n. 2.
- 4006** Baldelli 2002a, 76–79; 2010, 595–96 with bibliography and discussion. In the second of the works cited we need to add to the list of Etruscan bronze torch holders at least that, lost, from a tomb of Acquaviva Picena: cf. Baldelli 1995b, 52–53, n.16.
- 4007** Lollini 1976, 160.
- 4008** So, recently, Colonna 2008, 43, n. 25. A different viewpoint is, however, attempted in Baldelli 2002a, 74–79, with reference to earlier contributions.
- 4009** Insufficient as they are, in that they did not necessarily require to be read, the graffiti from San Costanzo, similar to alphabetic signs, are on two plates of grey pottery (De Sanctis 1992, figs. 3–4), probably imported from the Po area. The inscriptions of Novilara, apart from one only, have been declared modern fakes by Agostiniani (2003), but because of the northern Etruscan alphabet at their base Colonna (1985, 54–6) had anyway earlier excluded ethnic implications.
- 4010** Devoto 1967, 229; Devoto and Buti 1974, 79, 87.
- 4011** From an earlier *Rasēnus*: Baldelli 1991a, 100, n. 2.
- 4012** Colonna 2008, 50–52; cf. also Calderini 2001, 81.
- 4013** Benelli 1994, 13–15; 2007, 175–76; Haack 2006, 38–40, no. 18; cf. also Marengo 2010, 36. The inclusion among the funerary inscriptions is almost unanimously agreed.
- 4014** Differently: Colonna 1984a, 173–76; Morandi 2006, 16 (but cf. 23).
- 4015** Coen 1998, but with doubts on the ethnic origin of the women who wore it.
- 4016** Only brief mentions in Landolfi 1985, 450–62; 2001a, 176; 2001b, 219. For an excellent summary cf. also Shefton 2001, 155–56.
- 4017** Most recently by Brizzi 2008, 22–24.
- 4018** *TLE* 694; Landolfi 1985, 451, n. 11. The re-contextualizing of the helmet, disappeared after the unfortunately bad photo published by Giorgi (1954, fig. 16.1–3), was already in Baldelli 1977, 278, n. 4. Later he supposed (Baldelli 1986, 10) that we are dealing with a loot ending up in a tomb, unknown just like the other grave goods (cf. Brizio 1901, 642–43), of a Senone (Kruta 1981, fig. 1; Landolfi 1985, fig. 2; Schönfelder 2010, fig. 1) or indeed of an Umbrian (Reinecke 1940, 42). Sisani 2007 offers no hypothesis on the nationality.
- 4019** Sisani 2007, 111.
- 4020** Colonna 1984b; *REE* 74, 2008, 406, no. 161. Sisani (2008, 52) classified it as imported item, as the bronze mirror perhaps from Fabriano, published by De Puma 2005, 66–68, no. 49.
- 4021** Belfiore 2012, with reading of the name *G(aios) Tusno(s)*, which has to be corrected in *G(aius) Tusnus*. On the necropolis see earlier Baldelli 2008, 249.
- 4022** de Marinis 1986a, 52–5, figs. 15–16; 1988, 107–8, figs. 112–3; 1999a, 604–11, figs. 1–2; 1999b, 537–48, figs. 17–18; Egg 1992, 154–6, fig. 4.2; Gleirscher 1993–1994; Gambari 1999, 13–5, figs. 4–5. About the crested helmet from the Tanaro River near Asti see Gambari 2000.
- 4023** In the case of Golasecca culture, “proto-urban” centers took the form of clusters of interdependent villages distributed over a relatively large area.
- 4024** de Marinis 1975, pl. XIV B; 1988a, 178–9, figs. 146–7; 2001, 50, fig. 8; Colonna 1986, 159, fig. 21.
- 4025** de Marinis 1999a, 611–6.
- 4026** Bertolone 1956–1957; Kossack 1956–1957; de Marinis 1988, 179–80, figs. 150–2; Pare 1992, pl. 132B.
- 4027** Fischer 1979, 128–9, pl. 9.2, pl. 21; Chaume and Feugère 1990. Updated map showing

the distribution of the flat ribbed bowls in de Marinis 2014, fig. 12.

4028 According to Bianco Peroni 1976, 37.

4029 The knife is published in de Marinis 2001, fig. 9; 2010a, 42, fig. 8.6.

4030 See de Marinis 1986a, 57–60, figs. 20 and 22 (top).

4031 See de Marinis 1975, 220, pl. III; 1988a, fig. 159.

4032 Colonna 1988, 155–7, pls. XLVI–XLVIII.

4033 About the tomb, see Gambari in *Etruschi a nord del Po*, I, 81–4, figs. 33–35; de Marinis 1988, figs. 163–165. For the *Rippenziste* see also Stjernquist 1967, no. 101: 1, pl. XXII, 2, pl. LVI, 2, 4. The pin can be recognized in a photograph of the Castelfranco archive: see de Marinis 2009a, fig. 12.

4034 See de Marinis 1986a, 60, fig. 22 (bottom); Colonna 1986, 140–1, fig. 11; Prosdocimi 1989.

4035 The find is still unpublished.

4036 Gambari 2011, 19 and fig. 3. Gambari reads $\chi[\acute{o}]\theta\iota[o]\varsigma$ or $\chi[o]\theta\iota[o]\iota[--]$. The reading is not sure.

4037 The reading “*pris-*”/“*brigs-*” indicates a well-known theme with a Celtic root, present in the name of Brixia (now Brescia), the capital of the Cenomani. The context refers to the seventh century. See Verger 1998.

4038 The inscription is difficult to read. Sassatelli 2000; de Marinis 2009b, 423–5, figs. 12–13.

4039 Colonna 1986; de Marinis 1991–1992, 206–11, fig. 3; 2009c.

4040 Colonna 1986, 152; 1988.

4041 Cattaneo 1995, 46–50.

4042 de Marinis 1986a, 61, fig. 23; Colonna 1986, 157–8.

4043 Cattaneo 1995, 43.

4044 Most of the seventh-sixth century materials from Remedello Sotto, kept in the G. Chierici Museum in Reggio Emilia, is still unpublished. See de Marinis 1986a, 61–5, 85–6, figs. 24–25, 26.1 and 4, fig. 36; 1999b, 548–51, fig. 21.

4045 de Marinis 1984, 20–1, fig. 6.

4046 De Amicis, Marchetti and Ravazzi 2011; Deaddis, Margaritora, Perego, Ravazzi, and Zanon 2011; Ravazzi et alii 2011.

4047 The formation of the lake of Bagnolo is likely related to the flood of Guastalla, which occurred at the beginning of Sub-Atlantic period, and led to the abandonment of the branch of Bondeno (active during the Bronze Age) and caused the so-called Po Vecchio to become active (which continued after the confluence of the Mincio as Po of Adria).

4048 de Marinis 1991, 75–85.

4049 de Marinis 1986a, 140–150; de Marinis 2007, 25–34.

4050 Hummler, Carver 1986; Casini, de Marinis, Fanetti 1999; Casini and de Marinis 2007, 35–8.

4051 Today it is not as clearly visible as in the early 1980s, due to the leveling caused by agricultural works.

4052 de Marinis 1986a, 120, fig. 47 no. 241; 2007, 56–9.

4053 Maggiani 1998; Frontini 1986, 286, fig. 176.

4054 de Marinis 1986a, 119, fig. 47 no. 240; 2007, 56, fig. 21.1.

4055 de Marinis 1986a, 282–4. Many finds are still unpublished.

4056 de Marinis et al. 1994; de Marinis 1986a, 156–162; 1992, 241–2, 251–5; Casini and de Marinis 2007; Casini, Longhi, Rapi 2007; de Marinis 2010b.

4057 Casini and de Marinis 2007, fig. 12.

4058 For a preliminary report see de Marinis 1992, 2010b; de Marinis et al. 1994; Casini, Longhi and Rapi 2007; Rapi 2007, 95–110. The finds relating to the honey collection are still unpublished. By means of scanning microscope you can see the remains of the bees in the cells. New data on the Greek pottery from the F I and F II houses in de Marinis 2016.

4059 A comparison can be done with the houses in the southwestern corner of the Heuneburg period IVc (Gersbach 1995). Although these structures are older than the phase F houses of Forcello, they could still go back to a model of Mediterranean origin (Quirino 2011).

4060 de Marinis 2010b, 103–7, figs. 7–9; Wiel Marin 2011, 393–9.

4061 See de Marinis 2007b, figs. 109.4, 111.1, 113–117.

4062 de Marinis 2007b, fig. 155.9.

4063 Galletti 2007.

4064 Castellano and Perego 2011.

4065 The fauna from phase F is under study by Umberto Tecchiati, Bolzano, whom I thank for a preliminary report.

4066 de Marinis 1986a, 150–3, fig. 66–71; Tuzzato 1986; Casini and de Marinis 2007, 40–8, figs. 13, 17–18.

4067 About the Greek trade amphorae from Forcello see de Marinis 1986a, 211–224; 1996, 317–348; 2007b, 157–189.

4068 About the Attic pottery from Forcello see de Marinis 1986a, 156–161; 2007b, 114–130; 2010b, figs. 4, 7–11, 15–16; E. Paribeni 1986; Wiel Marin 2007, 2008, 2011.

4069 de Marinis 2007b, 206–11, fig. 130.

4070 Casini 1986, 241–2; de Marinis 2007b, 204–6, fig. 129.1–11.

4071 de Marinis 1984, 32–3, figs. 7, 10, 21, 22; 1986a, 288–99.

4072 Casini 1986, 238–41, figs. 143–144.

4073 Menotti 2011, 10–1.

4074 Menotti 2011, 13–14.

4075 For the type see Böhr 1988, figs. 100–102 and 106–107.

4076 de Marinis 1981, 2007a, 2008.

4077 A possible exception is the *Schnabelkanne* from Brembate Sotto, grave 11: see de Marinis 1981, 136–7, pl. 16–17.

4078 de Marinis 2000, 379–90.

4079 de Marinis 1982, 506–9, pl. 71b; 1988, fig. 190.

4080 Naso 2006, 374–6, 402–6; 2013.

4081 The fragment of an Attic red figure bell krater from Mantua-Cortile degli Orsi has been dated to 440 BCE (Baraldi 2002, 36), but it can be dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BCE.

4082 Menotti 2011, 7. The few materials reproduced dates to the fourth century (see the aforementioned page and the cover). Materials dating to the fifth century have been discussed by E. Menotti in a lecture held at Milan University (April 5.2006).

4083 About the excavations carried out in Mantua-Vicolo Pace and in Mantua-Rotonda di San Lorenzo see de Marinis 1986b, 128–132, figs. 123–125; 1989, 37–45, figs. 15–17, 20–22; Attene Franchini, de Marinis and Rodighiero 1987, 125–7, fig. 123. These are currently the only available publications of fourth-third centuries materials from Mantua. See also notes 60–61 and for old finds de Marinis 1984, 34–5, figs. 25–26; Frontini 1987b, figs. 1.3, 4; 3.1,

4, 6, 9; 4.1–6, 9–10.

4084 Attene Franchini, de Marinis and Rodighiero 1987, fig. 123.

4085 Frontini 1987a, 1987b; Casini, Frontini and Gatti 1987; de Marinis 1987, 183–4, fig. 307; 1989, fig. 15.

4086 Tamassia 1986, 189, figs. 311–2.

4087 See a short note by E. Menotti 2011, 9–12.

4088 For Corte Cavriani and Corte Vivaio see de Marinis 1984, 27, fig. 15; 1987, 199–203; 1989, fig. 14; de Marinis, Casini, Rapi 2016, fig. 4, pls. XXXIX–XL.

4089 de Marinis 1986, 121, figs. 48–49; 2007, 65–6, fig. 20.

4090 de Marinis 1987, fig. 308; 2007, 66–68, fig. 27.3.

4091 de Marinis 1989, 40, note 37 and fig. 21.6; 2007, 68, fig. 27.1.

4092 Vitali 1998, 262–3; Kaenel, Vitali 2000.

4093 de Marinis 1989, 40, fig. 21.2, 3; 2007, 68, figs. 27.3, 4.

4094 References are given below. For the Picenes, see [chapter 77](#) Baldelli.

4095 On Etruscans in Latium see Cristofani 1982; 1987b; 1988 and 1990.

4096 Benelli 2009, 234–35.

4097 For the Latial culture: Colonna 1988. For the chronology: Pacciarelli 2001, 68, fig. 38.

4098 Both references in Smith 2007, 164–68.

4099 Pacciarelli 2000, 87–92, 119–27.

4100 De Santis 2011, 26–30 (Roma, Quadrato di Torre Spaccata), 30–51 (Santa Palomba). The bronze statuettes give credibility to older finds whose authenticity was dubious (Szilágyi 1991). For the early votive offerings in Latium see Guidi 1990, 411–14. For such finds in Etruria see [chapter 42](#) Trocchi.

- 4101** Ampolo 1997 with previous literature, completed by Colonna 2005 for the Latin reading.
- 4102** Naso 2006, 365 type Ib.
- 4103** De Santis 1995.
- 4104** Nachbaur 2011, 199 for the group, 209, no. PD 6, fig. 2 for this example.
- 4105** De Puma 1986; Ambrosini 2015.
- 4106** According to a previous reading, *vetusia* would be a Latin inscription, meaning a female name. Canciani and von Hase 1979 for the Bernardini tomb. Since the first publication of Curtis 1925, a new study of the Barberini tomb group is still needed.
- 4107** Botto 2008.
- 4108** Lavinium, fossa grave under the Heroon of Aeneas: Colonna 1976, 306–11. Satricum, Tomb II: Waarsenburg 1995, 179–291.
- 4109** *TLE* 866.
- 4110** *CIE* 8613 for the cup from Satricum, with literature for the vase in a private collection.
- 4111** *CIE* 8612 for the amphora from Lavinium, with literature for the jug from Veii (*TLE* 34 = *CIE* 6421).
- 4112** Pasquali 1936; recently Mura Sommella 2000.
- 4113** A recent overview by Ampolo 2009, with previous bibliography.
- 4114** Buranelli and Le Pera Buranelli 1997.
- 4115** Colonna 1987, 59–61; Papi 1999.
- 4116** Overview in Mura Sommella 2009, 350 for the sources.
- 4117** For the immense bibliography on this temple see Mura Sommella 2011.
- 4118** Naso 1996.
- 4119** *CIE* 8602. Maggiani 2006, 321.
- 4120** *CIE* 8603. Colonna 1987, 58, no. 27.
- 4121** Colonna 2000.
- 4122** General overview in Cristofani 1992. For the Veian finds: Bartoloni 2009.
- 4123** Winter 2009, 311–93.
- 4124** Palombi 2010.
- 4125** Nielsen and Poulsen 1992.
- 4126** Nicosia and Bettini 2009, with further bibliography.
- 4127** Guidi and Santoro 2004.
- 4128** Bagnasco Gianni 2006, with previous literature.
- 4129** For instance at Corvaro di Borgorose: Alvino 2004.
- 4130** Ceccarelli and Stoddart 2007.
- 4131** Cristofani 1988. Further inscriptions in *CIE* 8889–8925.
- 4132** Caere and Southern Etruria: Naso 1994, 298–99, nos. 1–57. Ominimorti: Innico 2008, 65, fig. 11. Pontecagnano: Cuozzo 1993, 154–55, nos. 15–19, figs. 22–23. For Marseille: Gran-Aymerich 2006, 209–11, fig. 4.
- 4133** Colonna 1995, 3–10 on Hernici, with previous bibliography.
- 4134** For the Umbrians: Sisani 2009; Umbri 2014.
- 4135** Etruscan relationships with Umbria have been recognized by Bruschetti 2001. See also the contributions in Fontaine 2010.
- 4136** Colonna 1970, 204–5 (provenances).
- 4137** For the tribes settled in Abruzzo see La Regina 2010, 234. The Etruscan imports in Abruzzo were recognized by D’Ercole and Menozzi 2007; see also Weidig 2010, 2014.
- 4138** Most recently Briquel 2006.
- 4139** Pallottino 1969; Bonghi Jovino 1986; Torelli 1996; Bottini 2000.
- 4140** Gras 1985, 325–348; d’Agostino 1984; 1988; 1991; Gras 1998, 65–70; D’Ercole 2008.
- 4141** Tagliente 1999, 397–398; cf. Schnapp 1999.
- 4142** Adamesteanu 1983; d’Agostino 1984; 1987, 33–39; Gras 1987, Tagliente 1987; d’Agostino 1989; Gras 1998, 61, 63; Tagliente 1999, 395–397.
- 4143** De Juliis 1977, 81–92; cf. d’Agostino 1989.

4144 De Juliis 1977, 82–83; Colonna 1984a, 273–277; Mazzei 1985, 264–268, 276–279; Tagliente 1987, 144–145; d’Agostino 1991, 46–47; Cinquantaquattro and Cuzzo 2002; Mazzei 2010, 158–159.

4145 d’Agostino 1987, 33.

4146 See esp. Tagliente 1987, 144; Bottini and Tagliente 1994, 493–495, 503–508; Bottini and Setari 1996; Bottini 2000, 197–198; 2001, 255–256.

4147 Bianco 1998, 200.

4148 Bottini 2007, 235, 237 (with bibliography); cf. D’Ercole 1995.

4149 See esp. Tagliente, 1987, 144–145; Bottini and Tagliente 1994, 497–498; Bottini 2000, 199; 2001, 256 (with bibliographic references). For the fragment of the Campanian bronze *dinos* from Anzi kept at the British Museum: see Bottini and Tagliente 1994, 497 n. 9.

4150 Colonna 2002a; Torelli and Agostiniani 2003; Maggiani 2009.

4151 See esp. Tagliente 1987, 144–145; Bottini and Tagliente 1994, 497–501; Bottini 2000, 199; 2001, 256, 258 (with bibliographic references).

4152 Bottini 1990.

4153 Mazzei 1981; 2010, 190–194; cf. Rescigno 1998, 370–373.

4154 Rescigno 1998.

4155 Mertens 1980; 1994.

4156 See esp. Mazzei 1985; De Juliis 1994; 2001. For the “princely” tomb in Cupola see Montanaro 2010c.

4157 Mazzei 1985, 264–267; 1993; 2010, 160–163.

4158 De Juliis 1977, 53–54; 1984, 313.

4159 De Juliis 1981, 468–469; Montanaro 2010a, 188.

4160 Montanaro 1999; 2010a, 187–188.

4161 See esp. De Juliis 1994; Tarditi 1996, 205–206; De Juliis 2001.

4162 For the “Etruscan” artifacts from Ruvo see Lo Porto 1977; Martelli 1988–1989, 18–19; Montanaro 2006; 2015.

4163 Cf. Mannino 2006, 257–258.

4164 D’Andria 1988, 668.

4165 De Juliis 1994, 544–545.

4166 Ciancio 1994–1995, 83–84. Cf. Montanaro 2010b, who identifies in the Apulian area four distinct black-figure pottery classes.

4167 De Juliis 1994, 557–558; Todisco 1994–1995; 1999; De Juliis 2001, 267; cf. Todisco 2006. On the Apulian influences on the Etruscan art of the Hellenistic period see Fischer-Hansen 1993.

4168 See esp. Gras 1979; 1985, 361; Tagliente 1987, 144; Sabbione 2001, 270–273 (with bibliographic references).

4169 Sabbione 2001, 270–271.

4170 Cristofani 1982; Sabbione 2001, 271–272.

4171 Sabbione 2001, 272–273.

4172 La Torre 2002, 142, 282.

4173 E.g., Strabo 6.1.5, who wrote that after 480 BCE, Anaxilaos, the tyrannus of Rhegium, fortified the promontory of Skylla to prevent Etruscan pirates from going all over the Strait.

4174 Ancient sources collected and discussed in Cristofani 1983, 79–85; Colonna 1984b; Torelli 1996; Colonna 2002b.

4175 Tagliamonte 1994, 156–157.

4176 Pallottino 1969; Mele 1981, 64.

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4177 Bianchin Citton 1988; Bietti Sestieri 2010, 195–98.

4178 See for example the amphorae from Forcello: de Marinis 2005 and **chapter 78** de Marinis.

4179 Mattiolo 1932–33.

4180 On the trade in raw materials, see generally Stöllner 2004.

4181 Cf. Gleirscher 1993, 71–72; Malnati 2003.

4182 This conclusion is also suggested by, e.g., the uniform material evidence from Este: Favaretto 1976. Cf. also the Attic pottery from Como: Casini 2007.

4183 Capuis 1993, 160–64; Ruta Serafini 2003; De Min et al. 2005; Gambari and Cerri 2011.

4184 Locatelli 2003.

4185 Such as amber; overview: Malnati 2007.

4186 Capuis 1988, 91 fig. 40; 93 no. 176.

4187 Morigi Govi and Vitali 1988, 268 fig.

4188 Capuis 1988, 92f. no. 178 fig. 41; Pirazzini 2011, 584 no. 5.43.

4189 Maggiani 2009; Naso forthcoming.

4190 Morigi Govi and Vitali 1988, 236f. with figure. Cf. additional finds from the hoard from

San Francesco in Bologna: Manfroni 2005.

4191 de Marinis 1999b, 610.

4192 de Marinis 1999b, 610; Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009, 48 fig. 12).

4193 Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009, 49 fig. 13.

4194 Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009.

4195 Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009, 50 fig. 16a–b; Zamboni 2011, 584 no. 5.43.

4196 Sydow 1995, esp. 9–17; Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009, 50 fig. 17.

4197 Zemmer-Plank 1990, 336 figs. 5–7a–b; Marzatico and Endrizzi 2009, 50. This also includes an example imported from upper Italy: Naso 2011, 284 fig. 1; Sölder 2011, 583 no. 5.41.

4198 Capuis 1986–87, 93–94 no. 179.

4199 On the role of female dress in early Iron Age Italy: Naso forthcoming.

4200 Este, Pelà Tomb 49: Capuis 1988, 94 No. 182 fig. 42; Novo Mesto: Gabrovec 1968; 1992, 212 fig. 7.

- 4201** Bologna, Arsenale Militare Tomb 23: Morigi Govi and Vitali 1988, 254; Camporeale 1969, 39; 1981, 386.
- 4202** Camporeale 1969, 39, pls. 46.3, 47.1.
- 4203** Camporeale 1969, 39; 1981, 386, 389–90; 2009, 12–13.
- 4204** Gentili 2003, 165–66 no. 17, pls. 77, 153.
- 4205** von Hase 1992, 247–48, pl. 66; Gleirscher 1993, 72 fig. 4.
- 4206** von Hase 1992, 262, pl. 77 figs. 26 A–C; Gleirscher 1993, 73; Egg and Pare 1997, 45–51, esp. 47.
- 4207** von Hase 1992, 240f., pls. 58–59; Gleirscher 1993, 71f.; de Marinis 1999a, 543–48 fig. 19.
- 4208** Cf. also Malnati 2003.
- 4209** The findspot of the bowl is unknown: Frey 1969, 69 fig. 32.1; Sciacca 2005, 88 fig. 116.
- 4210** Sciacca 2005, 87–88, 377–78, Co1–Co2 figs. 114–15.
- 4211** Camporeale 2009; Sciacca 2005.
- 4212** Fischer 1979, 44, 72, pls. 9.2, 20.1, 21.
- 4213** On the basin from Castelletto Ticino: Brown 1960, 23, pl. 11b; Gambari 1988, 82–83 fig. 35. On the location of the workshop in Vetulonia: Schiering 1978; Camporeale 2009, 6–7. Cf. also Berger 1982.
- 4214** Jehl and Bonnet 1968; Camporeale 2009.
- 4215** Rolley 1988, 97f.; von Hase 1992, 257f., pl. 74 figs. 21.1–2, 22; Plouin and Bonnet 1996, 63–64; Chaume 2004, 88, 90 fig. 15.
- 4216** Jehl and Bonnet 1957, 25 fig. 9; Egg 1996, 109 fig. 62; Adam 1997, 9. Cf. also Chaume 2004.
- 4217** Egg 1985, 373–77 with distribution map in fig. 40.
- 4218** Camporeale 1969, 29, pl. 3.1–3.
- 4219** Camporeale 2007, 42–45.
- 4220** Analyses of the finds from southern Switzerland show that nearly 90 percent of the amber is from the Baltic: Beck and Stout 2000.
- 4221** Malnati 2007.
- 4222** In this sense it is probably more than pure chance that the tomb lies not far from the Main, which blocks the route to the north.
- 4223** Jockenhövel 1974; Iaia 2005, 163–69.
- 4224** von Hase 1992, 243f., 258f.
- 4225** Krausse 1996, 269–73.
- 4226** Frey 1989, 298, 300 fig. 2.2 (*Schnabelkanne*). On the ribbed cist: Stjernquist 1967, 58f. nos. 97, 98. On ribbed cists in general: Micozzi 2001a; 2001b; Dehn et al. 2005, 165–78.
- 4227** Frey 1989, 298, 300 fig. 2.1
- 4228** Trans-Adriatic contacts must especially be responsible for the conveyance of the two pearl dishes from Vače and Magdalenska gora, which find their closest parallels in central Italy: Krausse 1996, 273. A dish that is not entirely typologically equivalent comes from Nesactium: Krausse 1996, 430 no. 262.
- 4229** Lucke 1962, 62–66 no. 7 fig. 8.17, pls. 23–26, 65.
- 4230** Lucke 1962, 56. From the extensive recent literature on situla art we mention only Zaghetto 2002; Zaghetto 2006; and Huth 2003.
- 4231** Este, Morlungo: Find from a disturbed tomb: Capuis 1993, 204; Tombolani 1988, 148–49 no. 694. On *Schnabelkannen* in general: Vorlauf 1995.
- 4232** Frey 1969, 44, 83–84, 86, 98, 105, pl. 28.15; 67. We may also mention the bronze figurine of a nude worshiper from Padua, who holds a *Schnabelkanne* in the left hand and an *omphalos* dish in the right: Frey 1989, 301–2 fig. 3; Capuis 1993, fig. 57.
- 4233** Egg 1996, 14–51.
- 4234** Relevant models are works like the warrior figurine from Este, Scolo di Lozzo, that probably came from Etruria, and which in its attenuated, scarcely articulated body closely resembles the figures from Strettweg: Capuis 1988, 91, 93 no. 177; Huth 2003, 239 pl. 87.1.

- 4235** According to a recent book by Luisa Bertacchi, Aquileia would also have been an Etruscan foundation (Bertacchi 2009). The thesis is based on a group of fifty-eight Etruscan vessels of unknown provenience that was handed over to the author under dubious circumstances, but since to date no Etruscan pottery from secure contexts is known in Aquileia, an Etruscan origin of the city remains highly doubtful.
- 4236** Gamba 1986; Bonomi 1988; Bonomi 2000; de Marinis 2005; Wiel-Marin 2005; Lenzi 2007–8. Two *aryballoi* of the late proto-Corinthian and Italo-Corinthian styles from Este precede the phase dealt with here: Este, Rebato, Tomb 100: Favaretto 1976, 44, pl. 20.1; Lenzi 2007–8, 86, pl. 15a; unprovenienced, Vienna, Naturhistorisches Museum: Frey 1989, 297 n. 35; Woldrich 1978, 39–40, 207. On the two vessels also: Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 1992, 70 fig. 54, 106 n. 66; Bruni 1998, 205 with footnote 15. For Lombardy see **chapter 78** de Marinis.
- 4237** Wiel-Marin 2005, 139f. fig. 63.
- 4238** Bonomi 1991, pl. 1.1–3.
- 4239** Pierro 1984, 143–52; Iacobazzi 2004, 215–17.
- 4240** Cavada 1990, 26f., 34f. figs. 2–3.
- 4241** Only a few representative examples need be mentioned: Bonomi 1991, pl. 37.3–5; Wiel-Marin 2005, 248f.
- 4242** Åberg 1931/32.
- 4243** von Merhart 1952.
- 4244** Müller-Karpe 1959.
- 4245** Simplified core-periphery model: Sherrat 1993; erroneously on the spread of iron technology: Vandkilde 2007; cf. Delpino 1988.
- 4246** di Gennaro 1982; Pacciarelli 2001.
- 4247** Service 1971.
- 4248** Pacciarelli 2010, 22–23.
- 4249** Pacciarelli 2010, 18–19.
- 4250** Dawkins 1976.

- 4251 Guidi and Saracino 2008, 135.
4252 Gamba, Gambacurta and Sainati 2005.
4253 Michelini and Ruta Serafini 2005.
4254 Calzavara 1981, 229–31, pl. 47–8.
4255 Chieco Bianchi 1981, 248–58, pl. 53–7.
4256 Michelini and Ruta Serafini 2005, 135–6, figs. 181–5.
4257 Fogolari 1988, fig. 17.
4258 Ruta Serafini 2002, pl. 1.
4259 Maggiani 2002.
4260 Bianchin Citton 2005.
4261 Leonardi 2010.
4262 Arobba et al. 1998.
4263 Gabrovec 1975.
4264 Dular 1992.
4265 Gabrovec 1966; 1970; 1994.
4266 Gabrovec 1994, 85.
4267 Gabrovec 1993/94, 79.
4268 Mason 1996.
4269 Dular and Tecco Hvala 2007.
4270 Cf. Teržan 2010, 324–5.
4271 Teržan 1998.
4272 Dobiat 1980, 154–6; Tomedi 2002, 99–109.
4273 Tomedi 2002, fig. 61b.
4274 Smolnik 1996.
4275 Egg 1996b.
4276 Pacciarelli 1991; Boitani 2008; Cygielman and Poggesi 2008; Torelli 2008.
4277 Except Libna-Sveti Marjeta: Dular and Tecco Hvala 2007, fig. 24; 110.
4278 The use of the term “oligarchy” should be understood in the sense of Plato (Pl. *Plt.* 291e) as a governing form of some few leaders and not as the perverting of an *aristokratia* (Pl. *Plt.* 301a; 301c).
4279 Close-Brooks 1965, 53–64; Toms 1986, figs. 10–14.
4280 Naso 2011.
4281 Balista and Ruta Serafini 1991; few inhumations in Padua: Michelini, Ruta Serafini 2005.
4282 Dobiat 1985; Egg 1996b.
4283 Bianco Peroni 1970, 78–96; pl. 70 C–D; 71 A–D.
4284 Hencken 1968, 504.
4285 Izzet 2007.
4286 Nebelsick and Kaus 2000, 136.
4287 Pacciarelli 2010, 26–7.
4288 Krämer 1985, 35–9.
4289 de Marinis 1999, 537–48.
4290 Bianco Peroni 1970, 112–18.
4291 De Marinis 1999, 537–48; von Quillfeld 1995, 196–211.
4292 Egg 1986b; Tomedi 1996.
4293 Peroni 1973; Guidi 1983.
4294 Dular 1974; Harding 1995, 61; Bietti Sestieri and Macnamara 2007, nos. 745–6.
4295 Teržan 2010, 285.
4296 Egg 1978b; Iaia 2005, 88 no. 35.
4297 Guštin 1979, 23–5; Iaia 2005, 87–8, nos. 33–4.
4298 Škoberne 1999, 68–99.
4299 Gentili 2003, pl. 129–41.
4300 Elbern 1990; Torelli 1997, 53–5.

4301 Pacciarelli 1999, 94–5; compare also pairs of miniature spears in Latium, Santa Palomba, grave 1: De Santis 2011, 41–4.

4302 Drago Troccoli 2005, 111.

4303 Teržan 1985; cf. the exception in Transdanubia: Vékony Vadász 1997.

4304 Eichberg 1987, 49–50.

4305 Egg 1986a, 51–61.

4306 Iaia 2006.

4307 Giuliani Pomes 1954.

4308 Camporeale 1986.

4309 E.g. Müller-Karpe 1959, pl. 60 P; Panichelli 1990, pl. 17, 394; Kossack 1993.

4310 Tomedi 2002, 207–11.

4311 Dei 1996.

4312 Kossack 1982; Kromer 1986.

4313 Renfrew 1975.

4314 Jettmar 1973.

4315 Iaia 2005, 207–19.

4316 Jacob 1995, pl. 94 B.

4317 Egg 1986b, 264–76.

4318 Kromer 1986, fig. 26.

4319 Girardi-Jurkić 1986.

4320 Gabrovec 1992, fig. 3; Nachbaur 2011.

4321 Tomedi 2002, 211–14; cf. also Siegfried Weiss 1979.

4322 Egg 1996a, 61.

4323 Lucke 1962; Eibner 1981; Huth 2003, 160–269; Turk 2005.

4324 Colonna 1980; not convincing on Greek direct archetypes: Boardman 1971.

4325 Vitri 1980; Gabrovec 1992; Egg 1996a, 264–76; Capuis 2001; Teržan 2010, 294–309.

4326 Mihovilić 1980; Minto 1943, 149–151; Guldager Bilde 1994.

4327 Lucke 1962, pl. 8.

4328 Chieco Bianchi et al. 1976; Teržan 1995, 222; Tomedi 2002, 177–88.

4329 See de Marinis and Rapi 2005.

4330 Naso 2013.

4331 Torelli 1981, p. 71–6; Amann 2000.

4332 Teržan 1986.

4333 Tomedi 2002, 320–3.

4334 See de Simone and Marchesini 2013.

4335 Dehn and Frey 1962; Guggisberg 2008.

4336 Summaries in Frey 1998, 1999.

4337 In order not to overburden the text, for the most part only recent literature is cited that provides access to the topic.

4338 Betzler 1974.

4339 A survey of Etruscan and Italic finds in France is provided by R. Adam, Bonnamour, et al. 1987; R. Adam, Philippe and Waiblinger 1989; Chateigner, Josset and Piel 1990; R. Adam and Fontaine 1992; see also A.-M. Adam 1992.

4340 Kossack 1974.

4341 F. Fischer 1973.

4342 von Hase 1989a; 1992; 2005.

4343 Pape 2000; 2004.

4344 Rolley 2003.

4345 Bieg 2002.

4346 von Hase 1989a, 1992.

4347 von Merhart 1952; Kossack 1954.

4348 Jockenhövel 1974; Jacob 1995, 112–13 no. 357, pls. 62–63.

4349 von Hase 1989a, 1040; 1992, 243–44.

- 4351** Jockenhövel 1974, esp. 35; Iaia 2005, 163–69. Jacob 1995, 112 too stresses the differences between the amphorae from Veii and Gevelinghausen, which speak for an origin in different workshops.
- 4352** von Hase 1992, 245–47.
- 4353** von Hase 1992, 250–53.
- 4354** von Hase 1989a, 1992; Kimmig 1992.
- 4355** U. Fischer 1979; Willms 2002.
- 4356** U. Fischer 1979, 71–72, 127–28, pls. 8, 9.1; Jacob 1995, 104 no. 313, pl. 52.
- 4357** Jacob 1995, 104 no. 314, pl. 53. This piece, however, lacks the straps with transverse ribs that are riveted to the base of the example from Frankfurt.
- 4358** U. Fischer 1979, 72, 128–29, pl. 9.2; Jacob 1995, 66 no. 149, pl. 19.
- 4359** U. Fischer 1979, 72, 128, pl. 21; Willms 2002, 83. In fact the irregular holes that were observed on the upper end of the ribs in all probability are due to continuing corrosion in these spots that are particularly delicate due to their thinness.
- 4360** Jehl and Bonnet 1957; A.-M. Adam 1997.
- 4361** Chaume and Feugère 1990, 13–17, 43–46.
- 4362** Prüssing 1991, 36–37 no. 47–48, pl. 7.
- 4363** Willms 2002, 81 fig.
- 4364** Howes Smith 1984; Feugère 1992; A.-M. Adam 1997, 7–9, fig. 1; Sciacca 2005, esp. 378–79.
- 4365** Pare 1989, 441.
- 4366** U. Fischer 1979, 72, 129–30, pl. 10.1–2; Jacob 1995, 79 nos. 219–20, pl. 30.
- 4367** U. Fischer 1979, 129; see also Krausse 1996, 280; Willms 2002, 84.
- 4368** Jacob 1995, 78 no. 218, pl. 30.
- 4369** Krausse 1996, 255–60.
- 4370** Vuailat 1977, 64–65, fig. 34.1.
- 4371** Krausse 1996, 278–87, esp. 281–82 (bronze bowl of the Chavéria-Corminboeuf group).
- 4372** Jehl and Bonnet 1957, 1968; A.-M. Adam 1997.
- 4373** von Hase 1989a, 1050, 1992, 257–58, 1998, 307.
- 4374** A.-M. Adam 1997, 9.
- 4375** Torbrügge 1965, 85, pls. 27.8–14, 28.1–4, 1979, 122–24.
- 4376** Wamser 1981, 246; *Schätze aus Bayerns Erde* 1983, 20 no. 14.11–13.
- 4377** On spits and fire dogs in Italy, see summaries in Stary 1979; Kohler 2000.
- 4378** Kohler 2000.
- 4379** Sievers 1984, 67, 212–13 nos. 1977–87, pl. 186.
- 4380** Simon 1999, 90–91, fig. 23.3; Ettel 2005, 134–36, fig. 13.
- 4381** Baitinger and Völling 2007, 66–87, 87–90.
- 4382** Ettel 2005, 119–26, fig. 3.
- 4383** Ettel 2005, 124.
- 4384** Schifferdecker and Wamser 1983, 60, fig. 41.
- 4385** zu Erbach-Schönberg 1993, 1994; Nachbaur 2011, 203–4, fig. 7.6.
- 4386** J. Fischer 1990; Naso 2007.
- 4387** Frey 1989; Hoppe 2012.
- 4388** von Hase 1989b; Gras 1985; Naso 2009.
- 4389** See Krausse 2008, 2010.
- 4390** von Hase 1989b, esp. 329, fig. 1; Simon 1999, 78–87, fig. 17. For Greek pottery north of the Alps: Pape 2000; 2004; Hansen and Böhr 2011, 218–19, fig. 6; Hansen 2012.
- 4391** Simon 1999; Ettel 2005, 133–34, fig. 11.
- 4392** Fogel and Makiewicz 1987–88.
- 4393** Böhr and Shefton 2000.
- 4394** Schaaff 1988, 191–95, pls. 25–34.
- 4395** Ettel 1995, 2005, esp. 126–31, fig. 6.
- 4396** Banck-Burgess 1999, esp. 85–89. See [chapter 29](#) Gleba.

4397 Hansen 2010, 42–46, 111–15.

4398 Gersbach 1995, 10–94.

4399 Most recently Hailer 2010; Burkhardt 2010.

4400 Kimmig 1987; Frey 2000; 2002.

- 4401** von Hase 2003 (with earlier literature).
- 4402** Biel 1985; *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf* 1985.
- 4403** Frey 2002, 214–15, figs. 202–3.
- 4404** Bosinski and Herrmann 1998–99; Frey 2000, 2002; F.-R. Herrmann 2002.
- 4405** Baitinger and Pinsker 2002.
- 4406** H.-V. Herrmann 1975, 39: “Das holzgeschnitzte Kultbild ist der Ursprung der griechischen Skulptur.”
- 4407** von Hase 2000.
- 4408** Lang 1974.
- 4409** Summary: Shefton 1979.
- 4410** Pare 1989, 445–47, fig. 16.
- 4411** Krausse 1996, 242–78.
- 4412** Krausse 1996, 262–69, 270–76.
- 4413** Krausse 1996, 276.
- 4414** Joffroy 1957, 1960.
- 4415** Egg 1996, 84–95, esp. 91–93. H.-V. Herrmann 1981, 90 already supported an Etruscan origin for the cauldron.
- 4416** A.-M. Adam 2003, 149–56; Egg 1996, 91–93.
- 4417** Gehrig 2004, 109–10; see also Kimmig 1992, 312–14.
- 4418** Åkerström 1941.
- 4419** Frey 1957, 231, pls. 16, 17.1–2; Bouloumié 1973a, 16, 34, figs. 51–53; Schnitzler 1996, 107, fig. 3.
- 4420** Lerat 1958; Roulière-Lambert 1987, 203–5, figs. 266.2, 268, 269.
- 4421** Binggeli 2003.
- 4422** Most recently Hansen 2010, 80–81.
- 4423** Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2011a, esp. 109, fig. 62, 2011b, 207, fig. 11, 2013, 124, fig. 83. See also Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2014, esp. 118, fig. 83 (Sanguisuga-type fibulae).
- 4424** Krause, Böhr and Guggisberg 2005, 223–32.
- 4425** Kimmig 1988.
- 4426** Jacobsthal and Langsdorff 1929; Bouloumié 1973a, 1973b; Eiden 1995; Vorlauf 1997; A.-M. Adam 2003, 144–47.
- 4427** A.-M. Adam 2003, 144–47.
- 4428** Kimmig 1988, 87–103.
- 4429** Moosleitner 1985.
- 4430** Megaw and Megaw 1990; Haffner 1993.
- 4431** Storch 1986.
- 4432** Baitinger and Pinsker 2002, 242–45 cat. 1.1, figs. 233–36.
- 4433** Haffner 1976, 218 cat. 21, pls. 13.9a–d, 158.2, 159, 160.
- 4434** Shefton 1988; Geiß-Dreier 1992.
- 4435** Dehn 1970; Egg, Hauschild and Schönfelder 2006, 199–205.
- 4436** Haffner 1976, 204 cat. 15, pls. 9.3, 151.3; Geiß-Dreier 1992, 95 fig. 6, 98 cat. 16.
- 4437** Naso 2006; see [chapter 88](#) Naso.
- 4438** Krapf 2009; see [chapter 13](#) Kistler.
- 4439** Körber-Grohne 1985, 121–22; Rösch 2002.
- 4440** Stika 1995, 82–83.
- 4441** E.g. Bouloumié 1987, 32–33; Pape 2004. See Stöllner 2004, 144–47.
- 4442** Schönfelder 2001, esp. 322–33; A.-M. Adam 2003, 147–49.
- 4443** A.-M. Adam 2003, 147–49.
- 4444** Kimmig 1990.
- 4445** Haffner 1976, 174 cat. 4, pls. 1.11, 130.2; Haffner 1981; Husty 1990; Wigg 1992, 88 cat. 12–13.
- 4446** Haffner 1976, 200–3 cat. 15, pls. 144.3a–b, 145, 146; Peltz 2004.
- 4447** Cvrková and Jančo 2002.

4448 Frey and Polenz 1986, 263–66, pl. 19a; Joachim 2013.

4449 Frey and Polenz 1986, 264. A compendious treatment of Etruscan rod tripods was prepared by G.Bardelli within his dissertation “Etruskische Stabdreifüße – I tripodi a verghette in Etruria.” See most recently Bardelli 2015.

4450 Biel 1995, 34, fig. 7.

- 4451** Stika 1995, 86–87, fig. 16; Kreuz and Boenke 2000–2001, 240, fig. 8.
- 4452** Rahmstorf and Pare 2007.
- 4453** Jacobsthal 1944; Müller 2009.
- 4454** Chytráček 2008.
- 4455** Chytráček 2008, 83, fig. 18.
- 4456** Chytráček 2002; Hauser and Schönfelder 2014.
- 4457** Chytráček and Metlička 2004, 43–44, 282, fig. 10, 10a. See also Hauser and Schönfelder 2014, 437–440, fig. 3.1.
- 4458** Düwel, Jankuhn, Siems and Timpe 1985; Stöllner 2004.
- 4459** Guggisberg 2004.
- 4460** Pauli 1993, 162–70, figs. 40–43.
- 4461** See, for example, Pare 1989, 441–54; Pape 2000; 2004.
- 4462** Chytráček 2008, 78–88.
- 4463** See [chapter 76](#) von Eles.
- 4464** Jehasse 2003; Arrighi and Jehasse 2008.
- 4465** Dionys. Per., 457–460.
- 4466** Jehasse 1986b.
- 4467** Thirty-three cities: Solin. 37. 151–152. Thirty-two cities: Plin., *HN* 3. 75. 199. Twenty-four cities: Ptol. *Geog.* 3.2.1–7.
- 4468** Jehasse 1986a.
- 4469** Serv.ad *Aen.*, 9. 587 (transl. by O. Jehasse).
- 4470** Jehasse and Jehasse 1971; 2004.
- 4471** Antiochus, in Strabo 6. 1. 1.
- 4472** Hdt. 1. 165.
- 4473** Bernardini et al. 2000.
- 4474** Diod. Sic. 5.13–14.
- 4475** Jehasse and Jehasse 1971; 2004.
- 4476** Jehasse and Jehasse 1973; 2001.
- 4477** Heurgon 1973.
- 4478** Colonna 2010.
- 4479** Plut. *Para.* 13.1, transl. by F.C.Babbitt (1936).
- 4480** Cristofani 1993.
- 4481** Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 5. 8.1–3, transl. by A. Hort (1916).
- 4482** Rebuffat 1980.
- 4483** Polyb. 1.88.8–12, transl. by E. Shuckburgh (1889).
- 4484** Heurgon 1973.
- 4485** Diod. Sic. 5.13.3, transl. by C.H. Oldfather (1939).
- I warmly thank the Direction of the Archaeological Museum at Syracuse for granting me permission to catalogue the vase from tomb 309 of the Fusco necropolis, and Alessandro Naso for his precious suggestions. Italian text has been translated by Michael Metcalfe.
- 4486** Pallottino 1968, 131.
- 4487** Torelli 1981, 203, 222. See [chapter 38](#) Torelli ([Fig. 38.13](#)).
- 4488** Gras 1985; 1997; 2000.
- 4489** Panvini 2001.
- 4490** Albanese Procelli 1993, 80, 233.
- 4491** Gras 1985, 484–86; Lo Schiavo 2010, 275, 342, 480–81, 490, types 125, 157C, 215, 217, 227.
- 4492** Nenci 1999.
- 4493** Pelagatti and Voza 1973, 120, n. 382; Voza 1999, 37, figs. 8–9.
- 4494** Gras 1985, 530–582.
- 4495** Rasmussen 1979.
- 4496** Naso 2009, 139, with bibl. For the distribution of bucchero in Sicily in general: Gras 1985, 490 ss.; von Hase 1989; Albanese Procelli 2005; Naso 2009.

- 4497** Rizza 2003, 546, fig. 7.
4498 Brugnone 2009, 711, fig. 570.
4499 Colonna 2004.
4500 Gras 1985, 328 ss., fig. 46b; Py 1985.

- 4501** Bound 1991.
- 4502** Gras 1985, 333, with bibl. More recently: Lentini 1987; Vassallo 1999; Spagnolo 2002; Tigano 2002; Albanese Procelli 2005.
- 4503** Cavalier 1985, 55, fig. 13a; Salibra 1999, pl. VI, figs. 2–3; Vassallo 1999, 358, with bibl.
- 4504** Albanese Procelli 2009, fig. 193.
- 4505** Albore Livadie 1985, 129, 144, fig. 29, 6.
- 4506** Spagnolo 2002, 40, 45.
- 4507** Vassallo 1999, 358.
- 4508** Pelagatti 1978; Sourisseau 2011.
- 4509** Di Stefano 1993–94.
- 4510** Albanese Procelli 1979, 1, 10, fig. 1–3; Gras 1985, 506.
- 4511** Albanese Procelli 1979; 1985; 2006; Gras 1985, 501–8; Krausse 1996.
- 4512** Orlandini 1963, 86, pl. XXIV, 2; Dubois 1989, 198, n. 172; Albanese Procelli 2001, 292.
- 4513** Panvini 1986–87, pl. XXX.
- 4514** Rolley 1988, 94–97.
- 4515** Orsi 1912; de Marinis 1997, 34.
- 4516** Stjernquist 1967, 88–89; Lamagna 2005; Albanese Procelli 2010, with bibl.
- 4517** De Miro 2006.
- 4518** Naso 2006, 252–53, 275, nos. 63–65, with bibl. A bronze lion from Megara Hyblaea, perhaps locally made (Gras, Tréziny and Broise 2004, p. 129, fig. 135) and another from Selinunte, unpublished (courtesy of H. Baitinger) might belong to hinges of *infundibula*.
- 4519** Torelli 1981, 152.
- 4520** Colonna 1980–1981, 159 ss.; Epifanio 1993.
- 4521** Lo Schiavo, Milletti, Falchi 2008.
- 4522** Sherrat and Sherrat 1993; Aubet 2008.
- 4523** Sherrat and Sherrat 1993.
- 4524** Gras 2000.
- 4525** Ugas and Zucca 1984; Gras 1985; Tronchetti 1988; Santocchini Gerg 2014; Bernardini 2001; Nicosia 1981.
- 4526** Frielinghaus 2011, 402 no. D 529, 448 nos. L 1–L 2, 552 nos. 90–92 (without illustrations for the Negau helmets).
- 4527** Cline 1994, 80–84, 272–73 lists the Italic objects from Greece. Bettelli 2002; see Radina and Recchia 2010 with further literature for relationships between Italy and Greece in the Bronze Age.
- 4528** Six exemplars from Olympia (Baitinger 2001, 146–48, nos. 530–35, pls. 15–17) are very similar to pieces from the Mendolito hoard in Sicily (Albanese Procelli 1993, 180–81). At least one spearhead from Olympia (Baitinger 2001, no. 536) and one from Delphi (Avila 1983, 140–42, no. 998) are comparable to pieces from Calabria (Pacciarelli 1999, 134–36, fig. 36). Baitinger 2001, 39 lists the Italic objects from Greece.
- 4529** Olympia, storage, inv. no. B 1026: Baitinger 2001, 36–38, 146–47 no. 526, pl. 15.
- 4530** Strøm 2000; Naso 2012b.
- 4531** de Simone 1989, 199; Colonna 1993, 53–54.
- 4532** Naso 2012a.
- 4533** Kyrieleis 1986, 127–30 for the bronze vases discussed recently by Bruni 2004; Naso 2006a, 361, fig. 8 for the belt clasp.
- 4534** Gehrig 2004, 92–95 (“Bernardini” Werkstatt), 153–58 with previous literature.
- 4535** Cristofani Martelli 1978, 156 nos. 15–16 (bird-bowls), 177 nos. 24–27 (alabastra); Ciuccarelli 2004, 157–68 (findspots around Vetulonia).
- 4536** Cristofani 1984 with previous literature by the same author.
- 4537** Moustaka 2002, 307–11.
- 4538** Strøm 1990, 92; Naso 2006c, 340–41.
- 4539** Rasmussen 1979, 104–6. The distribution is mapped by von Hase 1989, fig. 27,

completed by Naso 2009a, 138–39.

4540 Brijder 1988, completed by Naso 2006a, 377–79, figs. 11–12.

4541 Buccherio and bronze *kantharoi* in Greek sanctuaries have been examined by Naso 2009a, with previous literature.

4542 Naso 2006b, 191 fig. 8 with literature.

4543 Cristofani 1996 comments on the inscription from Aegina; Colonna 2007 publishes as Etruscan the inscription from Perachora and suggested possible restorations for the inscription from Aegina (220 footnote 48).

4544 Briquel 1998; d’Agostino 2000.

4545 Jacquemin 1999, 335 no. 303 (stone base), 309 no. 012 (treasure of Caere), 352 no. 443 (treasure of Spina).

4546 The literary sources are collected and discussed by Briquel 1984, 3–30 (Spina), 169–224 (Caere). Naso 2013 for the treasure of Spina.

4547 Colonna 2000.

4548 Naso 2006a, 402–6 lists the Etruscan folding chairs, completed by Naso 2014b.

4549 Literary sources are collected and discussed by Mansuelli 1984; for the archaeological evidence see Naso 2006a, 380–97 (*infundibula*); 2009b (incense-burners).

4550 Siewert 1991, 81–82 nos. 4 (cauldron), 5 (*oinochoe*), 6 (basin?), 7 (*infundibulum*: inv. no. B 4574).

- 4551** Poll. *Onom.*, ed. Bethe 1900–1931: 7.86.9–7.87.1 (Etruscan sandals), 7.92–7.93.1 (thick sole); additional Greek literary sources are listed by Naso 2009b, 642. For the finds from Campovalano: Zanco 1989 (sandals); Boccolini 2003 (tomb group). I am not certain whether or not some sandals from Greek findspots are really Etruscan, as suggested by Touloupa 1973 and recently by Frankenhauser and Weidig 2014.
- 4552** Weber 1990.
- 4553** Martelli 1988–89, 17–20 for the shrines. It must be noted that the Achelous mask from Olympia, mentioned by Martelli (20 n. 44), to be identified with Olympia, Archeological Museum, Inv. no. M 880, is certainly of bronze cast and probably not Etruscan.
- 4554** Johnston 1985; 2006.
- 4555** Tosto 1999. The more widespread *pyxides* from the same workshop have been found in both Etruria and Greece (Lyons 2009).
- 4556** Malagardis 2007.
- 4557** The various opinions and interpretations of this tiny sherd are collected by Naso 2014a, to be supplemented with Maggiani 2011, 217, fig. 7.
- 4558** Pallottino 1963; MacIntosh Turfa 1977; Morel 1981, 1990; Thuillier 1985; von Hase 1989; 1993; Naso 2006; Gran Aymerich 2009, 22–28; Naso 2010.
- 4559** Venturoli 2002, 36–37, no. A' 43.
- 4560** de Marinis 1999, 542–47.
- 4561** Delpino 2002; Lo Schiavo 2005.
- 4562** Monchambert et al. 2013, 48–50, no. 20a–b, fig. 44; Ferjaoui and López Castro forthcoming; López Castro, forthcoming.
- 4563** von Hase 1989; Docter 1993, 229–30 nos. 23–24.
- 4564** Naso 2006, 189, figs. 3–4; 2010, 80 nos. 26–27, figs. 2–3.
- 4565** Prins de Jong 1925, 55–56 no. V. 2, pl. 3 (top right).
- 4566** Burkhardt 1991, 114–15.
- 4567** Long and Sourisseau 2002, 30.
- 4568** Naso 2009.
- 4569** All Etrusco-Corinthian vases from Carthage are listed in Naso 2010, 79 no. 8.
- 4570** The so-called Zita trade amphorae, which Roald Docter considered to be also of Central Italic origins (Docker 1998), are now definitively attributed solely to Sardinian production by Oggiano 2000, 241–42.
- 4571** Different opinions, however, have been expressed about Malcus and his enemies (Bernardini, Spanu and Zucca 2000; Krings 2000).
- 4572** Ampolo 1987, 80–84; Scardigli 1991, 47–87.
- 4573** Colonna 2010, with previous bibliography.
- 4574** Maggiani 2006.
- 4575** Berges 1997, 52.
- 4576** Perkins 2007. All the sherds have already been listed (Naso 2010, 79 no. 2 for Tipasa, 80 nos. 28–32 for Naucratis, 80 no. 34 for Karnak).
- 4577** Zuffa 1960.
- 4578** Naso 2015, nos. 1–94, with previous literature.
- 4579** Maggiani 2003.
- 4580** Tagliamonte 2004, 161 footnote 103. Gianluca Tagliamonte is working to an edition of these cuirasses (Tagliamonte 2014, 181).
- 4581** Naso 2010, 79 no. 16 (at least six Genuclia plates from Carthage) and no. 23 (one Genuclia plate from Cyrene).
- 4582** von Hase 1996; Bénichou-Safar 2004, 179 pl. XLIX, 9.
- 4583** Briquel 2006 on this inscription, with previous literature.
- 4584** Maggiani 2007 and now Belfiore 2010 for various aspects of the inscription. Srdoč et al. 1990 suggest a radiocarbon date, which few scholars accept.
- 4585** Colonna 1983, 1–5. See also [chapter 38](#) Torelli.
- 4586** Respectively Py 1995; Cristofani 1983 and Boulomié 1992; Colonna 2006.

- 4587** Gras 2004.
- 4588** *Atti Marseille*.
- 4589** Landes 2003; Long, Pomey and Sourisseau 2002.
- 4590** Morel 2006, 23–45. He also recalls the mention in literary sources of Etruscan coins in southern Gaul.
- 4591** Morel 1981; Bats 1998; Py 2003.
- 4592** Py 1993; Garcia 2010.
- 4593** Bats 2006; Dietler 2010; Malkin 2011; Roure 2015.
- 4594** Janin 2006.
- 4595** Gras 2000.
- 4596** These objects may have come from the city of Tarquinia: Gras 2000.
- 4597** Gras 2004; Melli 2006; Paltineri 2010.
- 4598** Polanyi, Arensberg, Pearson 1957, 262.
- 4599** Py 1993.
- 4600** Garcia 2003, 31–45. The Launacian phenomenon corresponds to the native development of the production of metals intended for trade. This was an economic phenomenon, not a regional culture.

- 4601** Py 2003; Dedet and Py 2006, 121–44.
- 4602** Bats 1998; 2006.
- 4603** On the various kinds of amphora and their origin, see Py 1985; Herubel and Calledrat 2006, 161.
- 4604** The cargo, similar to the deposits in the region, might have been sailing to Etruria (Py 1993).
- 4605** Colonna 1980.
- 4606** Sourisseau, in Long, Pomey and Sourisseau 2002, 90; Colonna 2006, 662, footnote 6.
- 4607** Dedet et al. 2006.
- 4608** Colonna 2006. See also chapters 10 D’Ercole and 22 Pomey.
- 4609** Garcia 2010.
- 4610** Michel Bats interprets Massilia’s output as a necessity born of the crisis in the supply of Etruscan wine, and not vice versa (Bats 2006, 86).
- 4611** Py et al. 2006, 583–608; Dietler 2010. The graffiti suggest that at this time both Greeks and Etruscans lived at Lattes (Colonna 1980; Bats 1988).
- 4612** The lowest levels at Lattes, between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, yield a quantity of Etruscan amphorae amounting to nearly 85% of this category, versus an expected 15–30% on the basis of nearby sites (Py 2003).
- 4613** Long, Pomey and Sourisseau 2002. The provenance of a ship and the origin of its crew are never fully clear (Drakides, Nantes et al. 2010).
- 4614** For this section on Etruscan imports in Gaul, see Frère 2006.
- 4615** Herubel and Calledrat 2006.
- 4616** From the very long bibliography, see De Hoz 1992, 264–65; Decourt 2000.
- 4617** Pianu 1978; Jolivet 1980, 707 footnote 16.
- 4618** Ugolini and Olive 2003, 35–48.
- 4619** For bibliographical reviews see Botto and Vives-Ferrándiz 2006; Vives-Ferrándiz 2007; Graells 2008; Graells 2010a; Graells 2015; Bardelli and Graells 2012.
- 4620** Llobregat 1982; Almagro-Gorbea 1992.
- 4621** Remesal and Musso 1991.
- 4622** Botto and Vives-Ferrándiz 2006.
- 4623** Bardelli and Graells 2012.
- 4624** Aquilué et al. 2006; Graells 2010a; Sanmartí, Asensio and Martín 2006.
- 4625** Roldán 1995–96; Bruni 2007.
- 4626** Gran-Aymerich 1991, 136; Almagro-Gorbea 1992, 178.
- 4627** González de Canales, Serrano and Llompарт 2004, 98–99.
- 4628** Jiménez-Ávila 2002.
- 4629** Sciacca 2005.
- 4630** Brandherm 2007, 1 n. 4.
- 4631** Graells 2010b.
- 4632** Dedet and Py 2006, 129 fig. 4.1–7.
- 4633** Graells 2013; Graells 2015.
- 4634** An example in Graells 2010a, 75–78.
- 4635** Aquilué et al. 2006, 179 and pl. 1.
- 4636** Sanmartí, Asensio and Martín 2006, pl. 1.
- 4637** Aquilué et al. 2006, 186–89.
- 4638** Sanmartí, Asensio and Martín 2006, fig. 2; Graells 2010a, 71–78.
- 4639** Sanmartí 1996.
- 4640** Graells 2006.
- 4641** Graells 2010a, 87–89; Graells and Armada 2011.
- 4642** Graells and Armada 2011.
- 4643** Graells 2010a, 92–93.
- 4644** Graells 2013.
- 4645** Almagro-Gorbea and Graells 2011.

4646 Graells 2008; Pozo 2003.

4647 Roldán 1995–96.

4648 Naso 2006a, 369.

4649 Oliva 1976, 759 fig. 23.

4650 Vives-Ferrándiz 2007; Botto and Vives-Ferrándiz 2006, figs. 55–56; Naso 2006a, 389 no. 57; Naso 2006b, 196 no. 55.

- 4651** Botto and Vives-Ferrándiz 2006, fig. 23; Naso 2006a, 389 no. 56, 392 no. 68; Naso 2006b, 196 nos. 54, 66.
- 4652** Marcos and Ruiz 2005, 77 fig. 3; Botto and Vives-Ferrándiz 2006, 144.
- 4653** Marzoli 1991; Pozo 2003.
- 4654** Pozo 2003.
- 4655** Pozo 2003.
- 4656** Arribas et al. 1987.
- 4657** Graells 2008.
- 4658** Cuadrado 1987.
- 4659** Garcia-Cano 1991.
- 4660** Marzoli 1991, pl. I and II.
- 4661** Llobregat 1982.
- 4662** Arribas 1967.
- 4663** Blázquez 1960.
- 4664** Garcia-Cano 1991.
- 4665** Discussion in Bardelli and Graells 2012.
- 4666** Almagro-Gorbea 1992, 177.
- 4667** Castellanos 1996.
- 4668** Gran-Aymerich 2006. The number of these bronze figures should now probably be reduced, since it seems reasonable to exclude the doubtful “banqueteer” from the sanctuary of La Algaída and identify it as a fragment of a Campanian *lebes*. Even the attribution of another “banqueteer” from El Raso is problematic (see Bardelli and Graells 2012). identify it as a fragment of a Campanian
- 4669** Izquierdo and Solías 1991; Graells 2014, 107–114.
- 4670** Quesada Sanz 1991, 475–521.
- 4671** Almagro-Gorbea and Graells 2011.
- 4672** Mansel 1998; 2004.